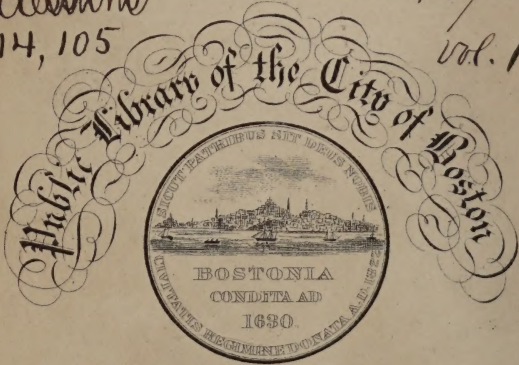


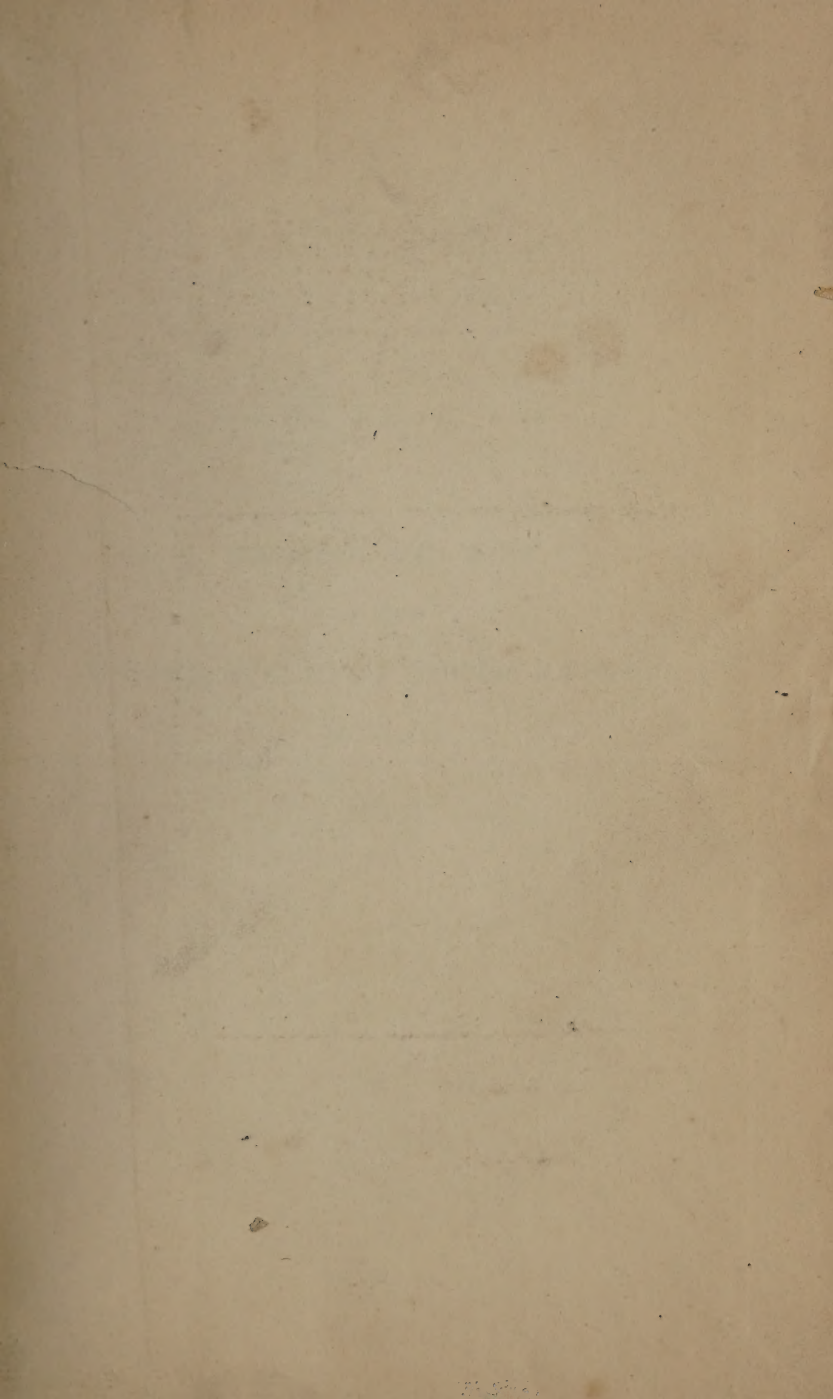


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By Wendell Phillips  
Received July 13, 1882 No.





RESIDENCE AND TOUR  
IN THE  
UNITED STATES OF NORTH AMERICA.

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VOL. I.

1871

1871

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

JOURNAL  
OF  
A RESIDENCE AND TOUR  
IN  
THE UNITED STATES  
OF  
NORTH AMERICA,  
FROM APRIL, 1833, TO OCTOBER, 1834.

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

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

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

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IN THREE VOLUMES.

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Wendell Phillips

July 13, 1882





## INTRODUCTION.

A FEW words may perhaps be necessary to explain the chief objects of the following Work.

Having left England in company with two of his countrymen, one of whom (Mr. William Crawford) had been sent out by our Government to inspect the prisons of the United States, the Author was induced to remain after their return; and, finding the journal he had kept, contained what he thought might essentially serve the cause of humanity, he determined to sacrifice his reluctance to appear in print, and give a full and faithful picture of the cruelties he had witnessed.

If too much space should appear to be taken up by the same subject, it should be remembered that slavery, as it exists in America, comes home to our "business" as well as to our "bosoms"; and appeals no less to English pockets than to English sympathies; for the slave trade, which has cost us

so much blood and treasure, springs naturally from the compulsory system of the new world, and must follow its fate. We have paid upwards of ten millions sterling between the years 1825 and 1834 (inclusive) for the suppression of that traffic, and have aggravated its horrors in proportion to our activity and expenditure. Our ships of war have forced an open commerce into the hands of the smuggler; and our bounties for captured negroes have called into action the worst passions, and the most cruel devices. Let the moral influence of England be substituted in America for her cannon on the Atlantic; and the black man will gain by our philanthropy what he now loses by our money. Commerce and civilization will spread their healing wings over Africa; and Christianity will follow in their train. It may be added, that we have a closer and a deeper interest in the question of American slavery; for, if the Southern portion of the Union should endeavor to prevent its discussion, and resist or separate from the other, a civil or a servile war would ensue, and the interruption of its staple cultivation would cut off from our cotton factories the

chief sources of their prosperity, before a supply could be obtained from our Eastern settlements, or from other quarters of the globe.

The Author would observe that, in deviating from the usual mode of spelling some words, he had no desire to set up a new standard, where it would more become him to conform to what exists. He has quoted frequently from American writers, and he has adopted their orthography, because he wished to preserve uniformity.

The title "Journal" has been retained, though not strictly in accordance with the order of dates.



# CONTENTS

OF VOL. I.

---

## CHAPTER I.

	Page
Arrival at New York.—First Introduction.—Governor Marcy.—House of Refuge.—Public Schools.—Mistakes of Travellers.—Language.—W. L. Garrison.—Singsing Penitentiary.—Prerogative of Pardon.—Education in the United States. ....	1

## CHAPTER II.

Trades' Unions.—State of Economical Science.—Good breeding.—Alms-house, Penitentiary, Hospital, &c.—President's visit to New York.—Aristocracy of the Skin.—Relative value of the two races.—Colonization Society ..	30
--	----

## CHAPTER III.

Second Visit to Singsing.—Prison Discipline.—Strike for Wages.—Second Visit to House of Refuge.—Servants.—Domestic Manners.—National Character.—Machinery.—Fourth of July.—Corporation Dinner.—Episcopal Minister of Africo-American Church.—Liberia.—Protest of Colored People against Expatriation.—New Jersey.—Canal .....	56
---	----

CHAPTER IV.

Connecticut. — New Haven.—Hartford. — Weathersfield Penitentiary.—Large number of colored Convicts accounted for.—Hartford Retreat for the Insane.—Mode of Treatment.—Character of the late Superintendent.—Mr. Wadsworth's Villa (Monte Video). — Confectioner's nonchalance .....	Page 89
---	------------

CHAPTER V.

Journey to Northampton.—Farmers.—Custom in the distribution of Property by Will.—Law of Descents in case of Intestacy.—Manners.—Prices of Provisions.—Mount Holyoke.—Stage, Driver, and Passengers to Boston.—Lecture on Slavery.—African Repository's friendship for the Black Man.—Meeting of Colonization Society.—Death of Dr. Spurzheim.—Africo-Americans excluded from Seats in Church.—Cruelty to a Brazilian and his Wife.—Antiquity of Estates in New England.—Character of White Servants.—Improvement in the Black portion of the Population.—“Liberator” and Abolitionists.—Five thousand Dollars offered by Georgia for Garrison's Arrest.—Squib upon the fair of Boston at Boston Fair.—Mrs. Child.—Black Man preaching in “White” pulpit.—Whites not allowed to marry any but the true “Caucasians.”—Lunatic Asylum.—Cambridge.—Stage “tabu” for Colored Women.—Boston Père la Chaise.—Body-snatchers. — Nahant. — Young Ladies independent. — Episcopal Church.—Young Gentleman's solicitude for his distant descendants.—Treatment of Africo-American Mechanics.....	110
---	-----

## CHAPTER VI.

	Page
Journey to Providence.—Nullification.—Slavery and “American” Language.—Dexter Asylum for the Poor. —Friends’ School.—Views of Slavery and Abolitionists. —“Canterbury Tale.”—Miss Crandall.—Origin, nature, and “constitutionality” of the Law passed to put down her School.—Connecticut persecution of knowledge.— Stage-opinions of the School-mistress.—Return to Hart- ford .....	184

## CHAPTER VII.

Deaf and Dumb Asylum at Hartford.—Girl, deaf, dumb, and blind.—Impressment of British Sailors.—Deed of Sale. —Universalists.—Female Seminary.—Lunatic Asylum ..	222
---	-----

## CHAPTER VIII.

Salary of Preacher.—Country People.—Albany.—Auto- graphs.—Marriage Ceremony.—Shakers.—Saratoga.— Utica.—Sale of Negro by himself.—Auburn.—Convict labor unpopular.—Canandaigua.—Avon.—Geneseo ....	248
---	-----

## CHAPTER IX.

Country Gentleman’s House.—English Settler.—American Hospitality.—Emigrants to the West.—Buffalo.—Seneca Indians.—Canada.—City of Ararat.—Falls.—Eccentric Englishman.—Canada Farm.—Difference of Prices in the two Countries.—Strike of Masters against Servants.— Low Life above Stairs.—Brock’s Monument.....	276
---	-----

## CHAPTER X.

	Page
Pride of Skin.—Toronto.—Canadian Methodists.—Indian Preacher and his English Bride.—Latter insulted.—Improvement of Upper Province.—Fugitive Slaves protected.—Lewiston.—Smugglers.—Custom-house Anecdotes.—Tuscorora Indians.—Curious Incuriosity of Scotchman.—Rochester Polemics.—Morgan's Abduction.—Masonic Oaths.—Anti-masons.—Mormonites .....	300

## CHAPTER XI.

Rochester.—Rules and Remedy for bad Roads.—Fence Laws.—Trenton Falls.—Erie Canal.—Governor Clinton.—Fulton.—West Point Academy.—Kosciuszko's philanthropy.—Poor Laws.—Sermon on Wilberforce.—Colonization Society again.—Chancellor Walworth.—Antipathy.—Africo-American craniology.—Young Lady's "Notions" upon Marriage.—Civilization of Africa .....	326
---	-----

## CHAPTER XII.

Free Blacks.—Abolition of Northern Slavery.—Discussion on Rights of Man.—Congress at Panama.—Too much Freedom in South American States.—Saint Domingo excluded from West India Trade.—Philosophy of the Skin.—Mulatto's Parental Feelings.—Chivalry of Slave-Owners and Cruelties of Slavery.—The Fanatics mobbed.—Abolitionists.—Non-intercourse and Non-consumption.....	358
--	-----



JOURNAL  
OF A  
RESIDENCE AND TOUR,  
ETC.

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CHAPTER I.

Arrival at New York.—First Introduction.—Governor Marcy.—House of Refuge.—Public Schools.—Mistakes of Travellers.—Language.—W. L. Garrison.—Singing Penitentiary.—Prerogative of Pardon.—Education in the United States.

I LEFT Liverpool, March 3, 1833, in the *Canada*, Captain Wilson, and arrived at New York on the 11th of April. My friends proceeded, in the course of a few days, on their journey; and I remained to recruit my strength, having been confined by sickness to my berth during the greater part of the voyage.

After a month's nursing, being still too ill to join my fellow-travellers, I delivered some of the letters of introduction, with which I had been furnished in England, and met with that friendly and hospitable reception which every "stranger in America" experiences on such occasions.

If first impressions have any influence upon our opinions, I could not but think favorably of the society among which I found myself. I was invited to dine at a house in Laight Street. It was a family party, consisting of twelve or thirteen: the latter number is not connected with any superstitious feeling in that part of the world. A hearty welcome, and an unaffected manner, that put every one at once at his ease, greeted my entrance; and the absence of display and reserve rendered the conversation that passed during the evening, exceedingly agreeable. The delicate attentions I received, made me forget that I was a foreigner and an invalid. I could perceive but little difference in what I saw and in what I had been accustomed to: the greater or less degree of formality seemed to be the chief national distinction. Upon further acquaintance, I found that the different members of the family were as much distinguished for amiable dispositions as for natural good breeding. Here, as in other houses I visited, were signs of domestic attachment, not very common in the old country. Under the same roof were living the parents, their mother, and sisters, and the grown-up children. Whether so striking a difference between two nations, descended from the same stock, is to be referred to the difference in the law of descents that prevails in each, is not unworthy of consideration.

Of the beauties of the Broadway, and the Battery,

of the City Hall, and the Exchange, and of other public buildings, it would be needless to speak where so much has been written by abler hands.

May 21, I went to the City Hall for the purpose of being introduced to the governor of the State by a gentleman, for the honor of whose acquaintance I was indebted to Mr. Stuart, the traveller. On our way to the "Audience Chamber" we took a peep at the Court of Common Pleas and the Supreme Court—the latter a well-lighted and well-furnished room. There were three judges presiding; and the general appearance of the court, with the counsel pleading and the audience listening, was much the same as with us. The absence of wigs and gowns was matter rather of remark than of regret. It is hardly fair to put English associations into the bosom of an American, and then blame him for the incongruity which his opinions and actions exhibit with these supposititious tastes and feelings.

Several other persons were introduced at the same time with myself to the governor. The ceremony was of true republican simplicity. The announcement of the name was answered by a friendly shake of the hand. After the conversation that ensued had ceased, the guests dispersed themselves to chat with their friends, or admire the fine view from the windows, and the historical portraits with which the room was decorated. The governor, who was a man of plain manners and a sensible countenance,

afforded a striking example of the encouragement which the institutions of the country hold out to talent and industry. He had risen, by his own exertions, from one of the humblest to the highest rank in the State. He had come, when a youth, as he afterwards told me, into the State of New York with but eight dollars in his pocket; and of these the greater part was of no value. As one of his objects in visiting the city was to inspect the public schools, he was kind enough to propose that I should accompany him; and I gladly agreed to avail myself of his politeness, when the day, of which he promised to give me notice, should arrive.

The next day Dr. Hosack—so well known to English travellers for his hospitality—took me with him in his carriage to the House of Refuge—an institution for the reception of juvenile offenders. Here we met Governor Marcy, who had come with a committee on an official visit to the establishment—one of the best, perhaps, of its kind, to be seen in any country. Comfort, cleanliness, and convenient arrangement were observable throughout. I had, on a subsequent occasion, a better opportunity of viewing the institution. Having gone through the different portions of the building, we retired to the superintendent's room; where, as specimens of the literary proficiency made by the inmates, two papers, the one written by a boy, the other by a girl, were read to the company. They contained a sort of analysis

of a lecture on anatomy, that had been delivered a short time before by a professional man to the children. Though neither of the writers was above fifteen years of age, both compositions exhibited a degree of correctness and reflection that would have done honor to persons of riper years and a happier lot. I could see, upon inspection, that the writing had not been corrected. It was painful to observe the studied manner in which the white and colored children were separated and distinguished from each other, as if moral improvement could be promoted in either by encouraging pride and inflicting humiliation. I should have made no remark on the subject, had not my attention been directed to it by one of the party: I observed that I could not see why the children of one common parent should meet with such different treatment. A contemptuous smile and a very silly assertion that Nature, by degrading the one race, had placed an insuperable barrier to a closer approximation with the other, were the only reply. I contented myself with remarking, that there was no color in the soul, and turned the conversation to some other topic. An Englishman may wish in vain that this feature in the national character were less frequently and less obtrusively thrust forward. The next day was that on which the governor was to inspect the schools, accompanied by some of the corporation. I took my seat in one of the carriages provided for the occasion, and the visitors proceeded to make their rounds. The buildings,

appropriated to the purposes of instruction, were large and airy; and all built upon the same plan; the ground floor being set apart for the infants, and the stories above for the boys and girls respectively. The system of teaching, if the tree is to be judged of by its fruits, appeared to be excellent. The rooms were all remarkably clean and well arranged. The children were attentive, intelligent, and orderly. They read clearly and distinctly, with good pronunciation and appropriate emphasis. In one establishment there were about eight hundred children, including the three separate divisions. That of the infants—the most interesting—contained above three hundred. It was extremely affecting to watch a group of little creatures, under two years of age, sitting lovingly together, and listening with the eager curiosity of infancy, to the wonders that their teacher was unfolding to them—all good-humor, and innocence, and harmony. I was pleased to hear from the mistress, to whom I put a few hurried questions, that the first thing taught an infant is to repeat its name and place of abode—thus securing its return home, should it by any accident be lost,—a very simple mode of precaution that ought to be put in practice by every parent. Eight or ten schools were visited during the course of the day; and at each of them, when the examination was over, an address was made to the children by the governor, one of the aldermen, or some other person. Satisfaction was expressed with the progress made

and exhortation given for the future. The necessity of application to study and of strict obedience to their parents and teachers, preparatory to the due discharge of those social and political duties they would one day be called upon to perform, was particularly inculcated. They were told of the munificent provision made by the State for their education, and of the great interest felt for their welfare by its chief magistrate, in whom, and in many around them, they might see a living example of the successful career, by which patient and persevering industry might rise from obscurity to an honorable distinction. Attachment to the political system of their country was thus, at an early period of life, identified with the promotion of their own happiness, and national honor built upon personal improvement. This ceremony was omitted at the *African* schools, as they are called. In one of these I was struck, on our entrance, by the appearance of two boys, who had no signs of the Pariah caste about them. They were both of fair complexion with light, silky hair. I immediately pointed them out to one of the visitors, who was standing by me, and he looked as if he was shocked at the sacrilegious intermixture. Questions were eagerly put, and whispers passed mysteriously from one to another; when, at last, it was agreed that further inquiries should be made into the matter, and the incipient contamination be arrested, by removing the objects of their so-

licitude from the black sheep among whom they had been so improperly placed. The first Africo-American free school was established at New York in 1787, by the Manumission Society of the State. In 1790 the girls were taught needle-work by a female engaged for that purpose. In 1808 the school was incorporated, and the next year the Lancasterian system was introduced into it. There was not an instance, according to C. C. Andrews, who has published an account of the schools for colored children, of any pupil, instructed in this institution, having been, down to the year 1830, "convicted of crime in any of the courts of justice."

The Trustees of the Manumission Society, under whose care the "African" schools are placed by the commissioners of the school-fund—(some of them are Quakers),—have made a distinction between the white and black teachers, that is consistent neither with justice nor good policy. They give higher salaries to the former than to the latter, without reference to the qualifications of the master or the number of the scholars. A man of color, of the name of Hughes, receives but 500 dollars a year: while a white man, whose name it would be invidious to mention, as he is acknowledged to be inferior to the other in every respect, has 600, for performing the same duties in a school of the same class.

The city of New York paid, in the year 1832, the sum of 90,748 dollars, eighty-six cents, for the use



of the public schools. As great remissness on the part of parents to have their children educated was experienced, an agent was appointed by the school society, with a salary of 800 dollars per annum, to visit the poor, for the purpose of removing whatever objections or obstacles might exist to the performance of this great parental duty: at the same time an ordinance of the corporation of the city excluded "from the participation of public charity, when it may be required, all out-door poor, whether emigrants or not, who, having children between the ages of five and twelve, neglect or refuse to send them to some one of the public schools."

In spite of what has been done in this and other States for popular education, a very large portion of the population is still deprived of its benefits. A writer in Niles's Register states, that there are nearly a million and a half of children in the United States destitute of the school instruction they require. Add to this amount the slaves and a great many of the free blacks, and the waste of human intellect is frightful indeed!

Having visited the schools, we proceeded to the City Orphan Asylum, a well-conducted establishment, containing about 140 objects of charity; boys and girls. The guardian had been, for twenty years, at the head of an "African" school. He assured me that he could not discover any difference of intellect in blacks and whites:—he thought that, with similar

advantages, the former would be fully equal to the latter. This testimony is not to be hastily rejected, derived, as it is, from a man highly respected, of much experience in the tuition of both races, competent to form a sound opinion, and coming to a conclusion directly opposed to all that he had been taught and all he still hears.

The business of the day concluded with a plain but plentiful dinner at the Alms House—a spacious and handsome building in what are now the outskirts of the city, and commanding a noble view, in front, of the East river with its numerous beauties. A proposition was made, after the good things on the table had been disposed of, that the school fund should be transferred from the trustees to the corporation, or, at least, some more effectual control exercised over them, on the principle that no man is exempt from temptation to abuse a public trust. The measure, however, was opposed with the same good humor as had been shewn in recommending it; no danger of the kind to be provided against was admitted to exist: and the general feeling was in favor of the existing arrangement. That no man is to be trusted is said to be a political maxim in the United States. My first attendance at a public meeting afforded a striking exception to the rule.

There are of course many things in New York and in London that strike an Englishman and an American on their first arrival as singular, if not absurd. A better

illustration of the embarrassment alluded to cannot be given, than a passage that occurs in a little work published some thirty years ago by a Yankee on his return from a trip to England. "The first funeral, he says, I saw, was such a novelty, that I followed it a short distance, not knowing what it was; and, as my manner is to question every one, who, I think, can give me any information, [a Yankee custom,] I asked an honest fellow, 'what the show was?'—he seemed a little offended, but directly replied—'you may know one day, if you do not come to the gallows!' This man, like Chatham, was 'original and unaccommodating.'" Austin's Letters, &c. Now, it is evident that the man imagined Austin was bantering him, or he would not have used an expression, the humor of which—and it really is not without point—would have been thrown away, as the answerer must have known, upon any one unacquainted with the nature of the procession. The writer adds—"observing I was surprised at his answer, and feeling perhaps a little mortified, he asked me, 'if I lived in London?' I told him 'I had just come.' 'Well! but people die sometimes in your town?' By this time I discovered the performance was a funeral. The plumes being white, a sign of a virgin, instead of black, which are more usually displayed, account for my ignorance. Had I been in Pekin, I should have expected a white funeral, but was not prepared to see one in London." Thus it is that

nature is punished for the blunders of a traveller's imagination; and nations are angry with each other because their respective customs do not correspond with their own preconceptions. What is allowable at Pekin is ridiculous in London or Boston. *Veniam petimusque damusque*:—I shall have frequent occasion to claim the benefit of the act.

That two nations, separated by the broad expanse of the Atlantic, should differ in many points from each other, is to be expected; but why should their agreement in a matter common to both excite surprise? Yet several persons with whom I conversed, complimented me on the correctness of my language, and seemed to be astonished that an Englishman should speak his mother-tongue with propriety:—that he should leave the letter *h* in its right place, and suffer *v* and *w* to speak for themselves. One man observed to me, that the grammatical accuracy with which Charles Kemble spoke struck the people on his first arrival in New York as something unusual in one from “the old countrie.”

We may “guess” from this what sort of gentry are used to honor the United States with their presence. Many who go thither upon business and are distinguished at home for nothing but vulgarity and ignorance, set up for gentlemen—(though they have no pretension, or rather are all pretension)—and complain that outward appearance is not treated with sufficient respect, as if insolence would be taken for full payment of personal merit any where.

As John Bull, when he travels, generally assumes the rank which is most wanting to him at home, and puts forth his claims in an inverse ratio to his qualifications, it is not surprising that he should impose upon "the natives" in a double sense, and sink his country while he is raising himself.

It is probable that the average of literary accomplishments is higher among our brethren in the new world, while the extremes at either end are less distant from the middle point of the scale.

It may be observed that the English and the Anglo-Americans are placed in circumstances less favorable to a fair appreciation of each other's peculiarities than any other two nations, with the exception of those which bear the same relation to each other. Their common language is the chief impediment in the way of a mutual understanding. That which seems to bind them together, serves too often to dis sever them; and the pleasurable feeling which attends their approximation is frequently merged in the sensation of an unaccommodating dissimilarity. When a word has two meanings, one that we have been long accustomed to, and the other, not only new but opposed to the former, it need not be asked to which we would give the preference. But when the new associate attempts to displace the old, and by connecting itself with the expression, to take sole possession of the mind, it is extremely difficult, under the shock of conflicting feelings, to do justice both

to past and present impressions—to retain our former attachments, and to enter, by sympathy, into those that are equally cherished by others. No such prepossessions are interwoven with a foreign language; and our partialities take a different direction when we are among those who speak it.

About this time I received a visit from a man who had already made some noise in the country, and is destined, if he live, to fill a niche in its history. The person of whom I speak, is William Lloyd Garrison—the Apostle and Martyr of Emancipation. I had expressed a wish to see him, to the steward of the vessel which took me out; and the latter, communicated what I said to him, as he was taking his passage by the same ship for Liverpool. He was going on a mission from the New England Anti-slavery Society, with the view of undeceiving the British abolitionists, whom Elliott Cresson, an advocate of the American Colonization Society, had misled with regard to the objects and motives of the latter institution. As I was fully aware of the deception that had been practised both by the principal and the agent, I was anxious to learn how the impression it had made was to be removed, and was highly gratified that a measure had been adopted, the ultimate effects of which would involve the destinies of millions not only in America, but in Africa; and, I may add, of the whole globe,—for freedom is the parent of civilization, and civilization of com-

merce. Upon the solution of this important question depends the continuance or the dissolution of the union; and every one who visits the States that compose it, must feel interested in all that bears upon it, whether the aspect in which he views it, be moral or political. Efforts had been made to detain Garrison by a legal process, through the medium, fictitious or real, of an action for libel. Like all pioneers in the cause of reform, he had employed weapons of a rough kind, more suited to the nature of the work and the paucity of coadjutors than agreeable to the taste of his opponents and the delicacy of his friends. His private character, however, was unimpeachable; and those who differed most widely from him in opinion, could not have found in his manners that severity which those, who most agreed with him, lamented in his writings.

As soon as he had sailed, a cross fire of abuse was opened by the morning and evening papers upon him and all connected with him,—“the fanatic” Garrison, and his “crazy” coadjutors re-echoed through the columns of the journals, which were thus, by exciting discussion, giving activity to the cause they were trying to smother. The merits of the question might be inferred from the manner in which it was urged; and the result might safely be predicted from the demeanor of the disputants. Those who would have us think a feeble advocate must have a bad cause, should take care lest we

think a violent advocate cannot have a good one. *Fanaticism*\* is not more closely allied to philanthropy than to selfishness; and the pride that would "humble" a fellow mortal is as "crazy" as the humility that would "exalt" him. The papers had the public with them; then why should they have been so angry?

May 27. I accompanied the Governor on a visit, which, he had informed me, by a very polite note the day before, he was going to make, to the prison at Sing Sing, about thirty miles up the river. We left the city at 7 A.M. by a steam boat, and arrived at 11 o'clock. The morning was fine and clear, and the scenery, on both banks, delightful. Some militia men, who were on board with a band, amused themselves with dancing reels; while the gaiety and cheerfulness that prevailed, reminded me of some scene on the Rhine. The latter is, however, narrower than the Hudson, and differs from it as much in the style as in the variety of its beauties. The military left us at Yonker's Hotel, which lay on our right, and gave the Governor a salute as they landed. Five or six miles further, and on the same side, we passed Tarrytown, the spot where André was taken. Much has been said and sung

\* The anti-abolitionists are the real *fanatics*:—in their eyes, every slave is happy and every master benevolent; aversion is the child of liberty, and attachment of coercion. Is not this a "fanaticus error?"



about his unhappy fate: but is it not a false principle which makes it a duty to sacrifice private honor to national glory, and encourages in an enemy the infidelity it would condemn in a friend? He was a spy and an accessory to treason.

Great attention was shewn to the Governor by the passengers; and "his Excellency," in return, was not wanting in courtesy to those who sought an introduction to him. An elderly man, who had observed me conversing with him, requested me to perform that ceremony for him. I told him I was a stranger,—more fit to receive the honor than to confer it. He saw that I did not like to put myself forward, and very good humoredly applied to another quarter. Soon after this we landed at our place of destination, and the boat went on to Albany.

The system, on which Singsing prison is conducted, is calculated to make a strong impression on the mind. I could take, however, but a cursory view of an institution which, though an imitation of the *Maison de Force* at Ghent, as the Philadelphia system is of that at Glasgow, has excited so much attention in Europe. The unremitting industry of the convicts, the skilful manner in which they work, the unbroken silence that prevails throughout, the organized discipline, the complete arrangement among such a variety of objects, the passive obedience of men habituated to insubordination and ir-

regularity, and the universal expression of thorough subjection and helplessness,—produce sensations and feelings that cannot be explained by any thing that the spectator has witnessed in places usually appropriated to the reception of prisoners. The whole presents a combination of physical exertions, unaccompanied by the signs and sounds of rational creatures, that resembles rather a colony of beavers or a community of ants, than a collection of human beings. The power of language is seen here in its absence. It is the want of it which has subjected the many to the few; and made them the unresisting instruments of an influence from which its possession would have rescued them. Such is the external aspect of the place and its inhabitants. We naturally ask, do the ultimate results correspond with this calm and order, and will he, who is perfect as a physical machine here, be better as a moral agent when he gets out? Subsequent enquiry and reflection afforded some reasons for doubting whether the answer would be quite satisfactory.

The body of the building, which is situated near the bank of the river, and is oblong, consists of five stories, separated from the walls by an empty space, the ground floor and the galleries above admitting of a passage round the successive divisions, in each of which are 100 cells; and, as each side corresponds with the other, there are thus 1000; with grated doors looking to windows placed on the other side

of the passage, in the opposite wall. Each cell contains a blanket and a board to lie on, and a bible. It is here that the three daily meals are taken—one hour and a quarter after breakfast and dinner being allowed to their solitary tenants, who are debarred from all communication with their neighbours, and are confined by means of an apparatus, by which every lock along the line is fastened and opened simultaneously. Every convict, as he passes at the prescribed hour, takes up his meal in a wooden bowl, through an opening connected with the kitchen, and replaces it in the same spot on his return from his cell. Their dinner was composed of bread made of rye and Indian corn, potatoes, and a small slice of pork. Every ration was the same in quantity. This, with water, (varying occasionally the meat,) is all that is allowed them. Owing to the exercise they take, the good air they breathe during the day, their simple diet, and the absence of every thing calculated to produce any strong excitement in mind or body, it is found that the proportion of deaths is less than among men of the same class in ordinary life. I was told that habitual drunkards, so far from being injured by sudden and total abstinence from spirituous liquors, experienced from it a marked improvement in their health.

The wings of the building run down to the river, and contain the offices and workshops. The inter-

mediate ground is occupied by the stone-cutters. The quarry from which the latter obtain their materials, is at the back of the prison, the whole of which is commanded by the hill where the stone is found. Here are posted eleven guards with fire arms to prevent escapes. In the course of five years two prisoners have been shot, while attempting to get off. At the time of our visit, there were 850 convicts. The establishment consists of an agent, with a salary of 1750 dollars per annum—a clerk, with 800;—physician and surgeon with, each, a salary not exceeding 500, the amount to be fixed by the inspectors, of whom there are three, appointed by the Governor of the State and the Senate;—a chaplain, not above 300, subject to the same regulation;—a deputy keeper, whose salary is not to exceed 1000;—and assistant keepers, with salaries not above 550 each.

The whole number of persons employed in the prison during the year which ended with September, 1832, was, one agent, one clerk, one deputy keeper, twenty-three assistant keepers, and twenty-nine guards. The latter receive eighteen dollars per month each, and the sergent, who commands them, twenty-five. The inspectors, whose duty it is to visit the prison at least once every two months, and report annually to the Legislature, hold office two years, and are re-eligible. They receive the same pay, both for their services and for their travelling

expenses as the Members of the Legislature,—three dollars (if I mistake not) a-day, and three for every twenty miles;—not payable, however, unless they are actually and necessarily engaged in their official employment.

A prison, without walls, and open to any one who chooses to enter it, would imply or require a popular government, as disaffection would here find ready-made instruments to work with. In Europe, high walls are built round similar establishments to prevent intrusion as well as evasion, and revolt without is more dreaded than revolt within the enclosure. No instance has occurred at Singsing of assistance being given to the prisoners in their attempts to escape.

The profits derived from the convict labor already exceed the expenditure, and will probably leave a considerable surplus, if the system be not interrupted by the jealousy it has excited among the mechanics, whose interests are erroneously supposed to be injured by its continuance. With the increase of the city of New York will be an augmenting demand for its labor, and a commensurate addition to the value of its proceeds. In return, it is too certain, that that great emporium of commerce will supply it with inmates:—crime and luxury will thus feed each other, and the marble that now lies peaceably under Mount Pleasant, will be torn from its bosom by the outcasts of that city it is destined to enrich and embellish.

Having inspected the Penitentiary, the Governor took me with him to a gentleman's house in the village, where we found a small party assembled, and passed the remainder of the afternoon. Beds had been provided for us at the clerk's, about a mile from the prison, the pathway to which commands a noble view of the river. The next morning we breakfasted with the Agent.

Before our departure one of the convicts was discharged—his term of years (four) having expired. As he was from the same country as myself, I spoke in a friendly manner to him, and exhorted him to act honestly on his return to society. He appeared to be stupid and unfit for any thing useful or rational,—one of those exotics that are the worse for transplantation, uniting the bad qualities peculiar to each soil, and losing, or wanting, the virtues of both.

We returned by 6 P.M. to New York, and I took my leave of the chief magistrate, to accompany him on a visit he was to make to the City Penitentiary the following Monday.

As the executive of the State, the Governor has the power of pardoning and remitting punishment. This is called here, as elsewhere, the prerogative of *mercy*, though it is rather that of *justice*, since its exercise ought to be regulated not by feeling, but by principle, and is salutary in those cases only which imply extenuation of guilt or defect of con-

clusive evidence. Where there is no crime, compensation would be more appropriate than pardon. It is hardly, however, to be expected, that this distinction should be acknowledged by those who are most interested in not understanding it; or that the relatives of one who has brought ruin or shame upon them, should see clearly that pity to the individual is too often cruelty to society. Where an audience is so easily obtained, the chief magistrate is frequently exposed to solicitations which nothing but a strong sense of duty could enable him to resist. Those touching appeals to the passions, which the Roman orators of antiquity were used to practise, are sometimes made on these occasions; and it must be owned, that a wife in tears and a group of children on their knees are less out of place before the executive, than before the judge. These exhibitions are often amusingly characteristic of simplicity, both in the people and in their institutions. One anecdote of the kind created a laugh at the breakfast table. A poor woman, who had come a long distance with a petition duly attested in favor of her husband, presented herself before "his Excellency," and throwing the memorial on the table, exclaimed, when asked what she wanted, "that paper will tell you." The prisoner was a worthless fellow:—her request was firmly yet mildly refused. "Well then," said the applicant, "I suppose I must go home again;—but how am I to get back?—I have not a

cent in my pocket.”—Pecuniary relief was given her, and she expressed her gratitude most warmly.—“If I thought my husband was not reformed,” she said, “I would rather he should remain where he is.”—She then left the room, repeating her thanks for the kindness she had received, when, suddenly returning, she put her head in at the door, and called out “I say, Governor, when I want him to be discharged, I’ll let you know.”

This prerogative was formerly exercised in a very improper manner.—Chief Justice Spencer, one of the delegates to the New York State Convention, in 1821, said in debate,—“In the increase of population crimes had naturally increased, until our State prisons had become thronged. Something, therefore, must be done, and the judges had found it necessary to recommend to the governor, from time to time, that the least criminal should be pardoned.” Mr. P. R. Livingston observed very justly, in reply,—“If the governor had possessed no power to pardon, your prisons would never have been filled.” And even so late as 1832, the governor of Ohio (M’Arthur) said, in his message to the legislature, “Many of the convicts have been pardoned more frequently for the purpose of making room for the reception of others, and to save expense to the State, than for any just claim they may have had on executive clemency.” This is carrying economy to an excess that must necessarily end in augmenting the expenditure of



the State, if direct encouragement to crime have any tendency that way. It is hardly worth while to apply to the chief magistrate for a friend's pardon, when you can serve him as well by putting your hand into your neighbour's pocket. By borrowing the governor's best horse, an associate may draw down his clemency upon a convict, while drawing down his vengeance upon himself. The kindness will be repaid in due time.

The school-commissioners not having completed their half-yearly visit, I again accompanied them to the schools and renewed my former gratification. The beauty of the penmanship in the specimens exhibited; the justness of the pronunciation and spelling; and the order observable throughout the different establishments we saw, again struck my attention. At one of the "African" schools was an Albiness. She had the features and crisped hair peculiar to the negro race; but her skin and eyes were of a light color; and her hair had the appearance of wool both in whiteness and consistency. Her sight was very weak, and I was told her intellect was defective.

During our rounds, I was introduced to a very gentlemanly man, whose son I had met on my excursion to Singing. We conversed together a good deal about the schools, the interests of which he had exerted himself to promote both by his purse and his influence. His politeness led him a few days after-

wards to call upon me; and I was indebted to him for an agreeable acquaintance with some of his friends and for some very pleasant days which I afterwards passed at his country residence.

The last place we visited on this occasion was the Catholic Orphan Asylum, which contains about 100 children, and is under the superintendence of the Sœurs de la Charité, who are sent hither from their establishment at Emmetsburg in Maryland. Though sectarian, this seminary receives part of the school-fund, a deviation from the general principles of the constitution that is said not to be universally approved of. The Friends support their own schools.

There were thirteen public schools (there are probably more now) in New York; and in addition, is one belonging to the Mechanics' Association, which receives an allowance for twenty scholars from the public fund; two orphan asylums; and about six "African" schools.

The superintendant of the common schools reported in January, 1833; that there were, by the last estimate, 508,878 children in the State between the ages of five and sixteen; and that of these 494,959 were receiving instruction in the district schools. The annual revenue derived from the school fund was 93,755 dollars, the capital, which was progressively increasing, amounting, at the date of the report, to 1,735,175 dollars. With the addition of a state tax and local funds, the whole sum available

for the purposes of education, was 305,582 dollars. This, added to 358,320—raised voluntarily by the inhabitants of 761 towns or townships,—swells the aggregate to 663,902; the whole having been applied exclusively to the payment of the teachers, deducting about 60,000 for the city of New York. Thus, it appears, the State pays somewhat less than one-sixth of this part of the expenditure—comprehending not more than one-half of the annual cost of public instruction, which, including school-houses, books, fuel, &c., was estimated at about 1,126,482 dollars; less than one-eleventh of which was paid by the public treasury, its share having become less than it had ever previously been. These beneficial results, contrasted with what had been experienced in Connecticut, where the voluntary principle has been rendered inoperative by a large permanent school fund, afford matter for serious reflection on this important subject, and lead to a conclusion, the correctness of which is supported by a striking fact mentioned in the Report. In seven counties of the State, where the local funds amounted to about 12,795 dollars, the average contribution of each inhabitant was thirty-four cents six-tenths; while in seven counties, where there were no funds at all, the same average was thirty-seven cents one-tenth. The superintendant recommended that the teachers should receive better instruction and higher salaries. The former suggestion has since received the atten-

tion it deserves; it is to be hoped that the latter will not be neglected, and that the services of those who are as usefully and as honorably employed as any in public or private life, may be adequately remunerated. By the superintendant's report in 1834, there were 512,475 children, between the ages of five and sixteen, receiving instruction in the public schools, while the whole number of that age in the State amounted to 522,618. The teachers had received for the last year 677,429 dollars, in addition to 100,000 from the public fund. The annual expenditure for education, private as well as public, was supposed to be about one million of dollars. The principle alluded to in the former report, is still further confirmed as the system is developed in its details. "Experience in other States has proved," says the superintendant, "what has been abundantly confirmed by our own:—that too large a sum of public money, distributed among the common schools, has no salutary effect. Beyond a certain point, the voluntary contributions of the inhabitants decline in amount, with almost uniform regularity, as the contributions from a public fund increase. In almost every case in which a town possesses a local fund, the amount paid for teachers' wages, above the public money, is about as much less, compared with (that of) other towns having no local fund, as the amount received from that source." The State advances nineteen cents three-

fourths for each pupil per annum, while the remaining part of the cost (more than a dollar) is paid by the parents or friends. In Connecticut, a dollar has been drawn for the same purposes, from the school-fund, for each scholar;—and the result has been great remissness on the part of the teachers and superintendants, and the refusal from many districts to support, by the attendance of their children, a system so defective.

## CHAPTER II.

Trades' Unions.—State of Economical Science.—Good breeding.—Alms-house, Penitentiary, Hospital, &c.—President's visit to New York.—Aristocracy of the Skin.—Relative value of the two races.—Colonization Society.

I HAD not been long in New York before I found that the spirit of combination had crossed the Atlantic, and infected the minds of the mechanics with the chimerical hope of raising their wages. I was one day walking in the Broadway, when I met a numerous procession of journeymen carpenters, who had "turned out" for an advance of a shilling (about sixpence of our money) upon the eleven they were receiving for a day's work. They had been parading the streets for upwards of a fortnight, with the object of persuading others in the trade to join them. At a house, where they had collected in large numbers, some men were engaged in their work; and the parley that ensued between the two parties, appeared to be conducted without any attempt or apprehension of intimidation. Many of the

malcontents were well-dressed men; and all of them orderly and respectable in their appearance. Not far off, as if in contrast, lay an Irish laborer, contented with his wages and his whiskey, prostrate like his unfortunate country, and surrounded by commiserating friends;—not that it was not his own will and deed that had brought him down, or that those who were so busy about him, were either accessory to his debasement or interested in its continuance.

It is not very likely that the average rate of wages was lower among the carpenters than in other occupations, though a contrary inference might perhaps be drawn from the pecuniary assistance they had received from the workmen, who would naturally wish to secure themselves against an influx from without, by placing all of the same rank on a level with themselves. In a young and free country it will always be difficult to establish a permanent fund, or continue a steady course of opposition against a body, into which the *leaguers* are constantly passing; where change of place or of business is every day occurring; and where the object aimed at must vary with the population and the locality.

Each party appealed to the public through the press; and sundry hard names were given and returned, with a due observance of candor and courtesy. In the meantime the employers called in aid from the country; which was thus in a fair way of

harassing the enemy by a class of competitors who would derive improved skill from the contest. Whether the charge of injustice, or that of intimidation, were least unfounded; whether man or master triumphed, it would require some time to calm the bad passions that had been inflamed on both sides; and it was plain that the community could never recover, by the renewal of industry, what it was losing by its suspension. The struggle had already assumed a political aspect; a party in the state, whose tenure of office was bound up with the ignorance and antipathies of the people, were encouraging the errors to which they led, and the conflicting claims of capital and labor, had assumed, in the hands of a corrupt faction, the form of an irreconcilable war between patrician and plebeian.

We, who, till lately, had an assize of bread in London, and still have a legal rate of interest, have no right to find fault with the carpenters of New York for endeavoring to fix a minimum of what to them is the price of all the property they can lend, and of all the provisions they can command. In the North American States too, with one or two exceptions, those who are supposed to be better informed than journeymen mechanics, have prohibited interest for money beyond a certain amount; thus defeating the object in view, by raising the price in the exact proportion in which a breach of the enactment can be insured against its infringement. In all these



cases the relation between demand and supply has been equally overlooked. The value of each link in the chain between the producer and the consumer cannot be altered by any arbitrary tariff of interest, though its cohesion may for a time be disturbed by the artificial pressure upon any particular part—a pressure which the natural elasticity of its materials will ultimately remove or remedy. Why should not these matters be explained to the pupils of the public schools in a plain and simple style of language adapted to their comprehensions? A blunder in geography or arithmetic may expose an individual to inconvenience or ridicule, but could have no great influence on the welfare of society or his own; whereas both might be irreparably injured by an imperfect acquaintance with those laws which regulate the social relations and determine both the direction and the value of human labor. He who expects to find “perfect wisdom” in the western world will be not a little astonished to find the exploded errors of Europe passing current there as undoubted truths. A writer in the New York Gazette, who signs himself O. P. Q., accuses an unfortunate market-woman of the unpardonable crime of *forestalling*; while she is vindicated by an equally sagacious correspondent of the impartial journal, on the ground that her charges are *fair*. Thus the buyer is made the judge, as well as the accuser, of an imaginary offence; and the poor defendant is to be handed

over, without pity and without a trial, to the tender mercies of a mob, stimulated by ignorance, resentment, and self-interest. *Monopoly* attacks the poor carpenter with a double-barrel:—when he sells his labor, the “boss” robs him; when he buys his mutton, the butcher cheats him. Another writer in Niles’s Register, after announcing that a carpet, costing 2000 dollars, and an oil-cloth carpet costing the same sum, had been imported from England to decorate the President’s house at Washington, exclaims, with patriotic indignation: “If the royal palace at Windsor were furnished with French carpets,—what would the people of England say about it? But such a thing cannot happen in England, where the Queen will not receive the visits of British subjects unless clothed in British manufactures.” What a change in human affairs! The folly of a crowned head in Europe, is quoted as wisdom in America!—While we are making treaties and threatening wars to extend our foreign trade, we must not take what alone foreigners have to give us in return!—we must not carry about our persons the proofs of our mercantile enterprise and commercial prosperity! Let us sell to every one, and buy of no one! Let us get as little as we can for our labor; and bribe other nations to consume the fruits of our industry!

If a stranger should imagine these to be the solitary opinions of individuals, let him peruse the

following law, passed by the proper authorities of the good city of Boston, in the year of enlightenment 1813: "It is ordered, that no person who shall be convicted of either of the offences of *forestalling*, *regrating*, or *engrossing*, or any species of fraudulent dealing in the market, shall be permitted to use or hire a stall, or have and occupy any stand in either of the public markets of the town, or in any of the streets leading thereto, for the purpose of offering for sale any article of provisions, usually sold in market, for the term of one year from and after such conviction." The penalty for disobedience to be not exceeding five dollars, nor less than two. It is also ordered, by the same law, "That no person, *not offering for sale the produce of his own farm*, shall be permitted to occupy that part of the ancient market, called Dock Square," under penalty of a sum from five to two dollars for every hour during which the prohibited offence is continued.

I had but few acquaintances among what may be called the refined classes of society in New York. From the little I saw, however, I was led to conclude that the manners that prevailed in those circles, differed no further from those in the corresponding rank among ourselves, than what might be explained by a reference to habits that give a different value in the eyes of each to the connection between essentials and externals. There is a natural good breeding about an American gentleman that places

you at once in a position most congenial to your feelings, and points out to you the exact limits between social freedom and vulgar familiarity. He has, in general, too much respect for himself to treat you with hauteur;—to mortify you by an assumption of superiority, or embarrass a stranger by a display of those conventional forms, which mediocrity has imposed upon the spirit of exclusiveness to shelter its insignificance and protect its privileges. These remarks are suggested by what occurred on a visit I paid to a family whom I had engaged myself to accompany to Hoboken, a favorite resort, on the New Jersey side of the river, to the cockneys of New York, as well as to strangers. They were staying at the Clinton Hotel, which, like the other houses of that kind, is divided into two portions, with separate entrances, one of which is appropriated to private families. I found them just sitting down to dinner; and the reception I met with was such as to shew me that I had not intruded on an occasion, which, with us, too often assumes, on the arrival of a stranger, an appearance of ceremony and constraint. I could not but contrast the manner in which my declining to partake of their meal was received, with the pressing importunities I should, most likely, have been “*bored*” with in my own country. No one was “*put out*” or “*hurt*” because a sick man would not make himself ill to please others. Often have I suffered severely in England

from compliance with entreaties, which were so urged, as to carry with them an evident disposition to find cause for displeasure and perhaps offence in a refusal. There were two young ladies of our party with as fair a claim—because they had no pretension—to the title of gentlewomen, as any of any country, whatever meaning indicative of admiration and distinction may be affixed to the appellation. Hoboken presented an enchanting scene; and the family party to which I had been admitted was neither insensible to its beauties, nor the least interesting of the different groups that gave animation to its attractions.

In the early part of June, having been honored with an official invitation from the Common Council to attend the Governor on a visit to Blackwell's Island, I was punctual to my appointment at the city hall, whence the procession set out at 10 A.M. In our way we went to the almshouse. The establishment contained about 1900 inmates, of whom 1500 were paupers, and the rest prisoners, including 60 untried. None of the latter were classified, except that the sexes were separated.

In both divisions, the work of demoralization was going on in a way that demanded something stronger than the regret, and the wish for a remedy, with which those who might have done something for its removal by remonstrance or direct influence, had hitherto contented themselves. The case of the

untried was particularly cruel and unjust.—For them, neither youth nor innocence afforded any security against corruption, or any shelter against scenes and language which must shock and disgust where they fail to debase and vitiate.

The new-comers are regaled with what is called a *blanketing*.—When left alone with the other prisoners, who are huddled together without regard to difference of age or of crime, they are suddenly surrounded by the most abandoned and daring, covered with a blanket, and robbed of every thing they may have about them of value. After having thus “crossed the line,” they are admitted to the privileges of the place.

The inspectors reported to the Legislature in 1833, that “the convicts were confined in one room, or on different galleries, but within the same general inclosure. No attempt had ever been made to establish a system of discipline among them;—the old, the young,” (and to cap the climax of iniquity,) “*all colors and conditions* were indiscriminately mixed together.” A very large proportion both of the prisoners and of the paupers consisted of foreigners, many of whom find the comforts and conveniences of the place more to their taste, than a precarious and laborious life out of its walls. Complaints were made by the officers of the establishment of the increasing tendency in this system to encourage pauperism among a mixed population, containing so

many improvident and intemperate. In addition to those who are provided for in the almshouse, there are generally 4000 families of out-door paupers, who receive relief from the corporation of the city.

From Bellevue (by which name the almshouse is known) the party proceeded to Blackwell's Island, where the city has a large penitentiary for the reception of misdemeanants and petty offenders, who are condemned to imprisonment for short periods—from a few weeks to twelve months. The plan is much the same as that at Singing prison, except that the situation has enabled the projectors to erect a more airy and spacious building in proportion to the number of its inmates, of whom there was then sufficient accommodation for 240, and another wing was in progress, of equal dimensions.

From the nature of the visit, little opportunity was given to make enquiries, or to observe more than the general appearance of the establishment, which was admirably adapted to its object. The island on which it is built is small, and abounds in beautiful scenery,—presenting points of view towards the opposite shores on every side that were truly enchanting. It is a spot that impresses the mind with peculiar associations;—favored as it is by Nature and sullied by man, whose vices and crimes are brought into painful contrast with all that she has employed to delight and embellish it. Our day's excursion ended as such jaunts generally do on both

sides of the Atlantic, with an excellent dinner, which was laid out with considerable taste under an arbor prepared for the purpose. The whole party were in high spirits, and fun and frolic were not wanting. A more merry set of people, "within the limits of becoming mirth, I never spent an hour's chat withal."

On the 10th of June, Dr. Alexander Hosack took me with him to see the New York Hospital, situated in the Broadway, on the highest ground in the city. Every part of the establishment was remarkable for cleanliness and comfort. The patients had a much more cheerful and contented expression of countenance than is generally seen in the sick room of a private house. This must strike every visitor to institutions of this kind; it is probably owing to the self-restraint which the presence of others equally afflicted brings into action. As we avoid or pursue any object, not because it refuses or promises pleasurable sensation, but because we cannot bear the uneasiness that its presence or absence creates in our minds, it may truly be said that we are as much indebted to pain for the virtue we possess, as for the good we obtain or the ill we escape. The best qualities of the heart, that had lain dormant in health, are elicited in sickness; and he who had forgotten others to think of his own enjoyments, is taught to think of others that he may forget his own sufferings. Health of mind springs from disease of



body. We may almost say with Joannes Meursius :—

Nemo rectè, præter ægrotum, valet :  
Morbusque vitæ sanitas certissima est.

There is an excellent garden, with a court for exercise, attached to the building. There are cows kept on the premises, to supply the inmates who require it with milk. This little indulgence, with a generous diet, when suited to the case, is found conducive to the restoration of health in a degree which shortens the term of residence, and is ultimately beneficial on the score of economy. On the 31st of December, 1832, there were but 182 patients in the house, as there is an honorable reluctance, or perhaps it is considered somewhat degrading, to enter the walls of a charitable institution, or receive relief in the shape of alms. Some of the beds were unoccupied. Of 1983 patients admitted the preceding year, 808 were foreigners. We afterwards visited the Ophthalmic Infirmary and one of the Dispensaries—there are two. All these are supported by voluntary contributions, and are highly creditable to the city.

A few days after, an official visit was made by the recorder and the other trustees to an establishment for decayed seamen, called the “Sailor’s Snug Harbor,” on Staten Island. It was founded, about

thirty years ago, by a man of the name of Randall, who had been a mariner, and who left by will an estate in New York, now worth 20,000 dollars a-year, to build an asylum for those whose career has been marked by the struggles of his early life without sharing any of the good fortune that attended its close. As the city extends and rents rise, the income arising from this bequest will be very large, and, added to the legacies and donations which may be expected from future benefactors, will suffice for the comfortable maintenance of many who have served under the *stripes*\* of an ungrateful mistress. The estate was claimed, as heir-at-law, by the Bishop of Nova Scotia (Inglis); but the decision was in favor of the trust. The trial was rendered memorable by the death of Emmet, the Irish refugee. He was counsel for the charity, and was seized, during the proceedings, with the illness which shortly afterwards terminated his existence, to the great and lasting regret of all who knew him.

The situation for the building, which was nearly completed, has been well selected, both for the salubrity of the air and the fine prospect it commands. There are about 130 or 140 acres of land attached to it. Sailors, whose complexion is not of the or-

\* These are not the stripes alluded to by Mr. Canning, when he sneered at the "bit of bunting." Flogging is not abolished in the American navy. The captains of the packet-ships have the power of enforcing discipline by blows.

thodox color, however meritorious their conduct, or reduced their circumstances, find no "Snug Harbour" here.

The city was now all bustle and anxiety, in expectation of a visit from the President of the United States, who was to arrive on the 12th from Philadelphia. The corporation had engaged apartments for him at the American Hotel; and the ladies seemed to be agreed that they were fitted up with great taste, and in a style of splendor not unworthy of a guest of the richest city of the Union; and no doubt "Old Hickory" slept as comfortably in the bed provided for him as if he had been master of the Tuilleries, or of Windsor Castle. Though there were many visitors on the occasion of throwing open the rooms to the public gaze, there was no crowding or confusion; for as every one was admitted, no one went to obtain an indulgence or exercise a privilege. Between three and four in the afternoon the President arrived in the steamboat, with his attendants. An immense multitude, that covered every accessible spot on land or water, greeted his arrival at the battery with such demonstrations of rejoicing, as led me to think that he must be extremely popular, or the people extremely fond of receiving homage from the work of their own hands. From the open carriage of an American gentleman, at whose house I had dined, I

had a good view of "the great man," as he passed on horseback along the Broadway, accompanied by the governor of the State, the civic authorities, the militia, &c. He was dressed in a plain suit of black; and, as he passed through the dense mass of spectators, and bowed most assiduously to the cheers and wavings of flags and handkerchiefs, that caught his ears and his eyes on all sides—from the open pavement, the door-ways, the windows, and the roofs of the houses,—his gray hair and elevated forehead presented the picture of a fine old man, more remarkable for a muscular frame and an inflexible countenance than for dignified deportment or graceful manners. He remained some little time in the city to receive and pay the accustomed courtesies, and then proceeded to the eastward, to grasp the hands and gladden the hearts of the Yankees. Whether he was overcome by the fatigues of his excursion, or some political embarrassment arrested his progress, he cut short his journey after he had quitted Boston, and abruptly returned to Washington.

Though I had heard much, before I left England, about the aristocracy of the skin, which so disgracefully distinguishes the new from the old world, I was not prepared to find that America had borrowed from Asia her degrading system of castes, and that the western world was divided into Brahmins and Pariahs. That a people, not otherwise inferior to the

rest of mankind in justice, religion, or kind-heartedness, should condemn nearly one-fifth of their fellow citizens, without pity, without remorse, and without a trial, to contempt and obloquy, for no reason but that of the strongest, and no crime but that of color, is one of those anomalies, which the history of every age and country—to the shame of human nature—exhibits, but which the history of no age and of no country exhibits in more preposterous contradiction to the spirit of the times, the advancement of intelligence, and the spread of Christianity. Alarmed at the increasing numbers of this insulted race, and foreseeing, with the instinctive acuteness of cruelty, in their advancing intelligence, a demand for social rights and the efforts of commercial competition, the favored majority were straining every nerve to drive them out of the country by contumelious treatment or deceptive promises. Emigration was offered, as the better part of that alternative which alone remained to national injustice—of expatriating them, as likely to become dangerous or troublesome, or of admitting them to the same privileges with the native-born or naturalized whites. They were told that they were to be sent to their native country, as if that alone were not our native country where we were born; where the remains of those nearest and dearest to us rest; and where every inanimate object bears upon it the indelible impress of our earliest associations and fondest affections. In-

terested in the fortunes of a people to whom no nation owes a heavier debt, for its crimes and its cruelties, than our own, and who seem destined by the mysterious orderings of Providence, to enjoy and impart the blessings of civilization in the land of their servitude, I determined to investigate their present condition, and ascertain how far they were likely to accept the proffered bounty of the Colonization Society. With this view I called, at the suggestion of a person to whom he was well known, upon the Rev. Peter Williams—a minister of the Protestant Episcopal church, into which he was ordained by Bishop Hobart. His father, who had been a slave, kept a tobacconist's shop after his emancipation, and had, as his first servant, the son of his former master—a double reverse of fortune, that illustrates the doctrine of compensation in a very striking manner.

I found Mr. Williams a very intelligent man, of pleasing and gentlemanly manners, and was much gratified with the information he gave me relative to the situation and prospects of a people, who, like the Jews, have escaped from bondage, to suffer from calumny. It was his opinion that they were chiefly petty offences, for which the blacks, who are found in such numbers in the prisons and penitentiaries, have been committed,—offences that are often overlooked in the whites, who have to contend neither against the prejudice which disposes to conviction,

nor against the difficulty of obtaining evidence to character. The prejudice against them was less prevalent, he thought, in the rural districts than in the cities and towns; and stronger among the wealthy than the less fortunate portions of society. This opinion was verified by subsequent observation, and I discovered, contrary to what might have been reasonably expected, that the feeling, however suppressed or disguised, was more bitter in the women than in the men—in the clergy than in the laity—and in the north than in the south. The father of Mr. Williams performed, while a slave, an action so noble and disinterested, that it ought to be recorded. During the revolutionary war, he rescued the Rev. Mr. Chapman—a Presbyterian minister of New Jersey—from the enemy, who were in search of him as one of the most active promoters of the rebellion. An English officer, who suspected that he knew the place of Chapman's retreat, threatened his life, and then offered him his purse, to betray him. But neither the menace nor the gold had any influence upon his resolution; he resisted both, to preserve a man who had no claim upon his benevolence but the danger he was in. The son is worthy of the parent, and is respected by all in spite of his lineage. White clergymen, and even bishops, are sometimes seen in his pulpit,—not but what they resume, on quitting the colored congregation, the sandals they had left at the door, or

are not again “conformed” to the world because they have been thus “transformed” by Christian charity. The teachers of the same religion ought not surely to be considered as unfit associates for one another; nor should he, who has given to another authority to preach the gospel, refuse to secure him against insult by the proper employment of that influence which his high calling gives him over his own flock. It is no answer to these remarks to assert that the prejudices of the country are too strong and too widely diffused to be combated by individual efforts, and that foreigners have no right to interfere. If the existence of a custom is to be its justification, and every nation is to be permitted to do what seems right in its own eyes, infanticide in China and self-immolation in Hindostan are natural and lawful; every vice, however odious, and every crime, however hideous, are to be tolerated in those communities that commit them; and no principles, by which human actions and sentiments are to be regulated, can ever be discovered.

The brutal indifference to human virtue and happiness that accompanies this antipathy is inconceivable. There was an article in the *American Quarterly Review*, about this time, on the subject of the *Colonization Society*. It abounded in that sort of hypothetical reasoning, gratuitous assumption, and arbitrary analogies which generally characterise the



advocacy of a bad cause. The vulgar fallacy of contrasting theory with experience was thrust forward, as if the same facts could be valuable when separated, and worthless in conjunction; or the principle, which is found in all, of less consequence than the accessories with which each is casually connected. But the badness of the logic is lost in the atrocity of a suggestion, which involves so much inhumanity in the expedient recommended, and so much demoralization in the results, that we are at a loss to decide which most deserves our reprobation—the writer of such an article, or the people to whom it is addressed. “If Congress,” says the Reviewer, “had, from 1790, been empowered to make a very moderate annual appropriation for the purchase of the *female infants* of slaves, and taken no other measures; slavery would be (would have been) now little more than a name, and, twenty years hence, all but extinct.” This measure has several times been urged upon the planters by Niles, in his Register. “We calculated,”—such are his words so late as Sept. 1834,—“we calculated, some years ago, that the removal annually of twelve or thirteen thousand young colored females from the United States, would check the progress of the *whole* colored population; and suppose that, if slavery is ever abolished in this country, unless by acts of lawful violence, it must be brought about by gradual, and moderate, and *kind* removals of young females—from which *no*

*great inconvenience* to either party would result. Steadiness in the policy suggested would, in a few years, very materially reduce the comparative number of the colored population." This was said on the occasion of our sending out young women to Australia. Niles must have known, or ought to have known, why they were sent. The object was not, as he would have it be believed, to check population at home. He would not, perhaps, regret to see the same vices which called for this importation into New Holland, resulting from the projected exportation from North America. The more degraded the one race, the greater relative importance of the other—in their own eyes. It is from Spanish barbarity that this scheme appears to have been borrowed. "It was the policy of sugar-planters," says Abbott, in his Letters on Cuba, "to purchase males alone; and they were not allowed wives off of the estate; therefore they were wholly denied a privilege, even more eagerly coveted by blacks than whites, and were condemned to monkish celibacy—or that which was very much worse. A policy so barbarous has been abandoned by most; but it is retained by some, and even by coffee-planters; where the labor is comparatively light, either excluding females from the estate, or locking up the sexes in separate buildings." Population is discouraged in Cuba, because it is cheaper to buy than to rear slaves, on the same principle that a farmer purchases, instead

of breeding, his horses. The ordinary profits of stock can only be made by conforming to the system which competition introduces and self-defence is obliged to adopt. If man, by becoming property, could, by any possibility, be secured against the contingencies to which property is exposed, he would no longer be a slave.

In 1829 there were, on the island, but five female blacks to nine males of the same race; while the proportion among the sexes in the white population was as seven to eight. Between 1811 and 1825, according to a statistical account published at the Havaña in 1829 by a Commission appointed by the local government, 185,000 blacks had been imported from Africa; yet there were no more than 286,942 in the year 1827, while in 1817 there had been 225,268. Some deduction must be made from the destruction thus implied, on account of the contraband trade carried on between the island and the Slave States of the continent. Still the black or mixed races added to their numbers more rapidly than the other, from 1775 to 1827. The whites had increased 224 per cent. during that period, the free colored population 246, and the slaves 547.

To return to the Review, a more extended notice of which may be excused as the able advocate of an association, which owes its origin to a combination of circumstances so little understood in Europe, that no one would believe it possible for a whole nation

to invoke the aid and admiration of Humanity for a work of consummate duplicity and wickedness. The writer in question is, however, consistent:—he approves of teaching religion to the slaves by oral communication alone, and speaks with complacency of the law recently enacted in Georgia, that no colored person shall engage in preaching or exhortation or as a class reader. The black, it is said, is naturally inferior to the white: what if the former had been the sculptor? Admitting the truth of this position, what right does the distinction give to the latter?—It was his pride that suggested the hypothesis; and his avarice that connected the premises with the conclusion. The logic is worthy of the morality. He who is accustomed to see or to infer benevolent design in everything around him, will not doubt that the diversities of form and complexion, which distinguish the various tribes of men, have the accommodation of the species for their object, as they have the divine goodness for their Author. He would laugh at the folly, if he were not indignant at the impiety, which would make an assumed superiority of mind a reason for employing the physical powers of the victim for its own purposes; and would readily acknowledge, that, if authority were to change hands, the justification of its exercise might, by parity of reasoning, be founded on the same distinction—since the African would claim a property in European intellect on the plea of a more

perfect bodily organization. How can it be said, with any semblance of truth, that the free blacks quit the country without constraint or coercion, since their residence in all the States is made the source of unceasing annoyance to them; and, in some of them, is no longer tolerated? "The laws of Maryland,"\* says the Reviewer, "provide that they are to be removed with their free consent; and, if they refuse to emigrate, they are required to leave the State."—"The supporters of the scheme (of deportation) believe," he adds, "that slavery is a moral and a political evil:—but, being a constitutional and legitimate system here, [we know too well in Europe what legitimate means,] they have neither inclination nor interest, nor ability to disturb it." Singular consistency between conviction and volition; that couples the acknowledgement of an iniquity with an indifference to its removal! The African Repository has long used the same sort of language. Many members of the Society have a direct interest in the continuance of this "*legitimate*" system; as they rear human beings like cattle, for the market, the limits of which are extended by this "*scheme*." A

\* This State has appropriated 200,000 dollars in aid of African colonization. This grant will have the same effect as our bounties on colonial produce. The free-black is the refined sugar; the slave is the raw produce: and the money taken from the people goes, in both cases, into the pockets of the planter.

new channel is thus opened for the stream, the profitable springs of which are in their hands. Avarice is purified by its alliance with Benevolence; and the worship of God and Mammon is found to be both practicable and lucrative.

“The Society maintains that no slave ought to receive his liberty, except on condition of being excluded, not merely from the State, which sets him loose, but from the whole country;” i. e. punishment is to fall, not upon the perpetrators, but the victims of this “moral evil”; misfortune and crime are to meet with the same fate; and the justice of the white man is to make even Liberty a curse. We are told, in every publication that issues from this Society, in every speech that is addressed by its advocates to an applauding public, that these unfortunate beings are to be expatriated, because they are “an ignorant, indolent, and depraved population.” Yet a clergyman in Virginia, while offering to emancipate seventeen of these “degraded” creatures, declared in a letter written by him in 1828, that they were “as desirable a parcel for their integrity and industry as any man owned,” and the Reviewer himself says—“no capital crime has been committed (in Liberia) since its commencement; and very few (he believes) of any description.” The same men, we are called upon to believe, are rogues in America and honest men in Africa; depravity becomes virtue by crossing the Atlantic; and the

rubbish and refuse of the mother country prove a boon and a blessing to her colony. The parent and child are not more completely separated by the waters of the Atlantic than by the natural sympathy of the one with every thing that bears the human form, and the superstitious repugnance which the other has imbibed, from early infancy, against one-fifth of those who were born on the same soil with himself. What right has any one to say, "*homo sum,*" who cannot add—*nihil humani à me alienum puto*"? He cannot "know himself a man," till he has been taught "what others are to feel."

In England, a sable complexion is a passport, almost everywhere, to kindness and liberality. In that part of America, which "claims kindred" with her sons, it is viewed with aversion or repelled with scorn. The studied separation in the first periods of life;—the universal antipathy during all that succeed;—the rigorous exclusion from the courtesies and accomplishments of social life;—and, above all, the risk of losing caste attached to any deviation from what despotic custom has marked with her inexorable "*tabu*"—form a barrier to a more liberal and humane intercourse, which none but the most generous or the most vile among the whites can break through.

## CHAPTER III.

Second Visit to Singing.—Prison Discipline.—Strike for Wages.—Second Visit to House of Refuge.—Servants.—Domestic Manners.—National Character.—Machinery—Fourth of July.—Corporation Dinner.—Episcopal Minister of Afro-American Church.—Liberia.—Protest of Colored People against Expatriation.—New Jersey.—Canal.

ON the 19th of June, I went with the King's Commissioner, who had just returned from a fatiguing journey to the west, to Singing penitentiary. Dr. Leiber, a naturalized German, who was there at the same time, seemed much surprised that the black convicts should make good mechanics. In any other part of the world, I should have been equally surprised at the Doctor's remark—but he had been some years in America, and probably knew no more of these people than what the whites had told him; assertions that foreigners are too apt to believe without further inquiry. The agent, however, who is a better judge, told me that they evinced as much



industry and intelligence as the other convicts, and more docility. This officer appeared to possess despotic power over his subjects; the strength of the prerogative and the severity of the punishment connected with its exercise being in a direct ratio with the facility of escape and the necessity of enforcing silence. The “*cat*,” by its immediate and irresponsible application may succeed in securing the strict observance of discipline; but it is of very equivocal policy, and opens the door to all sorts of abuses. It is not unfair to judge of a system, the details of which are somewhat studiously concealed, from the principles it involves and the tendencies it creates. Messrs. Tocqueville and Beaumont, whose report to the French government has not been long published, were not permitted to converse unrestrictedly with the convicts at Singsing, as they were at the Philadelphia penitentiary. Nor was Mr. Crawford more fortunate. It is extremely difficult therefore to form a correct estimate of the dispositions with which the prisoners quit their place of confinement; whether the dread of corporal castigation has greater effect in deterring from crime, than the angry feelings it has left on the mind to prompt its commission, or weaken the resistance to temptation. One strong objection attaches to the system. Physical pain appeals to the baser passions and admits of few modifications; moral discipline has a higher aim, and adapts itself to the character of the indivi-

dual. The heart that is untouched by the one may be hardened by the other.

The dispute between the journeymen and master carpenters terminated in an advance of wages to the better class of workmen. If the law, which regulates the price of labor, was not clearly understood by those engaged in this quarrel, it should be observed, that "the best instructors of the public" have done little to enlighten them on this important question. "The theory of the wages of labor, upon which the modern school of British political economists have thrown so much obscurity by their extravagant and wholly baseless imaginations is," says a writer in the *North American Review* for June, 1831, "extremely simple. The wages of labor are its products. Whatever the laborer is *able to produce* in a given period, excepting so far as the government may interfere, and take away part of it, is the amount of *his wages for that period, &c.* Hence the rate of wages varies in different countries according to the intelligence, activity, and moral habits of their respective inhabitants." Simple enough! By "products of labor" is probably meant what the laborer earns. The proposition is either false or identical—what follows is still more absurd. The rate of wages is said to be twice as high in America as in Europe, because the laborer can do twice as much work. It is singular while a man can draw upon the imagination for his facts, he should forget that the judg-

ment will dishonor the inference;—that there should be as little logic in the conclusion as there is truth in the premises.

This writer is an enemy to free trade; and thinks that the division of labor, which is found to be so profitable to individuals, will be ruinous to nations. Strange that the loss of physical power should be an evil in detail and a good in the aggregate; that societies should stand aloof from one another while the component parts of each co-operate; and men be called upon to act in accordance with those laws of nature, which communities are to violate! Diversities of soil and climate, it seems, are not entitled to the same regard as difference of talent and industry: and the human family is to be separated by the sympathies which unite its respective branches. It is some consolation, however, to find that political economy is destined to find the source of its pure streams in the new world. For this better prospect we are indebted to the *Southern Review*, by which we are comforted with the assurance that “the science has by no means attained to perfection. In Adam Smith’s own words, ‘this is reserved for the nineteenth century’—and, did it not,” says the modest writer, “seem like gasconade, we would gladly add, for our country.” Mr. Grimké has less hesitation in doing justice to that country. “In every department of knowledge, whether theoretical, or

practical, where thinking and reasoning are the means and the criterion of excellence, our country must, if there be truth and power in the principles of the reformation, surpass every people that ever existed."—Address on the Anniversary of the Philosophical Society of South Carolina.

On a second visit to the House of Refuge, the management of which is well worthy of more frequent study, I had a closer view of the establishment, which contained 183 boys and 38 girls, completely separated from each other. When assembled in the chapel, the gallery, in which the latter sit, prevents them from seeing each other. The chaplain, who is resident, has the charge of the schools and the library. Though eight hours each day are allotted to labor, it is found that the children make nearly, if not quite, as much progress in education as those who are instructed in common schools. The boys are employed in making brushes, brass nails, cabinet-work, in the manufacture of seats for chairs and settees, and whatever is most suitable to their condition. The girls attend to the cooking, the washing, and other departments of domestic industry. They were all in a good state of health,—not one of either sex being in the infirmary. This may be attributed to the great attention paid throughout to cleanliness, exercise, and constant occupation. At the Orphan Asylum I was informed by a

lady, who had been for many years well acquainted with the details of that establishment, that there had been for forty-four years, on an average number of 100 inmates, but forty-four deaths. Among the juvenile offenders at the Refuge were twelve colored boys; another building was about to be erected, or that occupied by the girls, on the completion of new arrangements, was to be appropriated for their use. At present both classes were compelled to work together, to the great horror of the white young gentlemen, who were not contented that the strictest barrier should be placed between them and the objects of their scorn on every practicable occasion, whether marching in military order to or from morning and evening service, partaking of meals, or engaged in any way that admitted of separation. No small share of the disgrace and degradation connected with a forced residence within the walls seemed to result from the necessity of this hated association. Comment upon such folly and wickedness is needless—one instance of the baneful influence thus exercised over the tender minds of youth will suffice. In the annual report for 1827, it is stated, that a boy, who had been put out as an apprentice by the Society, had absconded, being “unwilling to eat with the blacks, while the laborers sat at the table with his master.” The good effects of this institution have been seen in the diminution of juvenile crime. “I find no difficulty now,” said

the district attorney some years back to the managers, "in checking the young offenders. Before the establishment of the House of Refuge, a lad of fourteen or fifteen years of age might have been arrested and tried four or five times for petty thefts; and it was hardly ever that a petty jury would convict. They would rather that the culprit, acknowledged to be guilty, should be discharged altogether, than be confined in the prisons of the State or county." This reluctance, which was shared by parents and prosecutors and magistrates, to expose young criminals to demoralization, has now ceased to give encouragement, by giving impunity, to minor offences; and this asylum, which affords the best answer to conscientious scruples by promising reformation, has secured that co-operation of the public in enforcing punishment without which the best contrived enactments are of no avail.

Previously to the act by which, about ten years ago, this benevolent association was incorporated, more than 500 juvenile offenders were committed in the city for crime or vagrancy. A committee of the Senate reported, that "since the House of Refuge was opened, (in January, 1825,) the number of children who had been brought to the bar of the criminal courts in New York, had lessened in the proportion of four to one." Some idea may be formed of the excellent discipline observed, by the simple circumstance of the fruit and flowers having, with few ex-

ceptions, been secure from depredation, although the garden, which abounds with peaches and cherries, and apples and grapes, in their proper season, is easily accessible. It is by mild, and not by severe measures, that this spirit of forbearance has been obtained;—the superintendant, whom the children look up to as a father, appeared to feel a parental interest in their welfare. They are all classified according to merit, and distinguished by badges. There are four classes, the first of which entitles the possessor to certain indulgences and privileges; the second is neither good nor bad; the third carries with it some abridgment in the hours of play; and the fourth subjects the offender to additional deprivation; and, if he does not work his way out of it before the expiration of the second week, he is confined after evening service on Sunday. It would perhaps be better if he were excluded from the service itself, to attend which ought always to be considered as a favor and not as a matter of discipline or of punishment. The day begins and concludes with prayer; and divine service is performed twice on the Sunday.

The following Sunday I went to the chapel,—great attention and decorum were observed during the service. There were two young men present, who had been confined in the establishment. One of them, who was in the marine, had not long before sent home 180 dollars to his mother out of his savings. While the boys were at dinner,

he went round to speak to those with whom he was acquainted. These little incidents—and such are not uncommon—must have a good effect on the minds of all who witness them. The working day is supposed to commence at one o'clock, P.M., and all that remains between this hour and twelve at noon the next day, after the allotted task is finished, belongs to the child, as the reward of industry, to be employed in reading or recreation.

Among the general regulations is one which every parent ought to see most strictly observed in his own house, if he would guard the minds of his children from the distressing habit of connecting danger or deprivation with darkness. “No delinquent of any description shall, on any account whatever, be confined in any apartment under ground, or where there is not sufficient light or ventilation.”

The experience of this institution goes far to confirm the opinion that ignorance is one of the chief causes of crime. Few who are admitted are able to read; and with those, the acquirement is almost entirely mechanical. Of the girls, there was scarcely one who, on her first arrival, “could sew even well enough to make an apron.” Great care, in putting out apprentices, is taken that the persons with whom they are placed are respectable;—that the treatment is in every respect proper, and their own conduct satisfactory. These offices, involving no small share of caution and discern-



ment in the discovery of real character, are devolved on an indenturing committee, consisting of three persons. There are always more applications than the institution can supply. It is found that the sea service, which might appear the least eligible for lads, affords the best chance for their good behavior. Many of them who had been shipped as sailors on sea-whaling voyages, had turned out well. More than half of those committed in 1831 were foreigners—of 125, sixty-one only were of American parentage; of the others, thirty-two were Irish, fifteen English, two German, and eight French. In a preceding year, ninety-three out of 159 were of European parents. There were 144 inmates in 1830; of these eighty-four were of foreign extraction—forty-one being Irish and twenty-three English. An acting committee, consisting of seven, and chosen by and from the Board of Managers, meet at least once every month at the House. They appoint a sub-committee of two to visit it weekly. From each, one member retires at the end of the month, and another is appointed. Similar arrangements are made for the management of the female department, and the whole is thus under the immediate care and control of those whose personal vigilance is most likely to protect their pecuniary contributions from abuse or misapplication.

Bullock, when travelling in Mexico, observed that the English nation was little esteemed there.

The people of that country, accustomed to see convicts and persons of bad character employed in their factories, imagined that our "operatives" were of the same class; and, as we are a manufacturing nation, they looked upon us as an inferior race. A similar association of ideas seems to have brought domestic service into disrepute with the North Americans. Most of the servants are free blacks in the Eastern and middle states; and as they labor from no fault of their own, under the most unfavorable imputations, it is natural enough that great unwillingness should be felt to engage in an occupation which carries a certain degree of stigma with it. Hence it will be found, that the servants in New York are generally Irish or Germans, if not colored persons. This, added to the high rate of wages in other employments, and the facility of settling in life, will account for the general complaint of the difficulty which is felt in getting servants who will stay—a complaint by no means reasonable, since part of the evil is created by the very persons who complain, and the remainder is counterbalanced by the prosperous condition in which such a state of things places the great body of the community. That the blacks are as good servants as the whites, is evident from the advertisements that appear continually in the papers for colored cooks, colored coachmen, colored footmen, &c.

Slaves are called *servants* by the same sort of

euphemism that softens a *lie* into a *fib*. This is the reason,—and not from any notions of republican equality, that a man, who works for another, calls himself a “*help*,” and his employer his “*boss*.”\* In a little dramatic piece, performed in 1789 at New York, under the title of “The Contrast,” is a dialogue between two of the “*valetaille*”, Jessamy and Jonathan.

*Jess.* “Votre très-humble serviteur, Monsieur! I understand Colonel Manly, the Yankee officer, has the honor of your services.”—*Jon.* “Sir?”—*Jess.* “I say, Sir! I understand that Colonel Manly has the honor of having you for a servant.”—*Jon.* “Servant! Sir. Do you take me for a *neger*?—I am Colonel Manly’s waiter.”

It is a mistake to suppose that the colored people are servants because they are degraded. It is true

\* The slaves call their owner “*boss*.” Etymology, like amber, has embalmed the monster slavery, *implicuit succina gutta feram*. There is a word which, by its singular use in the north, and its absence in the south, marks the distinction between the two great sections of the Union. A water-fall, even in a state of nature, is called a *privilege*,—because the conflicting claims of the early settlers for such valuable property were settled by legislative grants of exclusive possession. In the slave states, where forced labor on a fertile soil relaxed the industry, and paralysed the enterprise of the whites, little attention was paid to mechanical power—the term is hardly ever used in this sense in Virginia. I met with no one there who had ever known it to be so employed.

that many of them are servants, and too true that all of them are degraded in public opinion : but the former is no more a punishment than the latter a crime. The fact is, they are generally to be found in menial employments, because there are few, and hardly any, other open to them. No doubt such occupations are distasteful to the narrow-minded whites; but they are of great benefit to the others, who are really elevated by what is intended to lower them. As they come into closer contact with the more refined classes of society, and are obliged to pay more attention to external appearance, they acquire a better manner, and are more neatly dressed than the whites of the same rank. Hence it is, that to an unprejudiced eye a manifest superiority, in favor of this despised race, is found among what are called the lower classes. It is rarely that an Englishman converses much with these people. Let him make the experiment, and he will acknowledge the truth of these observations.

Black servants are very convenient scape-goats for scape-graces. At a house where I lodged in New York, one of the master's numerous sons, (he had a family of eleven children,) had amused himself with tying a piece of wood by a string to a cat's tail. I saw the culprit making the best of his way up stairs, on hearing the parental objurgation increasing in loudness as the speaker approached. It was agreed, however, by all present, that the black boy had done it. I

could see clearly that the collusion was not confined to the youngsters. The accused, when I cross-questioned him afterwards, assured me that it was not he who had committed the offence; and that he was frequently blamed or punished, though equally innocent. His word would never be taken against that of a white boy. The helot's denial of the truth must leave a salutary impression in its favor among these young Spartans!

In many respects the manners and customs in New York are rather French than English; and one is reminded by the dress and furniture, more of Paris than of London. It is usual to dine early, and visit in the evening, when there is less ceremony and display than in the morning, as we term it, at which time calls are not always welcome or willingly paid. The ladies do the honors of the house well; and every one is "at home". There are few places, indeed, where a stranger is less likely to be embarrassed; and, if any thing displeases him, it must be his own fault. A Londoner—and still more a Parisian—on his first arrival at this Queen of Transatlantic cities, is not a little surprised at the number of well-dressed young women he meets along the Broadway, without a chaperon or a servant. In no European city of equal population would the fair sex be permitted or inclined to enjoy such liberty as the state of public morals, and their own virtues, have secured to the ladies of New York. The lapse

of a few years, however, to judge from what is already visible, will limit the promenade within the hours of day-light.

Two features struck me forcibly in the domestic character:—and, I presume, the remark has a wider application. The one is, that the different members of the family are firmly united together; the other, that they are at peace with the rest of society—I mean, that there is much attachment at home, and very little scandal abroad. Unlike the feudal system, which teaches us to rally round our chief, and attack our neighbors, private life resembles state-government;—compact in itself, inoffensive to others, and tributary to the general union. Its members “stick together,” without “pulling other people to pieces.” That respect for the feelings of others, which, in mixed society, induces mutual forbearance and forbids familiarity, is not, as in too many places, laid aside where it is most wanted. It is not a currency which falls in the house as it rises without. There seems to be a sort of correspondence between the political institutions of the country and its family arrangements. No privilege is annexed to birth, and no inequalities exist, but what may be traced to causes which must be admitted to be just and natural.

There are two features in the national character that few strangers fail to observe; and, as I often heard the justice of the imputation acknowledged—

particularly by those who are most exempt from both failings, (it would be indelicate to bring my friends into public court as witnesses,) I have reason to think the remark is correct. The Americans are too anxious to make money, and too apt to spoil their children. Parental affection may, perhaps, be the cause of the one, as it is of the other, though it is hardly consistent with any rational object it may have in view, to "heap up riches," and make those who are to "gather them" unfit to employ them properly;—to increase both the quantity of temptation and the chances of yielding. It was truly painful to see how fretful and restless the children were made by this inconsiderate indulgence. I have known them to lose all the pleasures of a little excursion, because they could not get what was in fact unattainable, and what they never would have asked for, if their unreasonable wishes had not been habitually complied with. I shall not readily forget an interesting child I saw at an hotel, crying on the staircase, as if her little heart would break: on inquiring of her elder sister, who was below, what was the matter, she said—"It is only because she will not go up stairs alone." I told her, she ought not to indulge her, as she was old enough to find her way by herself:—"So I think," was her reply, "but if papa was here, he would make me go up with her." The boys are much more spoiled than the girls, and that is the case pretty much all the world

over. As if a "male child" were really and truly of more value than a female, more notice is taken of it. When one of these spoiled children cries, it is usually quieted with a sugar-plum. The consumption of confectionery is thus in a state of progressive increase. Sweetmeats, like tobacco, are first used as a remedy, and then as a luxury; the one is just as good as a styptic for tears, as the other is in curing the tooth-ache. Both, at last, become necessaries, and are continued when there are neither tears to be shed, nor teeth to ache. Whenever these pitiable little beings make their appearance at the dinner-table in the hotels, there is sure to be pouting or squalling, because they have got something to eat they do not want, or want something they cannot get. I had, unfortunately, an opportunity of watching for three weeks the way in which a little girl of two years old was managed by her parents. When with her father, who was kind and assiduous in supplying all her wants and whims, she was constantly whining out, "Ma! ma!" when with her mother, her cry was "Pa! pa!" with equal pertinacity, her preference for the absent parent being meted out with the nicest impartiality. Both pursued the same method to quiet her;—not by taking her at once to the other, or telling her she must not be indulged; but by striving to coax her attention to some other object, and keeping up in her mind a continued alternation of excitement and



disappointment. The poor thing was thus systematically taught evasion and deception, and her request was met by the same want of rational consideration, whether it were proper or capricious. The answer to any observation upon the effects of indulgence is—"poor creatures! they will soon have hardships enough; a little indulgence now can do them no harm:" a singular sort of preparation for a world that is thus acknowledged to require self-control or resignation in all who are to pass through it. They manage their horses differently:—they accustom them, at the earliest age, to the saddle and the bit; and teach them when young, to bear and obey. The result in both cases is what might be expected. Their children are plagues, and their horses admirable. It might really be thought that common sense had nothing to do with the treatment of youth; and that there were no years of discretion but what have been fixed by legislative enactment. Men are governed by names; and because, by a perversion of language, "childish" and "foolish" mean the same thing, "child" and "fool" are taken to be convertible terms: and language, which is fitted for nothing but to amuse the one, is too often employed to instruct the other.

The women are good-looking and amiable; but their beauty is not like their temper, the *better for keeping*. Though few are "fair" as well as "fat" at "forty," there has been a good

deal of exaggeration on this point. A young English officer, who was making a forced march through the country, observed to me one day that they appeared to him neither impassioned nor susceptible ; because they exhibited little emotion at dramatic representations, and upon other occasions where the fine arts address themselves to the senses. A Frenchman, who had enjoyed more leisure and more opportunities for judging, expressed an opinion as opposite to the former as the vivacity observable in the native country, of the one to the phlegm in that of the other. Human nature is much the same here as she is on either side of the British Channel. Many women, who seem cold as flint in general, give out fire enough when they find a " blade " that suits them.

Much more regard is paid in the United States to dress and external appearance than with us. This proceeds from the same source as the love of money. Where no distinction is attached to rank or birth, it is natural that other " outward and visible signs " should supply their places, and be proportionably valued. Fashion has, unhappily, despotic sway in these matters ; and the imitative principle, as it descends, is not likely to elevate the character, or increase the happiness of those below. There must be a commensurate sacrifice somewhere, when milliners charge high prices and give low wages. I have known a whole family living in a garret, and the mother borrowing a few

shillings to buy a pound of tea, while the daughters were vying in the Broadway with the wives of wealthy merchants, and “fishing” for admiration with silks, and ribbons, and all the arts of the toilette. It is curious to observe the difference of meaning affixed to the same word by the different classes of society. To one all above, to its opposite, all below, a certain point, were gentlemen and ladies: to both, the rest of the world was made up of men and women. “Are you the man,” said a driver to Duke Bernard of Saxe Weimar, “that is to go in that carriage?” “Yes.” “Then I am the gentleman to drive you.” A young female of New York, while looking over an English prayer book, was much shocked with that expression in the marriage service—“Wilt thou have this *woman* to thy wedded wife?” She insisted upon it, with all the dignity of offended rank, that the phrase ought to be, “Wilt thou have this *lady*,” &c. With us, and from what I have observed it is the same with our Gallic neighbor, it is considered vulgar to confound the genus with the species, by using these words on every occasion, and to shew so much solicitude about titles, which defeat their own object by repetition and misapplication. In the same way we look upon it as a proof of rusticity, to make frequent use of the term Sir! or Madam! In America the custom is so general, that it takes some time to be reconciled to it. It is probable that the different practices have some reference

to the political forms, that prevail in the two countries, and were adopted to soften equality in the one, and restore it in the other. An American has a way of pronouncing some of our common words, that is not to be met with in England, except among those, who have not had the advantage of a good education. Should he, when in London, find himself thus classified, he ought not to complain of the injustice. Does he not himself apply a much more inequitable test to his fellow-citizens in matters of infinitely greater importance? Surely pronunciation affords a much better criterion of refinement, than color of moral worth. I was often reminded that allowance should be made for a new country that has not yet acquired the graces and elegances of older communities; but never did I hear any thing like regret expressed (except by the abolitionists, who are stigmatised as unworthy citizens for lamenting it,) that European morality was not as much aimed at as European fashions. It was amusing to see the same persons tremblingly alive to any imputation of wanting that nice polish, which is supposed to distinguish the best society in England, yet totally insensible to the charge of as vile a narrow-mindedness as ever disgraced the lowest. The "Patricians" will readily listen to you when you describe the usages of our fashionables: but, if you state that a man's complexion is no bar to admittance anywhere, your remark is received with a sneer of indifference or a

smile of scornful incredulity. To be quizzed and caricatured for vulgarity is intolerable to the same people, who seem not to know, or not to care, that you despise them for their prejudices. Hint to them that they eat pease with a knife, and they are highly enraged: tell them that their conduct to the "niggers" is inhuman and unmanly, and they laugh in your face. They look to Europe for "mint and cummin," and leave her "the weightier matters of the law." Purity of language is more valued than generosity of sentiment or nobleness of behavior. To speak with more grammatical accuracy than an Englishman, is matter of general boasting; but to be his inferior in the kind and benevolent feelings he exhibits to every member of the human family, neither excites reflection nor inspires shame.

Concession to the journeymen carpenters soon produced its natural fruits. The rope-makers at Brooklyn followed their example and "struck," because an improved method had been introduced into the trade for saving time and labor. If there be one spot on the globe more than another where this hostility to machinery is mischievous and foolish, it is a new country, which is obliged to borrow foreign funds for many of its undertakings; and which is sacrificing its resources and risking its tranquillity by *forcing* the production of dear goods. Yet these men have the same claim to protection as the sugar grower and the iron-master. They have as strong

a perception of their real interests, and their arguments are equally valid. Machinery is not less injurious as a competitor, whether at Brooklyn or at Birmingham; and the laborer, who would dictate to the capitalist, is as reasonable as the capitalist who would dictate to the community.

The manner in which these misguided men proceeded was highly creditable to their sense of order and probity. Having committed to the flames the products of the hated machine, after they had paraded it through the town, they agreed to pay the full cost of the hemp, from which the yarn had been manufactured, and to spin a like quantity, in time to enable Mr. Lewis (the owner of the machine) to fulfil his engagement for its delivery. They accordingly paid 260 dollars and eighty-two cents, and spun an equal quantity within the time agreed upon, of a quality, as they stated in an advertisement, far superior to any that could be manufactured by machinery, "as is well-known," they say, "to any practical rope-maker and seaman." If so, why object to a machine that cannot work so well as themselves?\*

\* Instead of opposing vulgar prejudices, the newspaper-press almost universally encourages them. "Among new inventions," says the Evening Star, (August, 1834,) one of the best written journals of New York,—"*to increase the pauperism of England, we observe a portable steam threshing machine.*"—This foolish remark would most probably be copied into all the papers, and run the round of the "union" within the Union—

The 4th of July, the great anniversary of the national independence, passed off in the most orderly and peaceable manner. Though the city was crowded from an early hour, and the streets were thronged with all sorts of people from every quarter till midnight and still later, there was no disturbance or confusion. I saw neither quarrelling nor drunkenness, nor anything offensive to public decorum. The different processions of the trades and various associations were well arranged, and contributed to the liveliness of the scene. The festivities were said to be less joyous and imposing than usual; and each successive anniversary to be attended with diminished marks of triumph and congratulation. Many families are accustomed to go out of town to avoid the bustle and noise; and the return of the day seems likely in time to sink, like our "glorious revolution," into a mere ceremony, to be observed as an occasion for relaxation or an excuse for conviviality. I had the honor of dining with the corporation. There were between three and four hundred persons at table. The usual number of toasts (thirteen) was given, and most of them received with applause and acclamation. Nothing transpired that the most sensitive Englishman could have taken umbrage at. There were few speeches, and those very short and

the great combination of the working men, who have declared war against monopolizing capital, and labour-saving machinery.

pithy. What was said was appropriate and well-timed—with sufficient heartiness to satisfy the claims of patriotism, and not a particle of rancor or exultation to offend the jealousies or prejudices of other nations. The company were requested by the Mayor, who presided, to sit down to table without grace, as no clergyman was present to officiate.

Ministers of the gospel are seldom seen at public places in America, and are little anxious to put themselves forward on festive and convivial occasions. Like the fair sex, they are the more respected as they are less conspicuous, and obtain by reserve and retirement the esteem, which would be refused to ostentation and obtrusiveness.

While the daily and weekly papers, the magazines and reviews, were insulting the colored people and chaunting the praises of Liberia, I called again upon Mr. P. Williams, in search of information about this extraordinary settlement. He had just received a letter, which he read to me, from one of the colonists, formerly a member of his church, and had, not long before, had some conversation with one of the emigrants about to return to Africa. The account given by both of the colony was anything but favorable; the former had lost his wife and one child, and had another in a dangerous state of illness; the latter owned that not one convert to Christianity had been made among the native tribes. The climate, it seems, is very unhealthy, and par-



ticularly fatal to those who go to that country from the Northern States of the Union. The Governor exercises the despotic power, with which he is entrusted, in such a manner as to produce a general feeling of discontent and division among his subjects; many of whom are in a very destitute and deplorable condition. Such was the purport of what had been communicated to Mr. Williams. Both his informants expressed themselves in terms of great caution and circumspection; the one, lest his letter should be intercepted; the other, under an excusable apprehension lest any thing he might say against the colony should be recorded against him on his return. Upon the whole, the board of managers were now placed in an awkward dilemma; if they were acquainted with these facts, they had been guilty of the grossest deception in concealing them; if they were ignorant of their existence, they were not fit to be entrusted with the management of an institution, to the care of which the lives and fortunes of thousands were entrusted. Not contented, however, with thus suppressing what it was their duty to make known, they had pompously announced to the "reading public" that the Lieutenant-Governor and the High Sheriff of Liberia had arrived at New York; that they had left the people of that prosperous colony "*contented and happy*"; and that they were on their way to Washington, "to confer with the Board of Managers on the pro-

priety of allowing the colonists to choose all their officers, and to make *such alterations* in their constitution as are *considered necessary*." This wish for change in a "contented and happy" people reminds one of the Italian, who was well and wanted to be better: Liberia may borrow his epitaph.

Of all the "wonderful wonders that the world ever wondered at," this African-colonization-scheme is certainly the most astonishing. A more thorough humbug never existed. It is fortunate that many of those, who would most suffer by becoming its dupes, detected its malignant designs from the commencement of its operations; and the planters of the south will not much longer be permitted to gull the philanthropists of the north. "This society," (says the Convention of the free people of color, in their address to their brethren of the United States, 1833,) "has most grossly vilified our character as a people: it has taken much pains to make us abhorrent to the public, and then pleads the necessity of sending us into banishment. A greater outrage could not be committed against an unoffending people; and the hypocrisy, that has marked its movements, deserves our universal censure. We have been cajoled into measures by the most false representations of the advantages to be derived from our emigration to Africa. No argument has been adduced other than that based on prejudice;—and that prejudice founded on our difference of color. If shades of dif-

ference in complexion are to operate to make men the sport of powerful caprice, the colonists may be again compelled to migrate to the land of their fathers in America." Appended to this address is a report from the committee on African colonization. It commences thus: "The committee, consisting of one delegate from each State, for the purpose of reporting the views and sentiments of the people of color in their respective States, relative to the principles and operations of the American Colonization Society, respectfully beg leave to report,—that all the people of the States they represent (eight in number) feel themselves aggrieved by its very existence, and speak their sentiments of disapprobation in language not to be misunderstood. The only exception to the rule is of those who are receiving an education, or preparing themselves for some profession, at the expense of the society."

Every friend of humanity will rejoice to hear that this proscribed race have shewn that they are undeserving of ill-treatment, by resolving to submit to it no longer, and, in the words of one of their bitterest enemies, are "disposed to assert the prerogatives of human nature, without distinction of rank or color." *American Quarterly Review*, Sept. 1828.

The patience of these people, under a series of provocations and injuries, compared with which our Catholic disabilities and our Jewish disqualifications were mere trifles, is above all praise. What, indeed,

must be the rancorous hostility,—the contemptuous suspicion,—the scorn and hatred that are universally felt against those, who, though differing in complexion from us, are equally formed in God's own image, when a minister of the gospel of love and humility could dare to express himself before a crowded congregation in such terms as the following! “No station of honor or authority is accessible. These disabilities are the result of complexion; and, till the Ethiopian can change his skin, they *admit of no remedy*. Who would employ a black to minister at the bed of sickness? Who would entrust to him the maintenance of his rights, and the protection of his interests in a court of justice?—or what congregation would consent to receive him as a herald of salvation, whose lips should announce to them the will of heaven, and whose hands should break to them the bread of life? Whose feelings would not revolt, not only at seeing an individual of this class seated in the chair of state, presiding in our courts of justice, or occupying the hall of legislation, but even at seeing him *elevated to the lowest and most trivial office* in the community? In all these respects the blacks, if not by the provisions of our constitution and laws, at least by public sentiment and feeling, and by *sentiment and feeling too, which if groundless and reprehensible, admit of no correction*, are a proscribed and hopeless race. But not only are none of the fields of generous enterprise

and honorable ambition open to them, they are made to see and feel their debasement in all the every-day intercourse of life. No matter what their characters may be, however amiable and excellent their spirit, and however blameless and exemplary their conduct, they are treated as an inferior and despised portion of the species. No one, unless himself sunk so low as to be an outcast from those of his own colour, ever associates with them on terms of equality." Extract from a sermon preached by Professor Hough, before the Vermont Colonization Society.

As this discourse was published at their request, it is to be supposed that they agree with him in his declaration, that this "proscribed" people are "a degraded, unenlightened, unprincipled, and abandoned race;" and that they are "equally worthless and noxious in themselves, and a nuisance to the public." The arrogance of this language is lost in its impiety; the preacher has insulted his Maker in insulting the work of his hands. Whatever he may assert to the contrary, the diabolical prejudice which he thus, to the disgrace of his religion and his country, encourages and endeavours to justify, *does* admit of correction; and *will* be corrected, if there be justice in Heaven or shame on earth; if there be such a thing as public opinion in Europe or public conscience in America. A fire has been kindled in the hearts of the good and the generous that will

never be extinguished till the wickedness, which feeds it is utterly consumed.

July 8th. I went with two English friends, early in the morning, to Jersey city, on the opposite bank of the North river, and thence to Newark, where we joined Mr. Colden, on his visit to inspect the Morris canal. We had previously spent two or three very agreeable evenings with Mr. Colden, who was living at Jersey city with his wife, a remarkably lady-like and amiable woman. This place, though it contains much less than two thousand inhabitants, has five places of worship; two Episcopal, two Methodist, and one Catholic—all, with their respective ministers, supported by voluntary contributions. As the law neither protects nor prohibits opinions, profession and conviction are more closely allied than where it is less impartial. Not but what there is room for a closer approximation. The nature of religious freedom will be better understood, when every man is allowed to choose for himself, without incurring the censure of those who mistake uncharitableness for zeal, and confound the gratification of spiritual pride with a regard for their neighbor's spiritual welfare.

The scenery along the banks of the canal was very picturesque and beautiful, and the inclined plane, one of twenty-three to be found along its whole course of 101 miles, delighted us with the simplicity and ease with which the cradle, that re-

ceived our boat, was hauled up its declivity. Our little excursion was cut short, as my companions were obliged to return, at Paterson, where the beauty of the country is said to increase. We got back to New York by another road to Hoboken, in the dusk of the evening. The boy, who drove us, seemed unwilling to change the route, and he was declared to be insolent and unaccommodating. I had sat on the box with him, and had found him neither the one nor the other. One charge against him was, that he had driven too slowly:—the truth is, I had requested he would not distress his horses, as the weather was hot, and the poor creatures seemed to suffer very much. So little indeed had I found him disobliging, that when he went, of his own accord, in search of Mr. Colden's servant, at Newark, I could not help telling him I was sorry to give him so much trouble. I should not, however, have undertaken his defence, if his alleged misconduct had not been imputed to my indiscretion in encouraging his familiarity—a charge which the accused party best shews to be undeserved by his silence. I had found the lad both chatty and communicative; and was pleased with the questions he asked me about the inclined plane, and the rail-road we had come by on our way back. I was anxious to see the extent of knowledge and intelligence to be met with in American boys of his class; and I felt unwilling to hurt his feelings by checking his loquacity, or

assuming a degree of reserve which might remind him of the difference between our conditions in life. I should have acted on the same principle in England, and in any other country, as the best security against disrespect or incivility. It is a great mistake in many who visit the United States, to confound republican tendencies with the infant state of society, which prevails in many parts of the Union; and to ascribe to political equality what, in fact, arises from the peculiar relation in which labor stands to capital. The master is often more indebted to the servant, than the servant to the master;—a corresponding state of manners is the result; and the same adaptation to circumstances which makes an European master expect submission from his *servant*, makes the American *help* expect indulgence from his employer. After all, servitude carries with it everywhere something humiliating. It is surely no great crime to smooth its asperities with a little courtesy and kindness\*.

\* Mr. Colden is now no more :—the winter, that succeeded, was his last. He died regretted, as he had lived respected, by all parties. His funeral was attended with all the honors that the corporation of New York, the members of the Bar, and his friends, could pay to his remains. The common expression at the time was, that “ he was an honest man.” Those who were most intimately acquainted with his virtues, could hardly add to this eulogy; however much they might enlarge on the simplicity of his manners, the acuteness of his mind, and the goodness of his heart.



## CHAPTER IV.

Connecticut.—New Haven.—Hartford.—Weathersfield Penitentiary.—Large number of colored Convicts accounted for.—Hartford Retreat for the Insane.—Mode of Treatment.—Character of the late Superintendent.—Mr. Wadsworth's Villa (Monte Video).—Confectioner's nonchalance.

JULY 10th. I left New York for Hartford in Connecticut with Mr. Crawford (the Commissioner for inspecting the prisons) and his coadjutor Mr. Newman. We went by the steam-boat to New Haven, (eighty-four miles,) and the rest of the way (about forty) by stage. The whole fare (by sea and land) was three dollars each. It was eight o'clock P.M. when we arrived at the end of our journey, having started at seven in the morning,—New Haven—a very beautiful town, with many well-built houses and neat gardens. I had afterwards an opportunity of revisiting it. We passed through a delightful country, more remarkable, however, for picturesque scenery than fertility of soil ; some of the towns on the road, particularly Middletown on the Connecti-

cut river, are well chosen for salubrity of air, cheerfulness of situation, and beauty of prospect.

At the hotel where we put up, the first on entering Hartford, we found every thing extremely good. The rooms were clean and well furnished, and the people of the house particularly civil. The next day we proceeded to the prison at Weathersfield, four miles from Hartford. The plan, on which it is built, and the system, upon which it is conducted, are something similar to those at Sing Sing; except that the prison is much less in extent, and the discipline milder. No flogging is used for breach of rules. A diet of bread and water, with solitary confinement in a dark cell, is found to bring the most refractory to reason in a very short time. It should be observed, that the time thus spent by the convict is added to the term of his imprisonment. He has therefore a direct interest in shortening its duration. Add to this consideration, that every prisoner is charged, on his entrance, with the expenses of arrest, prosecution, &c.: amounting, on an average, to 100 dollars\*. This debt he is made to work out, should he be guilty of any misconduct.

\* This law is of long standing. By the code of 1650 for the colony of Connecticut, it is ordered by the General Court, "That all persons hereafter committed upon delinquency, shall beare the charges the country shall bee at in the prosecution of them; and shall pay to the master of the prison or howse of correction, two shillings sixpence, before hee bee freed therefrom."

These little auxiliaries to the ordinary motives for good conduct lessen the chances of disobedience. The number of cells for male prisoners is 236, and that for females 32. Of the former there were 187; and of the latter 14. The "cat", though allowed by law, is never employed by the warden; a man who unites great firmness of character with mildness of disposition; and who has now an additional stimulus for vigilance and attention to his official duties in the injustice with which he has been treated, having been displaced by the basest intrigue—an event that too often befalls this class of functionaries in many of the States. At the period of our visit, he had just been reinstated, in the most honorable manner, after an absence of nine months, during which the laxity of discipline, that ensued, cost his life to one of the keepers, who was murdered in attempting to prevent the escape of four convicts: two of the murderers were then under sentence of death for the crime. The proceeds from the labor of the convicts more than cover the expenditure of the establishment. There are no outer walls to the prison: to prevent escape, two guards with rifles parade the rampart or projection, that overlooks the yard, and commands every part of the building. Two or three, at the first establishment, attempted to make their escape, but were retaken. It seems hardly justifiable to subject a man to the penalty of death for obeying a natural impulse, and

to inflict the same punishment for an offence, without regard to the character of the offender, or the consequences of his guilt. The proportion of free blacks among the convicts is about twenty or twenty-five per cent., while they form but three per cent. upon the whole population of the State. This difference may be accounted for by the greater degree of temptation to which they are exposed \*, and the little encouragement they receive to good conduct. To be excluded, directly or virtually, from many employments, (for the whites will not work with them,) and to be despised in all, affords but sorry inducements to honesty and self-correction. What attachment can they have to virtue, when it affords them no protection, and meets with no reward? How can those, who are disposed to crime, retain their honesty, when they see the honest treated like criminals? How singular is the policy of this country! On one hand it prepares men for the penitentiary, while on the other it is laboring at the diminution of crime, and the reformation of offenders. But what shall we say of its justice, which thus forces its subjects

\* By the report of the inspectors of the Massachusetts's State Prison, in 1832, three-fourths of the colored convicts confined there could not write; while out of sixty-eight white prisoners, thirteen only were equally uneducated; whereas to preserve the same proportion between crime and ignorance, the number should have been fifty-one. The latter, therefore, had not so good an excuse for their guilt.

into by-paths, and then punishes them for the deviation? Crime, of course, increases, as the motives to good conduct are removed, and the means of an honest livelihood refused. The same principle may be seen in the manufacturing districts of France and England; where the criminal calendar is found to swell with the pressure of commercial distress, and diminish with its removal. It is a trick of very long standing to refuse straw to the brickmakers, and then exclaim against them—ye are idle! ye are idle! Among the blacks was a native of St. Domingo, and formerly one of Napoleon's Mamelukes. He had been condemned, about three months before, for adultery with a woman, who, he declared, had deceived him by concealing her marriage. Adultery is considered in the State of Connecticut a civil offence, and is punished by imprisonment.

Of the different trades here pursued, some of the contractors (shoemakers, for instance) require a certain quantity of work from those under them. If it is completed within the time, the rest of the week belongs to them; when they are paid for extra labor, and the money is delivered to the warden, who makes it over to them when the term of their confinement has expired; or, if they wish it, transmits it to their families. A colored man had just informed the chaplain, from whom I had this account, that he had finished his week on the preceding Tuesday. One observation the chaplain made

struck me as singular; he said, that the generality of convicts were, in point of intellect, below mediocrity. There is a passage in the African Repository for January 1834, that ought to have some weight with the haughty Caucasians, in modifying the unfavorable inference they are so fond of drawing from the disproportioned numbers of the colored race, who are found in the prisons and penitentiaries. It is of the more value, as it comes, according to the Editor, from the Rev. R. J. Breckenridge of Baltimore, who, by his speeches and exertions in aid of the colonization society, has long been doing his utmost to drive them out of the country.—“It is true,” he says, “that the proportion of convictions of free persons of color is greater than that of white people. But this is to be taken with great allowance, as evidence of criminality. For their temptations are, usually, manifold greater and more pressing: their offences are more narrowly looked after; and therefore a greater proportion are detected, and of those detected a greater proportion are convicted, by reason of their possessing less public sympathy, smaller opportunities of escaping, and less means of blinding, seducing, or bribing justice. In addition to all this, the very code of offences in the slave-states is more stern as to them than to the whites; and the very principles of evidence are altered by statute so as to bear most rigorously against them. Or, if we contrast them with the slaves, we have no means of

forming a judgement ; for the very nature of offences and punishments is different in the different classes. We have known a slave hanged for what a white man would hardly have been prosecuted for ; and we have known free blacks put into the penitentiary for several years for evidence that was illegal by statute against a white man ; and for offences, for which a gentle-tempered master would have rebuked his slave, and a hot-tempered one have caned him. We admit the general corruption of free blacks ; but we deny that it is greater than that of the slaves ; and we affirm that it is judged of by false methods, and is in a high degree exaggerated. We once thought differently ; but we have seen reason to change our opinion.” \*

To the other causes here alluded to, should be added the suspicion, which, when any crime that excites general attention has been committed, attaches itself, through public opinion, to those whom public opinion has already condemned to vice and ignominy ; and the strong inducement in white criminals to shelter themselves by false accusations, or cunning inveiglement, of these helpless and

\* I have given the above passage in full length, because it affords an unanswerable argument against slavery ; for if it were possible for any one, possessed of common sense, to believe that slaves could be happy, he never can maintain that the free blacks can be so under such a system, or be ever secure against injustice and oppression.

friendless people. There was, at the very time we were there, an old black in this penitentiary, nearly a hundred years of age. He had been confined within its walls a long time, under a charge, which was supported, as was well known in the prison, by evidence of a nature anything but conclusive of his guilt. There seemed, indeed, to be little or no doubt of his innocence.

Here my fellow-travellers left me ; and we agreed to meet again at Boston. In the afternoon, I called on Mr. Wadsworth, a relative of the gentleman from whom I had received so much attention at New York. He received me with that urbanity and kindness, which are habitual to men of gentlemanly feelings and an amiable disposition. He belonged to an old and wealthy family, that had long been settled in the country. Our conversation turned upon the social economy, that prevailed in the land of his birth. His remarks upon the rank, which servants hold there, and the treatment best adapted to their condition and expectations, were highly interesting and just. For nearly forty years, that he had kept house, he had found, he told me, but one domestic who had proved dishonest or unfaithful. He had met with no disrespect from them, for he had never shewn any towards them. They were attached to him, because he was indulgent to them ; and obedient, because their services were neither exacted with rigor, nor received with indifference. The next morning, he



took me in his gig to the Retreat for the Insane, of which he was a director. On our way, we turned a little out of our road, to visit the famous old oak, where the charter, on which the Colony was founded, was concealed in 1686 by a lineal ancestor of Mr. Wadsworth. The hole, into which it was put, is now closed over. The tree, however, is in full vigor, and likely to survive many years. That arbitrary power, the baneful effects of which are presented to the mind by the sight of this tree, cost the monarch his crown, and one of his successors its "brightest jewel." What will it cost this great confederation, when it is wrested from the hands of the slave-owner? The house, in the grounds attached to which the charter-oak stands, belongs to a man who made a considerable fortune as a shopkeeper in Charleston. Not having much taste or inclination for laying out grounds or improving his fields, he has sadly neglected the place. It commands a fine view of the country beyond the river, and might, with little trouble or expense, be made a very agreeable spot. A man of color, who happened to be in the garden, shewed me the grounds, while my "guide, philosopher, and friend" remained in the gig. Upon my asking the man, how his brethren were treated in the town, he replied that they were insulted and annoyed in a very shameful manner. Frequent broils and fights were the consequence; and the bitter feeling of animosity, that existed against them,

had much increased since the Colonization Society had become more active.

After this, we proceeded to the Retreat, on arriving at which we found that the superintendent, Dr. Todd, was out. An officer of the institution, however, conducted us over the building, and explained its details in such a clear and satisfactory manner, as to make me feel less regret for the absence of a man who had obtained great celebrity by his skill in curing insanity. The principle, on which the establishment is conducted, differs very considerably, and, as far as I was enabled to judge from what I saw and heard, very successfully, from the methods usually pursued in the treatment of lunatics. No kind of deception, and, if possible, no restraint, is exercised upon the patients, who are allowed every indulgence and gratification that are not incompatible with the object for which they are sent hither. They are informed, on their first arrival, that they are laboring under some disease, which has affected their minds, and requires peculiar treatment. If, as is generally the case, they deny that they are thus afflicted, they are requested to submit to a fair experiment, that they may be restored to their friends, with the testimony of competent judges, to confirm or disprove their own account of themselves. With the aid of soothing language, occupation suited to their inclinations, proper exercise, and appropriate medicines, an alleviation, if not a cure, of the malady is

effected. The confidence of the most suspicious, and the acquiescence of the most refractory, are thus obtained; and, by the judicious employment of the principle of association, the mind is gradually led to exert its dormant powers, and the bodily functions are restored to their natural state. No one is confined, however violent or intractable, in irons or in solitude. No breach of promise, no attempt to mislead, is ever permitted. The little glimmering of reason, that remains even in the worst cases, is skilfully employed by the keepers and assistants to lead the sufferer into feelings and habits, that at last conduct him to a clearer sky, if not into open day. "Let gentleness my strong enforcement be", seems to be the guiding rule to all who are to co-operate in carrying this principle into practice. The whole machinery throughout is consistent in its structure and operation; and the results are most gratifying and encouraging. Even in those unhappy cases, where certain functions of the body are involuntarily and unconsciously performed, some peculiar want or fancy may be discovered, which, when combined with the decent and regular discharge of this office, will ultimately destroy these distressing symptoms, and substitute a habit, to which the former will gradually yield. While we were standing in front of the house, some of the invalids (three young women) were returning from a ride with some of the assistants in a barouche. We assisted them to get out of

the carriage, and made the customary observations, which were received in the usual way, on the weather, and other topics of a similar kind. Riding on horseback for both sexes is found very serviceable: gardening, or any other occupation that may interest or amuse, is employed with good effect; and, as the house is open to visitors at all times, and the same courtesies are observed towards the inmates as are practised in common life, a constant succession of objects presents itself, to give gentle exercise to the tastes and affections, and dispel the morbid illusions of the imagination. To gain his confidence, and imperceptibly lead him to the exercise of its disused energies and faculties—"waking thoughts that long had slept"—is all that the physician studies in the management of his patient, who seems to give to candor and conciliatory mildness those affections and regards, which harshness and distrust had driven from their natural channels. The patients attend their respective places of worship, when not incapacitated by the nature of the malady, under which they labor. This is considered an indulgence; and, as it may be withdrawn on disobedience or infringement of the conditions on which it is granted, an additional motive for self-restraint is obtained, beyond what may be expected from attendance on public worship in the house. The wish to be admitted, in common with those who are in good health, and the apprehension of being thought unde-

servicing of that privilege, are powerful inducements with persons, who find their comforts to depend upon their conformity with the will of their attendants. Whenever it is necessary to put a strait-waistcoat upon a patient, it is done, if possible, with his consent. He is told that the excitement under which he suffers may be considered as the work of an enemy, and not the result of any voluntary action of his own mind, for which he would, if in sound health, be responsible; and that self-defence requires and excuses a precaution that might otherwise appear degrading. He is thus induced to submit, when any attempt to control *his own* violence by force, would be resisted or resented. Cases often occur of patients, under the conviction of an approaching paroxysm, suggesting themselves the propriety of being bound.

A man of highly cultivated mind had resolved upon suicide, from what he deemed a sense of religious duty. The monomania, with which he was afflicted, consisted in supposing that the wicked one had substituted an *imaginary* for a real body; and had placed him under this dreadful metamorphosis in the midst of an ideal world, with the object of obtaining from him such an acquiescence in the new order of things, as would make him act and be acted upon in the same way, in which created beings perform their respective parts in life. Upon this contingency depended the fate of his immortal

soul:—should he once yield to the enchantment, and give way, but for a moment, to the belief that he was a living material man, he would fall immediately and irrevocably into the power of Satan. To escape the charm, he had determined to take laudanum. He made no secret of his intention; and no inducement could make him swerve from his purpose. Dr. Todd, to whom the treatment of this singular case was referred, after trying various methods of diverting his mind into some other channel, reasoned with him, at last, in this way.—“In your present state,” said he, “you are, as you are well aware, a mere spiritual existence, upon which nothing that is material can have any action. The poison you are about to take, ought, in order to produce the desired effect, to be adapted to the recipient, and analogous, in its qualities, to that, of which the functions are to be affected by it. Would it not be better that you should apply imaginary laudanum to an imaginary body?” The question was answered by a laugh; and not one word was ever again uttered upon the subject. Still the wish to commit suicide remained; and the patient made up his mind to starve himself to death. The Doctor’s tact did not forsake him in this emergency. Finding that the illusion arose from an apprehension that guilt existed, where the will was consenting to do or suffer any thing, that might tend to prolong existence, he peremptorily ordered the monomaniac

to sit down, that his hands might be bound; assuring him that he would call for assistance, if he did not comply, and telling him at the same time, that he was no longer a free agent, as he was under coercion. "I submit," said the patient, "because I am compelled; but I protest most earnestly against such usage." "Now, Sir! you will open your mouth," said the physician. — "No!" nothing should make him yield to such an indignity. A repetition, however, of the same sort of argument succeeded:—and by successive appeals to his physical fears, and his fancied conscience, food was administered to him; and as the real man was strengthened, the ideal man vanished. He is now so far recovered as to live with his family; enjoying, though not perfect health, yet a greater degree of comfort, than it seemed possible for human power to bestow upon him. Not many months after my visit to this interesting spot, the intelligence, which had shed its healing influence upon it, had returned to its kindred spirits. Dr. Todd had terminated his earthly career. His loss may be viewed in the light of a national calamity, as it is almost impossible to find a man at once qualified and willing to fill his place\*. He had been at one

\* The importance of having the situation properly supplied must be great indeed, if Dr. Brigham's opinion be correct. In a work published by him in 1833, second edition, he says that there was in Connecticut, in 1812, one in 262 inhabit-

time, a victim to all the horrors of dyspepsia; and having, it is said, had two members of his own family afflicted with insanity, experience and observation had supplied him with materials for reflection, which an acute and powerful intellect had moulded into a most effective instrument of practical utility. One little anecdote I was told of him will give a good idea of the quickness and sagacity, with which he converted any minute incident or feeling to his own purposes. One of the female patients put her head out of the window one night, and commenced uttering the most horrid screams and cries imaginable. Throwing up the sash suddenly, and putting his head out of the window,—he called out in a loud voice:—"Is that you, Mary, making such a noise?—I could not have believed it! Here have I been working all day for you, and the rest of the house; and to-morrow I have a great deal to do. It is very hard that you thus disturb my rest." "Doctor!" she replied, "I beg your pardon most sincerely; if I had thought I was disturbing you, I would not have made any noise for the world."

ants insane—more than twice as many as in any part of Europe. This he takes as a standard for the whole country. Dr. Emerson of Philadelphia would restrict the observation to the Eastern States, though he doubts its correctness there. Dr. Brigham ascribes this melancholy pre-eminence in misfortune to premature and excessive employment of the intellectual faculties.



She immediately retired to her bed ; and all was quiet again.

One of the greatest advantages resulting from the method pursued at this asylum, is the obvious tendency, in the publicity with which it is conducted, to destroy a very silly, but a very pernicious and a very prevalent feeling—a prejudice that confounds misfortune with crime, counsels concealment of what ought to be known to be fairly dealt with, and makes a man blush for an infirmity, to which the noblest minds are most subject. But it is of still greater value, as it strikes at once at the root of an evil, to which all private receptacles of the kind are exposed, in spite of every legal enactment for their regulation. That evil arises from self-love, whether it operate upon the keeper, the visiting physician, the trustee, or the patient himself. Here we see arrayed against one poor unfortunate being the profit to be made out of his malady ; the importance, if nothing worse, to be derived from the management of his worldly affairs ; and his own distrust of all who approach him. How can parliamentary commissioners give disinterestedness to the sordid, clear-sightedness to the ignorant, or confidence to the suspicious ? Were more eyes upon these institutions, fewer would be blinded by exculpatory circulars, medical testimonials, and official acquittals.

The next day Mr. Wadsworth drove me over in

his gig to Monte Video—a very beautiful place belonging to him, about ten miles from Hartford. We passed through a fine country, studded with farm-houses, and resembling England in its fields and enclosures. The grounds surrounding the villa, were, before they came into the possession of the present owner, a wild and impassable forest; the approach to which was so difficult and dangerous as to require a whole day to visit the mountain from the city. It took twenty men two years to clear away the wood and make the road. Three thousand loads of stone were precipitated into the valley beneath, before the work was completed. The proprietor has been well repaid for the trouble and expenditure of the undertaking. A nobler view, than is here presented on each side of the mountain, is rarely to be met with. On the west is seen a considerable part of the State of Connecticut, with the Farmington dividing the valley with its woody banks; on the opposite side, Massachusetts beyond the Connecticut river; and towards the north-east the view stretches into the States of New York and New Hampshire: the one presenting the mountain Taghkonick, the western branch of the green mountains; and the other Monadnock, distant about ninety miles. Beneath your feet, whichever way you turn, is a foreground of the finest forest scenery. The house is merely a summer residence for two or three months during the sultry season. It was at first but a small

cabin; and has become, by successive additions, what it is at present—a small but convenient cottage—suited to the modest wants of the proprietor, and large enough for the claims and pleasures of hospitality. Nature had done every thing for this beautiful eminence; and asked but the hand of art to remove the obstructions to her temple: and well has the task been performed. There is no misplaced ornament, and no attempt to surprise the spectator by unexpected contrast, or artificial embellishment. The only deviation from the rigid observance of simplicity is in the erection of a wooden tower on one of the summits, into which the ridge of rock seems to have been abruptly broken by some great convulsion of nature—a shock that has left between the corresponding heights one of the most charming features of the scene—a lake of pure and transparent water. The opposite summit consists of bare and crumbling rock; and, being the first visited, presents at once a view of the lake, the house and grounds, and the distant prospect, which is terminated by the horizon.

The top of the tower, which is hexagonal, is 960 feet above the Connecticut. The house is 640 feet above the Farmington. The place reminded me strongly of the grounds belonging to Colonel Maclean (Coll) near Tobermory in the isle of Mull. There were equal difficulties to contend with in both cases. As the latter, however, resides

on the spot, he has taken more pains to improve the garden and plantations. Scott's description of Loch Katrine in his *Lady of the Lake*, might be applied to much of the scenery at this place—my amiable cicerone, who had an excellent memory and great literary taste, repeated the whole to me, as we stood on one of the points that overlook the lake; and marked with his finger, as he proceeded, the singular coincidences and resemblances, that were to be found in the imagination of the poet and the various objects that lay before us and around us. While standing on the top of the tower, and surveying the noble prospect below, I could not but reflect how many happy human beings its circumference embraced; and how few are the eminences in Europe, distracted by the fears and hopes of revolutionary changes, whence one could look down on an equal quantity of comfort and contentment.

In the evening, after drinking tea with the family, and conversing with several agreeable persons who called, as is at Hartford and elsewhere the "custom always in the afternoon," I went into a confectioner's shop in the town to get some ice, and was shewn into an inner room, where I found the master of the house, reclining at his ease upon a sofa. He made no movement to rise; nor appeared to take any notice of my entrance. The competition, it was plain, was more among the buyers than the sellers; and in fact, as the weather was oppressively hot, I stood

more in need of his ice, than he of my money. While the young woman who assisted, was getting what I had asked for, I entered into conversation with him; and found him very obliging and civil. Perceiving I was an Englishman, he was anxious to hear how matters were going on in the old country, and his questions were readily answered. A neighbour coming in, our talk continued for some time; and when I took my leave he begged I would call again, and have some more chat with him. Nothing was further from his thoughts than to mortify me by any appearance of slight or inattention:—nor was I disappointed at not meeting with that assiduity and obsequiousness, which self-interest would have prompted a London tradesman to display before a customer, and which would have been as little connected with real respect, as my Hartford friend's nonchalance with rudeness or ill-manners.

## CHAPTER V.

Journey to Northampton.—Farmers.—Custom in the distribution of Property by Will.—Law of Descents in case of Intestacy.—Manners.—Prices of Provisions.—Mount Holyoke.—Stage, Driver, and Passengers to Boston.—Lecture on Slavery.—African Repository's friendship for the Black Man.—Meeting of Colonization Society.—Death of Dr. Spurzheim.—Africo-Americans excluded from Seats in Church.—Cruelty to a Brazilian and his Wife.—Antiquity of Estates in New England.—Character of White Servants.—Improvement in the Black portion of the Population.—“Liberator” and Abolitionists.—Five thousand Dollars offered by Georgia for Garrison's Arrest.—Squib upon the fair of Boston at Boston Fair.—Mrs. Child.—Black Man preaching in “White” pulpit.—Whites not allowed to marry any but the true “Caucasians.”—Lunatic Asylum.—Cambridge.—Stage “tabu” for Colored Women.—Boston Père la Chaise.—Body-snatchers.—Nahant.—Young Ladies independent.—Episcopal Church.—Young Gentleman's solicitude for his distant descendants.—Treatment of Africo-American Mechanics.

ON the 13th I left Hartford by the stage for Northampton at eleven, A.M., and arrived about eight,—the

distance being forty-eight miles. Eleven miles from the city we came to Tariffville, a very pretty village, situated in a most lovely valley, through which flows the Farmington river, pursuing its devious course to join the Connecticut. At this place a carpet manufacture is carried on by about 400 workmen,—partly American and partly foreign. The quality is said to be good. Three miles further we came to Granby, where we dined. Though it is but a small place and the traffic not sufficient to maintain an hotel, yet we had a luxury at table which a stage-coach passenger would look for in vain at one of our best inns on any of our most frequented roads. We had iced water. The same luxury at a petty tavern was procured for a young woman who was in the stage. It should be observed, however, that there is greater facility, as well as greater necessity, for laying in a provision of this kind in America than with us—as the winters are much more severe, and the summers much hotter; were it not, indeed, for this refrigerating anti-septic, many articles of domestic consumption would be spoiled. At the hotels, during the warm weather, a piece of ice is generally placed upon the butter.

The country between Tariffville and Granby is delightful. The farms, which are cultivated by the proprietors, average about 100 acres. The land is poor, having been worked for some time, and receiving but little manure. This offset of the old English yeomanry are, however, happy and con-

tented, and retain the stern virtues which distinguished their ancestors. A son of one of them was in the coach, and described to me their customs and manners. At the death of the possessor, the estate is distributed among the members of the family, according to the most equitable principles. If any of the children have received a learned education, the advantages to be derived from its acquisition, and the labor lost to the father during the interval, require a commensurate deduction from his share, that all may be put upon an equality. Any misconduct or want of prudence is visited with a diminution of the portion according to the demerit of the party, or the chance of his becoming extravagant and dissipated. These matters are so well understood, that the claims of justice are satisfied, where the interposition of the law might produce supineness or evasion. In case of equal partition by will or intestacy, the farm is saved from too minute subdivision by an arrangement between the claimants, which shall leave one of them to till the paternal acres, while the rest receive an equivalent, and transfer their labor to some other place, or some other employment. Where the children are likely to suffer from the vices of the parent, the law steps in, and, by an appeal to the Court of Probate, a guardian is appointed to administer the estate, and protect the family.

In every State of the Union, with the exception



—I believe the only exception—of Louisiana, where restrictions exist on the power of willing in proportion to the number of children, any one may dispose of his estate at his death in any way he pleases. It is a very common thing to omit altogether making a will, under the impression that the law will distribute the property more equitably than the owner could himself. “There is generally, in the Statute laws of the several States,” says Kent in his Commentaries, iv. 417, “a provision relative to real and personal estates, similar to that which exists in the English Statute of Distributions, concerning an advancement to a child. If any child of the intestate has been advanced by him, by settlement, either out of the real or personal estate, or both, equal or superior to the amount in value of the share to such child, which would be due from the real and personal estate, if no such advancement had been made, then such child, and his descendants, are excluded from any share in the real and personal estate of the intestate. But, if such advancement be not equal, then the child and his descendants are entitled to receive from the real and personal estate sufficient to make up the deficiency, and no more. The maintenance and education of a child or the gift of money, without a view to a portion or settlement in life, is not deemed an advancement.”

I was well acquainted with a man, upon whose education his father had expended a greater sum than

upon that of his other children. The former refunded the difference, as soon as he was enabled to do what he considered an act of justice—not wishing that the family harmony should be endangered by any thing like partiality to one of its members. In most countries this would have been thought a remarkable instance of virtue.

In England the family is sacrificed to the estate; in France the estate is sacrificed to the family. The Americans have avoided both extremes. They cannot see the justice of giving the whole “mess” to one son, whether he be Reuben or Benjamin. They are in error, however, with respect to our system. They imagine it to be obligatory; and not, as it really is, except in the case of intestacy, or entails, (which are not, like those in Scotland, perpetual,) a matter that is regulated by custom, and fluctuating as the opinion which upholds it.

As soon as the stage arrived at Northampton, I was shewn into the tea-room of the hotel, where I found, among other guests, a young man at table, conversing with a lady opposite to him. When they had both retired, I was informed that they were a new-married couple—a fact of no very great importance to a stranger, yet shewing him that young people can *commit* matrimony, without letting the whole world know it, by sitting side by side, reciprocating little attentions and whispers, and throwing an air of mystery and restraint around them. The tea, as

is every where the custom, was made at a side table, and served round to the guests as they wanted it; while at dinner the next day, the meat was to be carved by the "*consumers*,"—thus reversing the natural order of things, giving trouble to those who had something else to do, and saving it where it would not be felt. There were seventeen at table; and it fell to my lot to cut up one of the joints, (the last comer being always put at the top of the house and the bottom of the table,) so that I had some reason to complain of the inconvenience. There seems to be a sort of superstition about the art of making tea—a privilege confined to the fair sex. A man may help himself to every thing at the breakfast table without exciting surprise or remark; but he must no more presume to pour out the infusion of "China's fragrant leaf," than a lady to fill her glass with the juice of the grape. Not a word was said at table. No doubt the puritans, from whom the people are descended, were men of few words. By parity of reasoning, they despatched their meals very quickly. They had *long graces*—they had no time to spare for talking or eating. After dinner, the men retired to a handsome and convenient sitting-room, provided with newspapers; and the "womankind," with their friends, to another apartment, appropriated to their exclusive use.

I had some difficulty, after I had exhausted the contents of the journals, in finding any one to con-

verse with. A young Bostonian, who had been in Europe, had a sort of fellow-feeling for me, and met my advances with much politeness. He was going to Saratoga springs; and before we parted, he recommended me to a boarding-house at Boston, and gave me his card as an introduction to the landlady.

Northampton is a very pretty town, with handsome houses, surrounded by gardens laid out somewhat in the French style. It would be an excellent place of residence for a man with a large family and a small fortune;—a sort of domestic antithesis too common with us. The prices of provisions are low. Pork averages from five to six cents the pound during the year. Beef and mutton about three or four. Veal and lamb a little higher. Eggs ten cents a dozen, and butter twelve cents the pound. Farming men can earn one dollar and a quarter a-day during harvest, exclusive of meals, of which they partake with their employers. The rest of the year the average, with board, is twelve or fourteen dollars a month, washing included. Free blacks are occasionally employed by the farmers; and sometimes even sit down to the same table with the whites. This confirms what I was told in New York, and shews that their services are more wanted in the country than in the towns. When the carpenters struck work at New York, some of the blacks got work from the masters—an additional reason for jealousy to the mechanics. The abuse that is heaped upon

the whole race proves that it is rising in the world. The worst are treated with contempt ; while the better portion are spoken of with a degree of bitterness, that indicates a disposition to be more angry with their virtues than their vices. It is insufferably disgusting to hear them sneered at as dandy waiters and insolent puppies by men whose ancestors were perhaps transported convicts. Illiberal as this remark may be thought, it is surely a very mild re- crimination to treat your forefathers' crimes as a misfortune in you, who treat my forefathers' misfortunes as a crime in me\*.

Every stranger, as a matter of course, pays a visit to Mount Holyoke before he leaves Northampton, from which it is distant about three miles. The road lies through the "flats", which are celebrated for their rich alluvial soil. The river is crossed by a ferry, which is worked by two horses by means of a horizontal wheel—a sort of tread-mill that puts two paddles, similar to those of a steam-boat, into motion. The view from the mountain, which is separated by the Connecticut below, at the distance of 1200 feet, from its twin-brother Tom, is very noble and imposing—commanding an extent of vision, on a fine day, of 100 miles. The States of Massachu-

\* "The descendants of pedlars talking about rank! and those of exported paupers, or *felons perhaps*, gathering to themselves respect, because of the virtues of their ancestors." Nile's Register, 1831.

setts, Vermont, New York, and New Hampshire are visible from hence. The river, which is rather less than a quarter of a mile in breadth, runs, in a very irregular current, towards the sea, and, forming a singular curve, presents one of the most striking features of the scenery. Such is the concourse of visitors to this far-famed spot, that a miserable log-hut on the summit, a sort of tavern for selling refreshments, is let at 150 dollars during the season. The average number of daily pilgrims in the summer is about 100.

I left Northampton on the 16th, at three, A.M., for Boston, and arrived at that place about eight in the evening. The road was good; and, if we had not changed our vehicle three times during the journey, and stopped at the various post-offices for the bags, and at the hotels for refreshment, we should have got in much sooner. The first fifteen miles were performed in an hour and forty minutes. The distance is ninety-four miles. The passengers were inclined to be sociable; and, as it was a fine day, and the country not uninteresting, the journey passed off pleasantly enough. An English coachman would have been somewhat amused with the appearance of the stage and the costume of the driver. The former was similar to some that are common enough in France, though not known on our side of the channel. It was on leathern springs; the boot and the hind part being appropriated to the luggage, while

the box was occupied by two passengers in addition to the "conducteur," and as many on the roof. On the top, secured by an iron rail, were some of the trunks and boxes, and inside were places for nine; two seats being affixed to the ends, and one, parallel to them, across the middle of the carriage. Our driver sat between two of the outsides, and when there was but one on the box, over the near wheeler; and holding the reins, or *lines*, as he called them, in such a manner as to separate his team into couples, not a-breast, but in a line or tandem fashion, drove along with considerable skill and dexterity. When he got down, he fastened the "ribbons" to a ring, or a post in front of the house where he had occasion to pull up. One or two of these jehus were without their coats—an undress I was glad to adopt during the heat of the day,—and others in a plain country frock. I sat on the box most part of the time, and had a good deal of conversation with my companion. He was a very pleasant merry fellow. As he at first objected to admit a third to the honor of sitting by his side, I endeavored to joke him into good humor, and very soon succeeded, by laughing at his fun. When I asked him, for instance, whether he was full inside? he replied, with a knowing look:—"I guess I am—for I have just had a good dinner." We all laughed heartily. The joke was new to me; and the others were not in a vein to be nice about novelty. Three young men, who

were inside, amused themselves by bowing very gravely and with profound respect, to the old folks, who were sitting at their doors, or looking out of the windows as we passed, and who were puzzling their brains, long after we were out of sight, in trying to make out to what acquaintance it could possibly be that they were indebted for this piece of unexpected civility. No one of our party, which was so numerous as to fill two stages, had any reason to complain of its formality. On my arrival, I was well received by the lady of the house to which I had been directed, and a comfortable bed soon made me forget the fatigues of the day.

The next morning I went out to call upon some persons whom I had known at New York; and, on my way, met one of them. He was going to the Athenæum—a literary institution well provided with papers, and other publications, and an extensive library. After I had looked over the establishment under his guidance, and had had my name inscribed in due form as a visitor, I took my leave of him, and went in search of my English friends. Having with some difficulty found them, we went together in the evening to hear a public lecture on the subject of slavery. The question was clearly stated and ably discussed, as far as the principle, on which the system is founded, is involved. The remainder of the discourse was deferred to the next and a subsequent meeting. The orator's manner was rather more de-



clamatory, and accompanied with more gesticulation than we are accustomed to in England. The matter, however, was excellent; the arrangement and the reasoning clear and conclusive; and the spirit that breathed throughout such as evinced an earnest conviction and a steady purpose. The audience was profoundly attentive, and both numerous and respectable enough to justify the hope of a more speedy settlement of this difficult question than the enemies and pretended friends of freedom are willing to admit. The business of the evening commenced and ended with a prayer from the lecturer, (a minister of the Congregationalists,) and a hymn from a school of colored children, who were stationed in the gallery under the care of their mistress. There were several of the same race present; all of them decent in their dress and decorous in their behavior. Some of them appeared to be in easy circumstances. There are fewer of them in Boston than in New York; but they are not better treated. One of them complained to me that he had experienced great difficulty in obtaining an employment in which he could get his bread decently and respectably: with the exception of one or two employed as printers, one blacksmith, and one shoemaker, there are no colored mechanics in the city.

Even a license for keeping a house of refreshment is refused, under some frivolous or vexatious pretence; though the same can easily be procured by

a white man of an inferior condition and with less wealth. The insults heaped upon these unoffending kind-hearted creatures are of such a nature as would not be credited in England or in any other part of Europe. "Free blacks," says the African Repository, "are a greater nuisance than even slaves themselves." "There is not a State in the Union not at this moment groaning under the evil of this class of persons—a curse and a contagion wherever they reside." This publication is the organ of the Colonization Society—a professed friend of this people, that offers them benefits and insults with the same hand; when their acceptance of them would be the strongest proof, that the former were thrown away, and the latter fairly merited. Well may its opponents say that it will rivet the chains of the slave; since its success, as well as its origin, is connected with that abject state, in which the planter keeps the manumitted black, whose condition it is his policy to assimilate as much as possible to that of bondage—as an excuse for the continuance of the one, and to render the other less desirable. The breeder of slaves for sale has an interest against the increase of his "cattle" beyond what will give a profitable return. The buyer has an interest directly the reverse. Hence the Colonization Society, which holds out the hope of sending the surplus numbers to Liberia, finds a zealous friend in Virginia, and a determined foe in Louisiana. The retributive hand of Providence

may be traced in the proceedings of this Association. It has united the friends of the black man, and sown dissension among his enemies; it has converted the indignation, that its attempt to deceive had excited, into zeal for the cause of its victims; it has attracted the attention of Europe to matters which, for a long time, might have escaped or eluded observation: and, finally, it has produced a re-action in the public mind, that will not rest contented with the exposure of its iniquities.

I trust, and I believe, that there are many of those, who entertain contemptuous opinions of their darker brethren, quite unconscious of their injustice and absurdity. They see the prisons and penitentiaries crowded with them, and are not aware that they are driven into them by their "poverty" and not their "will." They forget, or know not, that they have often to struggle with temptations and obstacles, that the ordinary share of human fortitude and forbearance cannot resist or remove. They are as little acquainted with them, as our peers with our scavengers, or our fine ladies with their scullions. If, as servants, they are honest and civil, they look upon them as exceptions, that serve to prove the general character, and bright spots, that shew the darkness and deformity of the general mass. At the anti-slavery meeting there were three or four hundred persons present; chiefly from that class of society, that constitutes its foundation and strength, and by

which all great national changes are commenced or consummated.

The next night I attended a meeting of the rival society. According to the advertisement, it was to take place at eight o'clock in the evening; but, after half an hour and more had elapsed, not more than thirty people had assembled, and some of them from curiosity alone; as a man behind me asked me what was the object of the meeting. After a good deal of mysterious whispering and preparation, Mr. Gurley, the secretary of the Colonization Society rose: "*oculos paulùm tellure remotos sustulit;*" and explained, in a very embarrassed and hesitating manner, the purpose for which they had been called together. A crisis, he said, had arrived in the affairs of the institution; the calls on its bounty far exceeded the funds at its disposal; and, unless "the elements of public opinion with regard to the colored people," which were now so strong, were embodied in a more effective form, the colony must retrograde or be abandoned, "comparatively speaking." He complained that the subject had produced "an unfortunate excitement"; that he had devoted the best years of his life to the cause; and most pathetically observed that sooner than "go over to the doctrines of the ultra-abolitionists", he would be contented to lay his head beneath the ruins of an enterprise so important and benevolent. Having expressed a hope that Boston would support her character, 'by

opening her heart and her purse-strings to the impoverished friends of Africa and her children, he sat down, "qualis ab incepto," confused and dejected. He was followed, after a short pause, by the chairman—if chairman he might be called, who sat on one of the cross benches: and a similar appeal, in the same tone and manner, was made to the assembly. Another and a longer pause now ensued, when a third speaker, with somewhat more self-possession, took the floor, and entered more fully into the question. All I could gather from his speech was, that the opposition, which had sprung up against them, was unintelligible in its motives and weak in its influence; that he and his co-adjutors were the real friends of the blacks, bond and free; that many of the latter were anxiously waiting for emigration to "the land of their fathers;" that they were men of excellent character and conduct; and, that if "the extreme want of means" were not speedily supplied, the society must pause in its operations, and the opportunity of relieving the Southern States from their apprehensions would be lost for ever. It was now getting late, and, as the chairman observed, for the second or third time, no specific proposition had been made, when a middle-aged man, who had the organ of self-esteem "pretty considerably" developed, left his seat, and rushed at once into a stream of impassioned eloquence, more

sued to the warmth of his feelings than the rules of oratory. He was fortunately, (for I was beginning to get impatient,) unable to sustain himself at the elevation to which he had mounted so rapidly, and was, therefore, compelled to descend to humble prose and offer a resolution, which, after some little debate, was ultimately adopted unanimously. Its purport was that a committee of thirteen should be formed, to collect subscriptions to the amount of 5,000 dollars in Boston and its vicinity. Some one suggested that the subscriptions should be annual, as that mode of obtaining money would be as easy as the other. As this was the only thing I had heard in which I could most cordially concur, I took my departure ; fully satisfied that the bubble would soon burst, and that the "American Colonization Society" had received a blow which would ultimately carry it into the limbo of vanity\*.

\* Among these orators, so eager to expel "a degraded and inferior race" from the land of their birth, was one, who is said to be the author of a work entitled, "America, or a general survey," &c. The following is a passage from it: "It would seem, from even a slight examination, that the blacks (whether of the African or Asiatic race) have not only a fair right to be considered as naturally equal to men of any other color, but are even not without some plausible pretensions to a *claim of superiority.*" Again: "If any race have a right, on the fair and honorable ground of *talents* displayed and *benefits conferred,*

The impudence of these pseudo-philanthropists, in asserting that Africa is the home of the Africo-American, is most astonishing; well known as the fact is, that this part of the population, in spite of the great destruction of life in the sugar-grounds of Louisiana and the rice-fields of South Carolina, increases more rapidly than the whites: that, though but one-fifth of the nation, there are four times as many of them, who live beyond the age of 100, as there are of the "pale-faced" race; i. e. for every white above 100 years of age, there would be, were their numbers equal, 20 blacks; and that, consequently, the soil and climate of their native country are more congenial to *them* than to those of European descent. When the Spartan slaves became troublesome by their numbers, they were hunted down, and knocked on the head, like wild beasts. The American helots are goaded by prejudice and

it is precisely *this very one*, which we take upon us, in the pride of a temporary superiority, to stamp with the brand of essential degradation."

The modest motto of this work is :

" O matre pulchrâ filia pulchrior !"

It is amusing to see how personal vanity assumes the garb of patriotism; and, while it thinks it is merely paying a just tribute to national glory, is seeking its own gratification. Even the smile, which this weakness elicits, proceeds from the same feeling.

proscription into "voluntary" exile, and are shipped off by their Christian brethren for a distant shore, to struggle with a tropical sun, a barbarous people, and a pestilential climate. All this is done that the increase of the black population may be kept down to that exact point, which shall quiet the fears, and secure the profits, of the slave-owner; while the New Englander lends his aid to this cruel policy, and talks about abolishing slavery, with the same self-complacent inconsistency with which the philanthropist sweetens his tea with free-labor sugar, while he lulls his cares with the fumes of slave-grown tobacco. Men will bear much and long before they make up their minds to quit their native land for ever, and seek an unhealthy settlement among the most ignorant and uncivilized tribes. To say that these people are "willing" emigrants to Africa, is to acknowledge, that they are driven by injustice and cruelty from America.

July 22d. The weather was oppressively hot. The thermometer stood in the shade at 92, and in one place at 94. The air seemed to have passed through a furnace. It was more than my constitution could bear, though I was assured, by way of consolation, that the second summer is more trying to an European in America than the first. It was fortunate, however, that I had fallen into good hands; and that the few wants I had were supplied by the people of



the house with great kindness and solicitude. My Bostonian friends, too, called frequently to see how I was, and to offer me their services. One of them took me out several times in his gig, to enjoy the fresh air, and the beautiful scenery with which the neighborhood of the city abounds.

It was in this house that Dr. Spurzheim breathed his last, on the 10th of November in the preceding year. He had been for some time in a very weak and nervous state; and, when first attacked by the illness which carried him off, seemed to foresee its termination, and persisted, through its successive stages, in declining medical assistance. Some opium he had taken to counteract what he thought too violent an operation of a slight aperient, is supposed to have accelerated his end. He met his death with great calmness and composure; prepared, by habitual resignation and self-government, for the extinction of those faculties, which he had dedicated to the service of his fellow-creatures. The lectures he gave at Boston on his favorite subject were well attended; and he had a fair prospect before him of obtaining, by his exertions, an independent and an honorable competency. It was his intention to return to Europe; and the feeling, to which he most fondly clung, and which he gave up with the greatest reluctance, was the hope of again meeting his friends at Paris, and passing the remainder of his days among

his early attachments and associations. A short time before his death, he received two letters from France; but was too much affected by their contents to finish their perusal. His manner was reserved and dejected; and he seemed to be oppressed by some painful recollection or anticipation. It was probably the loss of his wife that so much affected him; as he was strongly attached to her, and felt deeply the absence of those delicate attentions and affectionate regards, which render home the refuge and comforter of the sick man, and which his well-known dislike of giving trouble would not allow him to exact or expect from any but the nearest relative. Though he had resided but a short time at Boston, he was respected by all, who were acquainted with his public character, and beloved by those, who had had an opportunity of witnessing the uniform benevolence of his disposition, and his unassuming demeanor. The servant, who waited upon him during his illness, spoke of him to me as of some superior being; so deeply had he been impressed with a sense of his worth. This, after all, is the sincerest and the most valuable testimony; for it is in the presence of this portion of society that a man's natural character is best seen. It is before them that he lays aside the restraint, that caution or etiquette requires from him before his equals, and strips from his real features the mask of "the hero" or of the philo-

sopher. Dr. Spurzheim was fifty-six years of age at the time of his death.

Professor Follen of Cambridge, in his interesting tribute to the memory of his countryman, says, that when he was asked "what peculiar effect his system had had on his own mind, he said, that, without it, he would have been a misanthrope;—that the knowledge of human nature had taught him to love, respect, and pity his fellow-beings." Dr. Spurzheim observed, that the Americans paid more attention to the controversies, which had sprung out of the Christian religion, than to its influence over the practical duties of life: and that he never experienced so much restraint in the expression of his opinions under monarchical governments, as he had felt in a country where republican freedom is supposed to exist. Every one, who has resided any length of time in the United States, will admit the justice of these remarks. You may traverse the whole globe, and not find on its surface so many men and women, who make their own opinions in matters of faith the standard of orthodoxy, and shelter the suggestions of their own conceit under the name of piety and the sanction of the church, which they have honored with their adherence and allegiance.

The heat continued to be very oppressive; the thermometer rising at one time to ninety-eight. In the evening of the same day it fell to seventy-six. I

was told that one day, the year before, there had been a difference of more than forty degrees in the course of four hours. While lying in bed one night, unable to get any sleep from its effects, I heard one of the lodgers let himself into the house between twelve and one o'clock, and close the front door again without fastening it or turning the key. The door remained in that state all night. It would be no easy matter to find in Europe a city of sixty or seventy thousand inhabitants, where locks and bolts are not thought necessary against midnight intruders. It was a common practice to leave the entrance thus unprotected.—Another circumstance that was mentioned to me shews that the people are honest, or the police extremely vigilant. It is customary for the market people from the country to leave at the doors of the inhabitants the provisions that had been ordered of them. This is often done at an early hour.

The hackney coaches are perfect models of neatness and cleanliness; and have all the appearance of private carriages:—such carriages I mean as we see in Paris or London; for an American gentleman would be puzzled to find a coachman who would take such care of the carpets and cushions within, and the panels and harness without. They do not stand for hire in the streets, as at New York, but remain on the premises of the proprietors, till

they are wanted. Their price, when regulated by time, is about a dollar an hour. The owner of one of them, that attracted my attention as it stood at a door while I was passing, very civilly answered my inquiries about the trade. The people of Boston are, indeed, as civil and obliging as any I ever saw. One person took me through his house to direct me on my way to a street I wanted to find; and another sent her boy with me to point out a house I was looking for in the neighbourhood.

How far the aristocracy of the skin is carried in this pious city, may be seen by a curious document that was put into my hands by an abolitionist. A free black, some few years ago, came into possession of a pew in one of the churches here. It was the only thing he could obtain from a man who was unable, or unwilling, to pay a legal claim he had upon him. Having furnished it, he offered it for sale. Not finding a purchaser at the price he demanded,—and few would be likely to give the full value for what no one imagined the owner would dare to make use of,—he determined to occupy it himself;—whether he was unconscious of the offence he was about to give, or thought he might as well speculate upon the white man's pride, as, it would seem, the white man had speculated upon his submissiveness. The sensation produced by his unexpected appearance among the favored children of Nature in the very sanctum sanctorum of their distinctions, can be described by

those only who witnessed it. The next Sunday, he took his wife and children with him.—It should be observed that the colored people are not admitted to places of worship, except to small pews or boxes set apart expressly for them, and so placed that they can hear without offending the fastidious delicacy of the congregation.—At Albany, there is one where a curtain is placed in front to conceal the occupants, when there are any; for those for whom they are destined, seldom enter them, and speak of them with the contempt they deserve, as “martin-holes” and “human menageries.” It was now high time that notice should be taken of this contumacious spirit; and the intruder received the two following notes.

“MR. BRINSLEY.

“SIR,

“IF you have any pew-furniture in pew No. 38, Park Street Meeting-house, you will remove it this afternoon.

“GEORGE ODIORNE, for the Committee.

“March 6, 1830.”

With the above was a copy of a note, written the day before to this Agent of the Committee, in these words.

“DEAR SIR,

“PEW No. 38 in Park Street Church is let to Mr. Andrew Ellison.

“Yours respectfully,

“J. BUMSTEAD.”

The other letter was addressed "to Mr. Frederick Brinsley, colored man, Elm Street;" the contents are as follow.

" Boston, March 6, 1830.

" MR. FREDERICK BRINSLEY.

" SIR,

" THE Prudential committee of Park Street Church, notify you not to occupy any pew on the lower floor of Park Street Meeting-house on any Sabbath, or on any other day, during the time of Divine worship, after this date—and, if you go there, with such intent, you will hazard the consequences. The pews in the upper galleries are at your service.

" GEORGE ODIORNE, for the Committee."

Mr. Brinsley, on going again, found a constable at the pew-door. No further attempt was made to assert the rights of property against such a formidable combination; and we may seek in vain for the consequences, which Mr. Odiorne, with official brevity, says, would have been hazarded by another visit to the house of God. The offender is now removed from this scene of persecution and mortification, to a place "where the wicked cease from troubling and the weary are at rest."

A similar circumstance occurred some years ago, when the question was tried in a court of justice, and decided in favor of the plaintiff—a colored man of the name of Joshua Easton. He had sued for damages against certain persons, who had ejected

him from his pew, or rather had rendered it useless to him. Having purchased seats in a Baptist church, recently erected in the town of Randolph, in the State of Massachusetts, he found, on going thither one Sunday with his family, that the seats had been removed. They, accordingly, sat down as well as they could on the flooring. The next Sunday, nothing but the ground being left for their accommodation, the party were obliged to stand up during the service. The enemy, finding that these repeated inconveniences were unavailing, covered the place with pitch and tar. He was satisfied with the victory he had obtained, and shewed his superiority to this petty vulgar malice by not insisting on his right. He never entered the church again.

While I was at Boston, a cause was about to be tried in a court of justice, for a breach of contract. The complainant—a Brazilian, had been a major in the service of his native country, from which he was driven by political dissensions. He endeavored to obtain employment at Haïti; and, subsequently at the Caraccas, whence, distrusting the sincerity of Bolivar, he came to the United States; this being his second visit. He was driven from a boarding-house, where he had been admitted on his arrival, to a miserable lodging, which he left for a private house; and was keeping a store when the circumstances, that gave rise to the litigation, occurred. In the month of November preceding, he was going upon business to



Nantucket, and had reached New Bedford, where he took places in the steam-boat for his wife and himself. The boat was to start at ten next day :—at six, he sent his horse and gig on board ; when, from the negligence of the captain of the vessel, the poor animal was precipitated into the water, and would have been lost, had not the owner exerted himself to save it ;—no one, for some time, offering any assistance. When, at last, the animal had been rescued, he was compelled to pay twenty dollars for the trouble it had given. At noon, the vessel left the place ;—a heavy rain came on ; and his wife descended with an infant at her breast, into the cabin ; where she was stopped, and informed, that she must not enter, because she was *a negro*. There were, at the time, but two women, of the lowest description, in the room. It was in vain that her husband remonstrated against the injustice of refusing him an accommodation, for which he had agreed to pay the same as the other passengers. The captain was inexorable and insulting ; and, though two Americans, who were present, interceded in his behalf, and handed Mrs. Mundrucu down a second time, she was obliged to return on deck, and expose her health (for she was very unwell at the time) and the life of her child, to the inclemency of the weather, which was such, in addition to a thick fog, that the steam-boat returned to New Bedford. The next day the Brazilian party were refused admittance into the boat ;

and their luggage, together with the horse and gig, were left on shore. These particulars I received from the man himself and from his wife—a very good-looking respectable mulatto. From one of his counsel, Mr. Child, a man whom to know is to esteem, I had some anecdotes—and he told me he knew many others of the same kind,—that shewed how undeserving he was of such treatment. When first he commenced business in the city, he became acquainted with a Polish refugee, whose “necessities” were “yet greater” than his own. He assisted him to the utmost of his power, and gave him a new suit of clothes out of his store. Though fully sensible how inexcusable is the cruelty with which prejudice, unequalled by any thing in his own country, has stamped the black man as an inferior being, yet he would never consent to take Mr. Child’s arm, while walking with him in the street; lest such an instance of uncommon liberality should bring reproach or odium on his kind-hearted friend.

At the risk of being tedious, I will mention another trait of generosity in this man. He had, not long before, retained the same counsel in an action he was about to bring against the editor of a newspaper for a libel; when, having received an anonymous letter, advising him to apply for some money owed to him by a person about to fail, and finding, or suspecting, that his libeller and his correspondent were one and the same, he declared that

he would proceed no further against him. It must be very galling to a man who is fit for any society anywhere,—for such I found him,—to be insulted by the lowest blackguard, for no other reason than that Nature gave him a brown complexion, and his own industry has given him a good coat to his back. While relating his story to me, he expressed himself with great propriety upon the subject, and exhibited a degree of forbearance, that added not a little to the interest attached to his situation. The Court of Common Pleas, in which this cause was tried, gave judgement in favor of the plaintiff, with 125 dollars damages ; but, on appeal to the Supreme Court, the decision was set aside. It would be difficult to reconcile these proceedings with the Twelfth Article of the Treaty of Peace, made on the 18th of March, 1829, (to be in force for twelve years,) between the United States and the Brazils. By that article, “ Both the contracting parties promise and engage formally to give their special protection to the persons and property of the citizens and subjects of each other, of all occupations, who may be in their territories, subject to the jurisdiction of the one or the other, transient or dwelling therein, leaving open and free to them the tribunals of justice for their judicial intercourse on the same terms which are usual and customary with the natives and citizens or subjects of the country in which they may be ; for which they may employ, in defence of their rights, such advocates,”

&c. Whether applicable to this case or not, this Article would have been openly violated, had Major Mundrucu gone to Charleston in South Carolina; as he would have been imprisoned immediately by a law of that State, directed against the introduction of colored persons. When last I saw Mundrucu, he was about to quit the country on his return to his native land, having been recalled and reinstated, not only as regarded his rank, but the arrears of pay due to him. I pointed out the above Article to him; and he said he would bring it under the notice of his government. He had appealed from the State courts to the Federal court; but the matter would probably be dropped, as his residence in North America was shortly to cease.

Among the many mistakes and misrepresentations, that have been published with regard to the manners and customs of the country, are two, that a very little observation and inquiry will detect. One, to which I have before alluded, is, that estates are cut to pieces by the law of descent, or lost to the family altogether in a couple of generations. This is so far from being the case, that antiquity of possession sometimes goes further back, relatively, than with us. Not, however, that this is any benefit to the community, for, as Sir John Sinclair says, in his Statistical Account of Scotland, "It has often been observed (though there are many exceptions to the rule) that, when a family has long been in possession

of an estate, it is apt to be neglected ; whereas one, which frequently changes its master, becomes in reality an object of commerce, and every new proprietor endeavors to improve it." We call it an old family that can trace back an uninterrupted descent from the Conquest. Some of our American relatives can trace to the first settlement of the country, when individual possessions were unknown. Mr. Joshua Coffin, of Newbury, in Massachusetts, a name with which Sir Isaac, to whom he is, I believe, distantly related, has made us familiar, has an estate which has been in his family very nearly two centuries ; and some of his neighbors, he told me, were of equal and of older standing. An estate in Long Island, belonging to the family of the recorder of New York, (Mr. Riker,) has descended regularly from father to son for about two centuries. I had the fact from his sister. She added, a singular circumstance, that the estate had usually, I believe I may say uniformly, been transmitted to the youngest son of the immediate occupant. The elder, it appears, had been successively sent from home, and provided for in different professions and employments ; and the last, to whom the care of the farm thus fell, continued to cultivate it after the father's death : and the claims of the rest were settled by an arrangement satisfactory to all parties. Equal partition takes place in the case of intestacy alone ; and then " If the inheritance will not bear partition,

without injury to the parties in interest, the eldest heir, in some of the States, is judiciously allowed to take the whole estate to himself, on paying to the other heirs an equivalent for their shares in money." Kent's Com. iv. 385.

The other circumstance referred to is the condition of American servants, who are said to be universally idle and insolent. My own experience convinced me that this opinion is entitled to no more credit than the other. At the house where I boarded I found the man, who waited at table, particularly attentive. I had little occasion to ask for any thing; as he was sure to observe what I was in the habit of taking at meals, or might want at any other time, and was ready to supply me. He was very active and observant; and performed what he had to do with alacrity and good will. Two of his predecessors, I was told, were even superior to him in assiduity. One of them saved a thousand dollars in service; and was, when I was at Boston, a merchant's clerk, with a fair prospect of rising to a higher station. Vermont and New Hampshire generally supply the New England cities with this class of men. They prove honest, industrious, and prudent: and, when they have laid by a little capital, go into business, and raise themselves to a higher, but not a more respectable, rank. Good masters make good servants here as elsewhere; and those, who complain that there is less distance between the

parties than there is in an old country, would do well to observe, that the proximity would be dearly exchanged for an estrangement, that might drive one of them into a collusive alliance with dishonest tradesmen. The housekeeper's *douceur* from the fishmonger, and the butler's per-centage upon the wine-merchant's bill, are extravagant considerations to pay for obsequiousness and servility. Servants are seldom taught here to say one thing and mean another. If a visitor calls upon any one, who does not wish to be seen, he is informed that the master of the house is engaged: "not at home" is not often the answer given. Falsehood and equivocation are odious vices among the country people; and it would be doing unnecessary violence to the feelings of self-respect, which are imbibed from early infancy, to make a raw and inexperienced lad the medium of communicating what, however intelligible to the initiated, would appear to him either an unwarrantable deception, or a silly deference to a very silly piece of etiquette. This description will not, I fear, apply to the large cities. Domestic service is less distasteful to a New-Englander than to a New-Yorker. One reason of the difference may perhaps be found in the circumstance that there are, with the exception of the most menial departments, fewer black servants in the eastern States.

After all I had seen and heard during my residence in the country, I was not a little surprised to

find in Walsh's "Appeal", an assertion so unfounded that even those, whose character it is employed to defend in the eyes of the world, must blush for it. "Nothing," he says, "can be more false than the representations of English travellers, concerning the treatment of free blacks by whites in the middle and eastern States. It is not true that they are 'excluded from the places of public worship, frequented by the whites':—that 'the most degraded white will not walk or eat with a negro': or that they are 'practically slaves'. Their situation as hired domestics, mechanics, or general laborers, is the same, in all respects, as that of the whites of the same description: they are fed and paid as well; equally exempt from personal violence, and free to change their occupation and their employer. They approach us as familiarly as persons of the correspondent class in England approach their superiors in rank and wealth; and, in general, betray much less servility in their tone and carriage." —P. 397.\*

\* Who would expect in any publication calling itself "Christian" such an unblushing falsehood as the following?—"There are here, thank God! no castes. We have no classes even, which are confined to the trade, business, or condition of their parents. We start, all of us, on equal terms as to rights and objects. The highest prizes of society are open to universal competition: and, though in the nature of things, some must fail, the unsuccessful candidate is known only in the result.



There are public schools for the blacks at Boston, as well as at New York; and they are in the same manner denominated "African"; though the children who attend them, are no more African, than the American children are English; the English Norman; or the Norman Scandinavian. So far, and so low is this spiteful vulgar distinction carried, that, in the Boston Directory, the names of those, whom it is intended to mortify, are placed by themselves at the end of the book;—in Philadelphia they are marked with an asterisk. Great and manifest improvement is going on among this portion of the population. They have formed themselves into a Lyceum, or school of mutual instruction,—at one of the meetings of which I was present at eight in the evening. It was held in one of their chapels. Mr. Isaac Coffin,—a staunch and zealous friend of the cause,—with whom I went, delivered a lecture to them on the elementary principles of arithmetic. There were several women among the auditors. They were all very attentive; and answered, with much propriety, the various questions that incidentally arose during the lecture. The business of the evening commenced with an extempore prayer from one of the men. His language was good, and his pronunciation distinct and correct. The sentiments were appropriate to the place

No man admits beforehand that he or his children should be put out of the race. There is no impassable bar to fortune, fame, rank or honors." Christian Examiner, March 1830.

and the occasion ; and the devout manner of all assembled was very impressive and interesting. In the course of the evening, some conversation took place relative to Liberia, the last accounts from which had been very discouraging ; the mortality among those recently arrived at the colony having been frightfully great. The feeling against this inhuman and preposterous scheme of emigration was unanimous, and most deep-rooted. Yet, in the very next day's " Boston Patriot " an address from the committee, formed at the meeting I had a short time before attended, was published, with the object of procuring funds for the Colonization Society, and declaring that " there were numerous respectable persons of color making application for assistance to emigrate." At the head of the signatures to this document stood that of A. H. Everett. The committee modestly asked for 10,000 dollars in aid of their undertaking ; and concluded their " begging letter " by drawing a sort of parallel between the original founders of New England, and those whom they are doing their utmost to drive out of it. " This appeal," they said, " is made in behalf of an afflicted people, seeking, as our fathers once sought, an asylum on a distant and uncivilized shore ; where they may secure for themselves, and their posterity, through all time, blessings like those we so highly prize." These people forget that they are themselves the persecutors ; and that the only heresy the black " pilgrims "

have committed is that of the skin. They forget that non-conformity to an established creed was then a crime everywhere; and that non-conformity to an established complexion is a crime nowhere—but among themselves. The “honest chronicler,” predestined to spring from the bosom of Liberia, would do well to borrow Mr. Everett’s motto, and expatiating on the matchless merits of his beloved mother-land, exclaim: *O matre pulchrâ filia pulchrior!*

That this Society have an instinctive dread of discussion is plain from the conduct of many of its members. When “The Liberator” first made its appearance at Boston, in January 1831, they were willing to support the paper, on condition that it would not offer any opposition to their proceedings; and would submit to the revision of a censorial committee. These terms were rejected by its conductors; and Garrison and his intrepid coadjutor, Knapp, with whom it had originated, continued the publication with a zeal and perseverance that no opposition could daunt, and no discouragement could relax. They had not a dollar in their exchequer, and were often put to great shifts in their efforts to obtain printing paper. They worked, night and day, to procure funds, and keep their little bark afloat. I know, from the best authority, that they deprived themselves of every thing but mere necessaries, and had little beyond bread and water to subsist on.

The result has rewarded their labors. The child of their creation—the Anti-slavery Society,—which first came into existence in 1831, has grown with astonishing rapidity. From twelve that gave it being, it numbered, when I was first at Boston, above 2000 members; and auxiliaries were springing up on every side. Its expenditure has usually exceeded its means; as other channels have received the contributions of those who have engaged in the same cause\*. The legislature of Georgia, indignant at the attack made upon its legitimate rights by a northern journal, and aware that the State of Massachusetts would not protect its citizens from any indignity or outrage that hostility to the established system might bring upon them, passed a resolution, that would, if its spirit had been acted up to, have most effectually stopped the editor's mouth. His friends were, indeed, for a long time alarmed for his safety, under an apprehension that he would share the fate of Morgan†, for daring to interfere with a matter much

\* When I landed at New York, there was, I believe, but one Anti-Slavery Society in the United States—the one alluded to. I do not speak of the old manumission societies—they have other objects, and employ other means. When I left New York for England, there were at least 150; and their numbers were increasing.

† Morgan was the name of a man whose imprudence in exposing the secrets of the Masons, is believed to have cost him

more likely to excite angry and resentful feelings than any connected with masonry.

The State-paper alluded to throws some light on the real condition of that liberty which is supposed to flourish in the favored soil of the western world. It is as follows :—

“ In Senate, Nov. 30, 1831.

“ RESOLVED, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Georgia, in General Assembly met, that the sum of five thousand dollars be, and the same is hereby appropriated, to be paid to any person or persons, who shall arrest, bring to trial, and prosecute to conviction, under the laws of this State, the editor and publisher of a certain paper called the Liberator, published in the town of Boston and State of Massachusetts; or who shall arrest, &c., any other person or persons who shall utter, publish, or circulate, within the limits of this State, said paper called the Liberator, or any other paper, circular, pamphlet, letter or address of a seditious character,” &c. [Then follows the authorization of the Governor to draw on the Treasurer for the said sum of 5000 dollars, and to publish the resolutions in the journals.]

“ Read and agreed to,

“ THOS. STOCKS, PRESIDENT.”

his life. He was carried off from the State of New York, a few years before, by some members of that society, and never was seen or heard of again.

After the attestations of the clerk, and the Speaker of the House of Representatives, comes the signature of the Governor, Wilson Lumpkin\*.

This bull, it is well known, was thundered at Garrison; who, in the early part of the preceding year, had been sentenced in Baltimore, to a fine of fifty dollars, with costs of prosecution, for "a gross and malicious libel," published in his "Genius of Universal Emancipation", against Francis Todd and Nicholas Brown, owner and captain of a vessel, fitted out at Newburyport in Massachusetts for New Orleans. It had been their intention to take in a cargo of slaves at Baltimore for the latter city; and it was for stigmatising these citizens of a "free State," where slavery is said to be held in abhorrence, as "enemies of their own species," "highway robbers and murderers," that the guilt of "calling a spade a spade" was punished by imprisonment in the common jail of Baltimore;—the fine affixed to the

\* Equal attention was paid during the session to connubial rights and the rights of property: twenty-one acts of divorce having been passed by the legislature. In 1829, there were twenty-seven. In Missouri, another slave state, there were forty-nine divorces a year or two back—pretty well for a population of whites under 115,000, in 1830! An act of this kind, among others, was granted in Mississippi, in 1830, because the petitioners could not live happily together—"the happiness of the people"—as the preamble declared—"being the ultimate end and object of all governments."

crime being beyond the means of the criminal. He was subsequently released by the generosity of Mr. Arthur Tappan, of New York,—the firm and munificent friend of the black man. It was proved, on the trial, that eighty-eight slaves (not seventy-five, as Garrison had stated) were taken in between Baltimore and Annapolis, in Maryland; a new clearance having been obtained at the latter place.

The southerners will not allow any one from the other States to interfere with what they consider within their own exclusive jurisdiction. A Bostonian travelling not long ago in one of the slave States with his wife, met a negro in a cart. The poor fellow, overcome by the intense heat of the day, was leaning forward, as if half asleep, when the driver, as he passed him, struck him with his whip across the face with such violence, that one of his eyes was either torn from the socket or so much injured as to bleed most profusely. The New Englanders were indignant at this wanton barbarity; and the husband—a very humane, but a very high-spirited man—expostulated rather warmly with the brute; when he was damn'd for a Yankee, and told to mind his own affairs, and not interfere with people who had a right to do what they liked with the *niggers*. The well-meant appeal operated like Don Quixote's intercession in favor of the boy whom his master was flogging. The driver, during the rest

of the journey, lashed at every man of color he could reach with his whip.

The villages about Boston are very prettily situated, and abound in fine views and picturesque scenery in greater variety probably than any other city of the Union. I had the pleasure of seeing some of them through the kindness of a friend, who took me with him in his open carriage, among several places, to Brooklyne, where there are some country residences belonging to the merchants of the city. Conspicuous above the rest were two, belonging to two brothers of the name of Perkins; to one of whom the public is indebted for the Athenæum; and to the other for the Blind Asylum. The way in which the latter donation was made was very judicious. The house—worth 30,000 dollars—was given as an institution for the purpose, on condition that 50,000 dollars should be raised by voluntary subscriptions within a certain time. The appropriation had just been made; and the contributions already exceeded the sum required. There was a fair or bazaar upon the occasion, when the ladies of Boston attended to dispose of the toys and trinkets and other articles they had made, or taken in charge, for the benefit of the charity.

A little squib, that had reference either to this or some other meeting, had appeared, when I was there, and, as it depicted the personal peculiarities



of some of the actors and actresses in the scene, it had given great offence to the parties concerned, and excited an extraordinary sensation everywhere. I looked over the publication—a little dialogue or drama of a few meagre pages; and a more vulgar insipid performance I scarcely ever read—equally deficient in point, humor, and imagination. It was a coarse farcical picture of oddities that no one would care to see exhibited in others or attributed to himself, nothing indicative of character, good or bad, being connected with them. Yet, to hear what was said on the subject, one would have thought that the author had violated the sanctities of domestic life, and deserved to be kicked out of society for a wanton breach of its most sacred obligations. Satire and caricature must be unknown, where a trifle so thoroughly insignificant can survive a week's notice, or extend beyond the limits of a country town.

On my return from Brooklyne, I spent the remainder of the day at Mr. Child's, whose lady's writings are well known in England, where they are much admired. She had just completed a little work on slavery,—a book that had not only given offence to some of her aristocratical friends, but was likely to affect her interests (if, where there is so much principle, there can be any pecuniary interests felt) as an author. Hints had been given to her, that her devotion to an unpopular cause would

alienate some of her friends—I should say her acquaintances—from her. These considerations would not, however, have the slightest effect in altering the course of conduct prescribed to her by a sense of duty, as she was as little likely to abandon any object from the fear of censure, as to pursue it from the love of praise. Pierpont,—whose “First-Class Book” had been discontinued in the schools at the south, because it contained “Webster’s Remarks on the Slave Trade,” and Cowper’s beautiful verses on Slavery,—very considerately asked her whether she did not expect to be treated in the same way as himself for a similar want of prudence.

American literature may be characterised, in general, as timid or mercenary, or both, in the silence it observes, or the defence it takes up on this topic. We, who breathe the air of liberty and liberality in England, and can openly express our abhorrence of the system, careless of the ridicule and resentment of its advocates, can form but a very inadequate conception of the moral intrepidity and strength of mind it requires to stem the torrent of prejudice,—to brave the sneers and sarcasms of the worldly,—to face the cold looks of our intimate friends,—to be branded as fanatics and firebrands,—to be openly accused of a wish to loosen the bonds of our country’s union, and to risk, in the defence of rights withheld or denied, all the annoyances and petty persecutions that self-interest, and envy, and malice,

and the consciousness of a mean subserviency to the vilest customs can suggest, to "the great vulgar and the small." All these, and more, will, I doubt not, be nobly and cheerfully borne by a woman, who has done honor to her sex, by being the first and the foremost to dedicate her time and her talents to the honorable task of rescuing it from the disgrace of having so long viewed with apathy and silence the unutterable brutalities by which their helpless and harmless sisters have been tortured and degraded in the slave-states of North America. On returning to my lodgings, after midnight, I found the window on the ground floor open, and the front door unlocked. Leaving every thing as I found it, I retired to my chamber, and slept with the door open, with no other fears than my hospitable friend's lobster presented to my dreaming fancy.

The next Sunday there was so great a crowd at Christchurch, to which I went in the evening, that I had some difficulty in getting a seat. A well dressed man, in one of the pews, observing my embarrassment, very civilly gave up his place to me, and insisted upon standing in the aisle. The cause of this assemblage was the unusual appearance of a black man in the pulpit. His object in preaching was to procure funds for assisting him to liquidate a debt of 1100 dollars, with which the church he officiated in at Baltimore was encumbered. He had received episcopal ordination, and had been regu-

larly appointed to a colored congregation in that city. The service was well performed; and the sermon, which was sensible, impressive, and well delivered, was listened to with much attention. Yet, though thus permitted to address a white audience, and treated with respect by the proper officers of the church, he was shamefully insulted on his return home. I was behind him and the clergyman of the church where he had preached, both of them in gowns, as is the custom with the Episcopal clergy, when half a dozen young men, whose dress denoted something like respectability, thinking a colored man in canonicals a fit object of ridicule for a Sabbath evening in the orderly city of Boston, burst out into a loud laugh as he passed, and stopping to enjoy the amusement at their leisure, cracked their jokes upon him in the most pointed and offensive manner. I could not restrain the indignation I felt; and turning towards them, I enquired what he had done to offend them, that he should be so insulted. They made no reply—but sneaked off, and shewed they had still some shame left. There were two other persons with me; but they said nothing, hoping that a transaction so discreditable to the manners of the place would have escaped observation.

The next day I had an opportunity of conversing with the stranger, who proved to be a very shrewd and intelligent man. He put into my hands the

testimonial, or letter of recommendation, with which he had been furnished on leaving Baltimore to seek assistance in the middle and Eastern States. It was signed by the ministers of three Episcopalian churches and a domestic missionary in Baltimore, and stated that his object in soliciting aid was highly useful and praiseworthy. "It may be well to add," they said, "that Mr. Levington serves the parish of which he is rector gratuitously; receiving his whole support from his school; and that the payment of the small debt still due for the building occupied by his church and school, will leave him, without embarrassment, to prosecute the important interest to which he is devoted." They spoke of him as "a prudent pious man, of reputable intelligence and sound judgement."

Scanty as his resources were from his school, they were rendered less productive than they might have been, by the unjust and unconstitutional law of the State, prohibiting the introduction of colored persons from without. In consequence of this iniquitous enactment, he had lost several pupils that were offered to him. For one of them,—the daughter of a respectable man at Albany, who, as well as his wife, had been educated by him,—he would have had 100 dollars a-year; but he was compelled to decline receiving her into his house. He related to me several instances of insult and indignity to which his color

was constantly exposing him. One of them had occurred a few months previously. He was travelling by the De Witt Clinton steam-boat from New York to Albany; and, though the weather was extremely cold, and he had paid the same fare as the rest of the passengers, the captain refused him any accommodations below, and he had to pass the whole night on deck, with nothing to lie upon but the bare boards. To use his own expression, "A dog would have had more care taken of him."

Among those noble-minded men, who are struggling against the influence of this baneful prejudice, there is one at Boston, so determined to rise superior to it, and yet so distrustful of the spirit required to combat it successfully, that he accustoms his children, when very young, to sleep in the same bed with those of the proscribed race, that the first ideas received in infancy may be in favor of kindness towards those whom they will in after life see ill-treated, and that they may escape that detestable superstition he still finds lurking in his own bosom.

After all the inquiries and personal observations I could make among all classes, and in every spot I visited, I could find nothing that could afford the slightest justification of the odium and contempt thrown upon these unfortunate people. When the cholera was raging at Boston, not an instance occurred of any one among them deserting a friend or

a relative: many volunteered their services, and took care of the white patients who had been abandoned by their timid families. I cannot recall to my mind any one instance, in which they spoke of what they had done, or others had neglected to do, on that melancholy occasion.

One would have been led to expect that the Irish, who have quitted their native country to escape persecution, would have felt some sympathy for its victims in the land of their adoption. But, to the shame of that nation, the reverse is the case. Nearly all of them, who have resided there any length of time, are more bitter and severe against the blacks than the native whites themselves. It seems as if the disease were more virulent when taken by inoculation than in the natural way. One of these unworthy countrymen of O'Connell was travelling, on horseback, in Vermont, when he requested a woman, who was standing at the door of a house, to send some one to take care of his horse. She told him she would send her husband. In a few minutes, a black man came out, to the great astonishment of the stranger. "Pray," said he to the wife, "has your family met with any misfortune, that you should so far disgrace it as to make such a degrading alliance?" "Yes," was her reply. "My poor sister met with a misfortune that brought irreparable disgrace upon us:—she married an Irish-

man!" Such marriages are permitted in the State of Vermont\* ; not so in that of which the religious city of Boston is the metropolis.

The following law may not be at present enforced, but it was in existence so late as 1831, when a Bill "containing an amendment, authorizing the marriage of blacks with whites, which passed to a third reading in the Massachusetts House of Representatives, was finally rejected by that body." Niles's Register. The 7th section of an Act, passed June 22, 1786, enacts, "that no person, authorised (by the Act of

\* By the laws of Maryland, the child of a white woman by a negro or mulatto, is to be put out to service till the age of twenty-one; and the mother to forfeit 10*l.* to the State, and to be publicly whipped by thirty-nine stripes on her bare back, *well laid on*, at the common whipping-post; besides standing in the pillory for two hours. The father, in addition to the whipping, to have one ear nailed to the pillory. White men connected with negresses, to be fined 20*l.*, and to receive twenty-one lashes at the common whipping-post. These statutes are, I believe, still in existence; but it is doubtful if they are ever enforced—certainly not the last. In some of the slave states, it is a capital offence in a colored man to cohabit with a white woman. A man was hanged not long ago for this crime at New Orleans. The partner of his guilt—his master's daughter—endeavored to save his life, by avowing that she alone was to blame. She died shortly after his execution. He was a remarkably handsome Quadroon. Marriage, as a bar to the infliction of these penalties, is out of the question.



which it is a part) to marry, shall join in marriage any white person with any negro, Indian, or mulatto, on penalty of the sum of 50*l.*, (about 38*l.* sterling,) two-third parts thereof to the use of the county wherein such offence shall be committed, and the residue to the prosecutor, to be recovered by the treasurer of the same county, &c.; and all such marriages shall be absolutely null and void." It is not many years ago that the penalty for this enormous offence was enforced; and a clergyman was fined for lending the sanction of religion to an union, which, without it, would have incurred neither punishment nor censure.

The Mayor of Boston (H. G. Otis) writing, in 1831, to an eminent counsellor of the state of S. Carolina, said, "The number of free people of color among us has not yet become inconvenient. They are as yet, a quiet, inoffensive, and in many respects, a useful race. Many of them are worthy and well-principled persons. . . . But it is not to be disguised, that a repugnance to intimate social relations with them is insurmountable. Our laws forbid the intermarriage of whites with people of color, and every consideration recommends our endeavoring to prevent a disturbance of the mutual understanding which regulates our intercourse." Thus it appears, it is neither "lawful" nor "expedient," in the land of the pilgrim fathers, for a white to marry a quiet, inoffensive, useful, worthy, and well-

principled person! By the revised statutes of Illinois (1829), whites marrying negroes or mulattoes, are to be whipped, fined, and imprisoned; and the marriage to be ipso facto null and void. Illinois is called a free State: she decreed at the same time, that "any person who shall disturb the peace and good order of society by labor or amusement on the first day of the week, &c., shall be fined—not exceeding five dollars." What broad phylacteries these pious people must have!

I visited but few of the public institutions of Boston, owing to causes, which, as they refer to personal ailments, are equally unfit to be recorded, and unpleasant to be remembered. One of these institutions was the lunatic asylum, about a mile from Boston—an establishment well situated and well conducted. The view from the house towards the city on the opposite side of the water, is very agreeable and cheerful. There is a good garden attached to it with separate grounds for patients of both sexes in the different stages of their complaint. There were forty-five men and thirty women there at the time. The physician (who is also superintendent) was out, but his son took my companion (an American gentleman) and myself over the establishment, and explained with much politeness, the arrangements of the building and the mode of treatment, which did not appear to have any striking peculiarity in it. He told us, that about

two-thirds of the cases were cured. The proportion had recently increased, as the reluctance to send relatives to such establishments was declining, since greater confidence had begun to prevail in the improved system of treatment, and more rational notions of what is due to a class of sufferers, who are too often sacrificed to pride and avarice. The chance of recovery, it is well known, is in an inverse ratio to the duration of the disease. About half a million of dollars had been laid out upon the institution. Forty thousand were originally voted by the legislature for the purpose, on condition that 100,000 should be raised by subscription. The sum stipulated for was advanced; and subsequent donations have been added: one, amounting to 100,000 dollars by the will of a benefactor, in honor of whom the place is called the M'Lean Asylum. It is connected with the Boston Hospital, and is, with that, under the management of a board of twelve trustees, and the inspection of a board of five visitors. The latter consists of the Governor, and Lieutenant-Governor of the State, the President of the Senate, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and the Chaplains of the two houses. The former, whose services are gratuitous, are elected annually, four by the visitors, and the rest by the governors of the hospital. A committee, formed from this body, visit the asylum once every week, for the purpose of seeing that the inmates are

properly treated. In one of the wards through which we passed, there were several patients, who were immediately removed into an adjoining room. As they withdrew, they cast glances of displeasure and suspicion about them. Such seemed to me the expression of their countenances. It would be better to accustom them to the sight of strangers, except where violence is to be dreaded, and to keep from their minds every idea of mystery, or mistrust. They should be made to distinguish between punishment for misconduct and precaution against misfortune.

The next day I went to Cambridge, between which place and Boston an omnibus plies several times a day, of such capacious dimensions, that, if the man who drove it was to be credited, a cargo of forty-three persons could be safely stowed inside and outside of it. The professor and librarian of Harvard College, to whom I had letters of introduction, were out (it being vacation time). But I fortunately fell into conversation with a person whom I saw at a bookseller's shop; and he very politely offered his services to attend me through the establishment. He had, I believe, been formerly librarian. We accordingly visited the lecture-rooms, library, &c. The library contains, in addition to the collection of law publications in another building, about 40,000 volumes, which appear to be well selected, and adapted to the literary pursuits of the place. Though not so extensive as many enjoyed by older and more wealthy

endowments, it has neither been swelled by a tax upon literature; nor if it were, would the benefits of an eleemosynary grant from the legislature be refused, from difference of religion, to the very persons upon whom it was levied. I was highly gratified by what I saw; and considering that the students are generally younger than they are at our universities, I should conceive that the method of instruction is well suited to the purposes for which it is intended. The young men *keep* (to use a word common at Boston as well as at Cambridge) partly in the college, and partly in lodgings. The former class usually *chum* together, i. e. have a common sitting-room connected with separate bed-rooms. Those who wish to study law or divinity or physic, remain after they have graduated, and attend lectures appropriate to the respective professions. There are about 300 pupils. In the library I was shown several books that John Hollis, the celebrated republican, presented to the college. One book interested me a good deal; it was a Foulis edition, in folio, of *Paradise Lost*; and was presented by Brook Watson, sometime Lord Mayor of London, to Phillis Wheatley in July, 1733. Phillis was an African, who had been stolen from her native country at an early age; and having received some instruction from the persons into whose hands she fell, had evinced very considerable talents for poetry, of which she published a small poem—a little pro-

duction that was honored with the praises of Jefferson, and has very lately made its re-appearance in a new form, and with a biographical memoir of its author. There is a copy in the library. In the preface, it is stated, that she had received but eighteen months' education in reading, when she could read, with great propriety and clearness, certain parts of the New Testament "to the astonishment of the beholders." This expression marks emphatically the low estimation in which the African intellect was held at that time. She was in London whence the donation is dated, when she was presented with Milton's poem. She returned to Boston, where she died in great distress, having married very unfortunately. After her death, her books were sold to pay her husband's debts; and her copy of the *Paradise Lost* was presented to Harvard College, in March 1824, by Dudley Pickman, of Salem, in Massachusetts. The donor doubtless expected that the learned pundits of Cambridge would shew this wonderful production "as we shew an ape" in Europe.

Among the arcana of the library is a MS. edition of Hippocrates, of such exquisite finish that it would be almost impossible to distinguish it from printing. It is far superior to the imitations of the same characters by Porson. The writing was the work of an English school-master of the name of Thomasen. It was given to the college by Dr. Nicholls, who sent it over from England. My guide told me there was an-

other specimen of the kind by the same hand at the British Museum in the Oxford collection of MSS.\*

Having heard from my English friends, who had now quitted Boston, that there was a very interesting school in the town for colored children†, under the care of a young woman of the name of Paul, whose management of the pupils they had been highly pleased with; I called at her mother's, and was informed that her daughter was in the country. Some circumstances connected with her journey had given Mrs. Paul great uneasiness.

\* The work he alluded to is in the Harleian Miscellany at the British Museum, and is marked 6315. It is in folio. It is a manuscript copy of Pindar, and is probably the most beautiful imitation of Greek type in existence. Prefixed is a letter to the Bishop of Chester, dated "Tarvin, near Chester, December 31, 1725," and signed "John Thomasen." It was at the suggestion of the former Bishop of the diocese that he had acquired the art, of which this incomparable specimen remains, as "the only means in his power to help out a small income, and make himself so far known as to be removed (if possible) into some less fatiguing way of life than that of a poor country school." His attempts had, he says, proved unsuccessful, though they had more than once promised fairly. The queen gave him fifty pounds, and promised him an annuity, but her death soon after disappointed him of all his hopes from that quarter.

† Dr. Spurzheim, after he had examined the heads of these children, on a visit he paid to the school, was heard to say: "I see no difference;" alluding, doubtless, to the supposed inferiority of cerebral development.

She was going to visit some friends at Exeter, fifty miles from Boston, and had been unable to procure a seat in the stage, as the driver, though her place had been taken the night before, refused to carry her, except on the outside,—a seat so seldom occupied by women, that no respectable female would venture to sit there, at the risk of being laughed at or insulted. She declined, therefore, to subject herself to such humiliation, and proceeded to Exeter with her brother, in a gig. Her fare by the coach would have been two dollars and a quarter; while the hire of the gig was seven. Add to this the loss of two days' work to her brother, a lad of twenty years of age, and a repetition of the expense on her return home; and it will be seen how "hard it is to climb" under the double load of industrious poverty and a dark complexion. The journey from, and back to, Boston, cost her and her brother twenty-seven dollars; whereas the whole amount by the stage would have been but four and a half. The proprietors of the stage quoted the Park Street Chapel case, in vindication of their conduct. This young person's father was a clergyman, well known in England, where he met, during his stay there about twenty years back, those attentions and regards which were due to his exemplary character. Her uncle is married to an English woman, and is, or was, in the native country of his wife. He is not inferior in any respect to his brother. Yet this young woman, who is possessed



of an accomplished mind, and exempt from all reproach, cannot visit her distant friends without subjecting herself to ruinous expense or intolerable indignities. Her mother was much affected while relating the story to me, and contrasted the reception of the parent in England, with the refusal of common civility to the daughter at home. Since this occurrence, she has met with still worse treatment. The house, in which this family reside, is situated in a bad neighbourhood, and Miss Paul was in treaty for a better, with the view of removing her establishment to another quarter, when she was informed, that the inhabitants of the street, in which she was about to settle, had resolved to eject her or pull the building down, if she persisted in her determination. Not the slightest objection was offered to her character.

Her brother—a very respectable and clever lad—was entered at the grammar-school at Boston: but the opposition to his admission was such, that, though very desirous of studying the dead languages, as a preparation to a higher employment than that he was engaged in, he was induced, by the advice of the Mayor, to withdraw. Some time after this, a mulatto from Nassau, in New Providence, a member of the legislature, who was travelling in the United States, told me he had been much distressed by the insults he had met with. He could not comprehend the reason. On taking his place from

Boston to Providence, the book-keeper, who had registered his name, tore it out in his presence, because he declined riding outside. At another office, the driver agreed to take him up at his lodgings. After waiting in vain for him, he had no resource but to hire a private carriage, which cost him 17 dollars. The fare by the stage is not more than two or three.

In the evening, I accompanied a party on an excursion to Mount Auburn, where a cemetery, about five miles from Boston, has been laid out in imitation of Père la Chaise. Should the simple and appropriate embellishments, of which this place is susceptible, correspond with what has already been done, it may, without any stretch of fancy, be predicted, that the child will be no disgrace to the parent. There are about 100 acres enclosed; and part has been appropriated to the projected object, by small allotments of land, which have been purchased for family vaults. The ground is well wooded; and paths have been made so as to shew the undulations and inequalities of its surface to the greatest advantage. A few monuments have been erected; and when a sufficient number has been added to throw an air of interest and solemnity upon the picturesque scenery around, the effect will be such as to impress the visitor with those feelings which such a spot is calculated to produce.

The ground was consecrated in Sept. 1831, and is

now in possession of the Horticultural Society, of which any one who purchases an allotment by the payment of sixty dollars, becomes a member. As this is a chartered company, and the legislature has exempted these portions from attachment for debt, and the owners are empowered to dispose of them, there is the best security that the place will be properly kept up, and the sacred character of its destination preserved. At present there are too few emblems of mortality to arrest attention or impose restraint. Parties of pleasure come hither from the city in great number every day. No less than 600 visitors had been there on one day the preceding week. When the cemetery is completed, and the novelty of the thing is worn off, a visit to this hallowed spot will call up reflections and associations more impressive and permanent.

The place is not well secured against "body snatchers," who carry on a very profitable trade in this part of the country—as much as 100 dollars having been given for a subject. Stone-vaults and iron-doors will not easily baffle such adventurers. The odium in which this vile, yet necessary trade is held, is so inveterate, that few people would scruple to shoot the invader of the tomb. One of these midnight marauders was followed for upwards of forty miles, and narrowly escaped the vengeance of his pursuer. A recent law of the State, appropriating

the unclaimed bodies of all who die in the public institutions to dissection, will do more to eradicate this band of outlaws than any threats of punishment, public or private, directed against robbing the grave, or having dead bodies in one's possession. This enactment is very unpopular, as if it favored the rich, while in fact, it protects the poor, who were most exposed, under the former system, to be stolen when dead, by the "resurrection-men," and mangled while living, by unskilful surgeons. The wealthy could hire watchmen for the grave, and purchase the best medical assistance for the sick room. The poor could do neither. Exhumation is punished with great severity in the State of Vermont; the penalty being, in aggravated cases, 1000 dollars' fine, and imprisonment for ten years. Two young men of the name of Daggett—one of them a student of medicine, were sentenced there lately, to three years' imprisonment, and a fine of 500 dollars with costs of prosecution, for disinterring a dead body.

About fifteen miles from Boston, at the extremity of a peninsula which forms part of the bay, is Nahant, a small watering-place, a favorite resort for the city "folk." A friend, to whose kindness I am indebted for similar acts of politeness, took me over in his carriage to see the place. It stands on a rocky promontory, and commands some fine sea-views. The steam-boat, which plies regularly between Bos-

ton and Nahant, (Sundays not excepted,) brings them into close contact, and affords, after the business of the day, to the merchants and professional men, the delights of country air in the midst of their families. There are several hotels and boarding-houses, generally crammed during the season. We went into one of them to see the billiard-room. There we found parties of men engaged in the game—there were two or three tables—and among them one solitary female, surrounded by the rougher sex, and exhibiting a degree of adroitness in knocking the balls about almost as remarkable as her self-possession and ease, under circumstances that would cover a young lady in Europe with confusion and embarrassment. There were at least a dozen men present; and others were continually coming in and out—yet the fair Achilles parried the jokes of the bystanders, and the attacks of her adversary, with equal spirit and readiness; and would not have betrayed her sex at the sight of jewels or laces; nor thrown down the weapon in her hand for all the “armour” of the toilette. She was young and good-looking; and her sister, who had not long been married, was considered the belle of the place. This exhibition of independence among the young women, is one of the most striking features to be observed in the manners and customs at places of public resort in the United States. Chaque nation a ses usages; but we cannot forget Madame Dacier’s in-

scription \* in the German album, and must agree with her, that reserve is one of the brightest ornaments in the fair sex.

My companion, who was engaged to dine with the Humane Society, introduced me to some ladies, with whom I passed the rest of the day very agreeably till our return. They were well-bred, well-informed women; and had travelled a good deal in Europe. They amused me much with the description they gave of the extraordinary ignorance they found among the English, of every thing American. They spoke, however, favorably, as all Americans that I have seen, do, who have been there, of their reception in England. The testimony of travellers from both nations is on this point fully reciprocated. The ladies had not long been returned from a visit to the South, and represented that part of the Union as undisguisedly hostile towards the other. "Confusion to New England", was a toast given one day in a convivial party, in presence of a lady from the North. They had a white servant with them; and, as he was the only man of his color who waited at table, the rest being slaves, much surprise and displeasure were felt, at the house where they boarded in Richmond, at the unusual spectacle of a freeman among the helots. One person present exclaimed, in a transport of fury against what these self-created nobles consider an infringe-

\* Γυναιξιν ἡ σιγή φέρει κοσμον.

ment of man's dignity,—“ It makes my blood boil in my veins to see a white man standing behind a chair.”

One circumstance, mentioned by these ladies, as having particularly struck them in England,—and indeed I have often heard the remark by others,—seems to afford a key to a very curious passage in the *American Quarterly Review* (1827). As it affords a fine specimen of the mock-heroic, I will give it at full length ; premising that the connecting link between the ladies at Nahant and the writer in Philadelphia, is the notion entertained among the uneducated classes in the old country, that the inhabitants of the new are all black or dark-colored.

“ The chief part of our countrymen conscientiously believe that a mixture of the two races would deteriorate both our physical and intellectual character. Of this hypothesis we give no opinion. It, however, does not want arguments both of reason and authority to support it ; but, whether it be true or false, so long as it prevails among our citizens, they will view with aversion and dread what must subject all of their country and race to a lasting physical debasement \*. Nor can they be expected to be indifferent to the future jeers and scoffs of the unmixed European race on either side of the Atlantic ; who, with the ever-ready disposition of mankind, to claim

\* Here, as far at least as regards the physical character, the Reviewer assumes as true the very hypothesis upon which he had just before said he would give no opinion.

a merit from any peculiarity of their own, would twit them with the ignominy of their descent."

It is unnecessary to point out the extreme absurdity of declaring hostility to the spirit of ridicule; at the moment of inviting its shafts by the display, in all its malignity and sensitiveness, of the "ever-ready disposition" which gives it its existence and amusement. If the feelings here described be really national, it would be difficult to say which was most disgraceful:—the imputation of such a silly taste for jeering, or the dread of becoming its victim. To escape the embarrassment of this contingency, the Reviewer recommends that nearly one-fifth of the whole population should be expatriated:—

*O fortes, pejoraque passi!—cras ingens iterabimus æquor!*

What a dilemma for a great nation! To tremble at the idea both of insurrection and of amalgamation; and to shrink equally from the resentment and from the love of the African race!

There are several Episcopal churches in Boston. The first I attended was the Trinity Church (so called, as many would say, who look upon the congregation as heretics, like "common sense" because it is uncommon). It is a neat and very convenient building;—the pews, as well as the aisle, carpeted; and the galleries so placed on each side, as to obstruct neither the light nor the sound. Over the entrance is the organ; and opposite, ad-



joining the wall, the reading-desk and pulpit : below them the communion-table, on that spot where the parish clerk, with us, sits in all the dignity of the squire's old black coat, and makes the responses mechanically. That office is performed in the American Episcopal churches by the congregation. It happened to be a sacrament day ; and there was a goodly, yet modest, display of plate. The clergyman, who officiated, was dressed as his brethren are in England ; and descended, at the proper time, to read the Communion service at the table below. The liturgy was nearly the same as ours, with some few alterations, adapted to the political institutions of the country, and the existing state of delicacy with which some expressions in our ritual are not quite in accordance. It was announced, previously to the reading of the Litany, that the prayers of the congregation were requested for two sick persons. A separate prayer, appropriated to this object, was offered up, after the Litany, in which the words, occurring to that effect in ours, were omitted. The singing, as I found in most of the places of worship I attended, was good. The glorification was sung, not between the psalms, but at their conclusion only. As for the sermon, it was, to my ears, perfectly unintelligible ; partly owing to the affected pronunciation of the preacher, and partly to his dropping the termination of his sentences and syllables in a low and abrupt voice. This was the more perplexing, as he had

read the service very distinctly. On conversing afterwards with one or two persons on the subject, I perceived that the unvarying repetition of the same words every Sunday was becoming, as it is elsewhere, unpalatable to many, with whom the finest composition in profane prose or poetry would lose the greatest part of its beauty, if often read or recited, and cease to command attention, or leave any permanent impression.

Bishoprics are very different things among the descendants of the pilgrims from what they are in other places; and perhaps there may be an equal difference in the motives for accepting them. The predecessor of the minister I heard at Trinity Church gave up his rectory, which was worth between 3000 and 4000 dollars per annum, and was appointed to a bishopric, which was said to be scarcely more than so many hundreds. Such instances of a pure mind, uninfluenced by mean and mercenary feelings, are, I was told, less rare than they may sound to ears accustomed to tales of a very opposite character—well known histories, that tell us preferment means a higher stipend; and translation signifies removal to a richer see.

The oldest Episcopal church in New England is King's Chapel, at Boston. The proprietors made, in 1785, some alterations in the Liturgy, in accordance with Dr. Samuel Clarke's suggestions, and continued the use of the Common Prayer thus revised

till 1811, when further changes took place. In 1787, the congregation ordained Mr. Freeman; Bishop Provost of New York, to whom application had been made for that purpose, not having returned a satisfactory reply. This irregular mode of proceeding, as might have been foreseen, gave rise to a sharp controversy; and the Divine, thus uncanonically appointed, underwent a sort of excommunication from the pulpits of five sister churches in New England. The only notice Mr. Freeman took of this document, was to insert a copy of it in the *Columbian Sentinel*.

Since the revolution, there have been thirty bishops in the American Protestant church. Of these sixteen are now living; three were consecrated in England, one in Scotland, and the rest in the United States. There are sixty-five students in the General Theological Seminary; eight missionaries employed at home, two in Greece, and one about to be sent to China. Between 1792 and 1832, the Episcopal clergy increased twofold in Connecticut and South Carolina; fourfold in Massachusetts and Pennsylvania, and sevenfold in the State of New York. During the same period, the decrease in Virginia was from sixty-one to fifty-six. In the diocese of New York, there are 190 congregations and 183 clergymen.

Having passed the evening at Mr. Child's, and expressing a wish to see how that portion of the

citizens really live, who are condemned to hopeless degradation, he conducted me to the house of a man, with whom he was well acquainted. The owner was ill in bed, and his wife at a religious meeting. On my requesting his boy, who had opened the door, to allow us to look over the house, we were shewn into a sitting-room on the ground-floor, well furnished and in good order. Over the fireplace stood a French clock in a glass case with several neat ornaments: the whole bespeaking the residence of an industrious respectable family. We then went up stairs to visit the invalid. The bedroom corresponded to the one below:—the bedstead of handsome mahogany, and the rest of the furniture such as one might expect to find in an English tradesman's house. We had a good deal of conversation with the sick man, whose language and manner were singularly correct and becoming. He told us he had caught a chill by sleeping, as he had always done, at his store, which was situated in a damp unhealthy part of the town. He had been induced to remain there, during the night, instead of returning home, from an apprehension, that, if a fire should break out in the building, his sons, whom he must have left there, to take care of his goods, would in all probability, be accused of an attempt to burn down the premises. For a similar reason, though his dwelling-house, which he had built himself, had cost him upwards of 1500 dollars, exclusive of the

furniture, he had insured it for 1200 only; lest, in case of fire, accidents from which are very frequent in all the large cities, he should meet with some difficulty in recovering the amount of his loss from the insurers. Upon my companion asking him how one of his friends, whom he named, was getting on,—“very badly,” was his reply; “he can get but little employment, as the whites will not work with him.” The poor fellow was a carpenter. This is a fair specimen of the encouragement given to Africo-American industry!

A committee of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts recommended, in 1821, that some law should be passed against the introduction of free blacks from the south; whence they were likely to be driven by harsh laws. Georgia, it was stated, had taxed every free negro twenty dollars annually. Among other things in this report was an apprehension that these people would, if admitted into the State, “substitute themselves in many labors and occupations, which, in the end, it would be more advantageous to have performed by the whites and native population of the State,”—a very remarkable testimony to the industry and enterprise of this class from those who represent them as incorrigibly idle and vicious. If they are so, why dread their competition? if they are not so, why deprive the community of their services? When I took this man by the hand and sat by his bed-side, I could not com-

prehend how any one that professes the religion of kindness and humility can think himself degraded if he take a chair in a sick negro's house on a Sabbath evening. That dignity must be thin-skinned indeed, which may be rubbed off by contact with any human being. As one proof, among thousands I could adduce, of the extent to which this vile feeling is carried, I may mention what I witnessed at Nahant. I had said, in the hearing of several persons, that a time would come when all colors would be blended in one by an intermixture of the different races, and the human species exhibit, at its termination, as at its commencement, but one complexion. "If things continue in this country," I added, "as they are now, the blacks will out-number the whites: and they must associate together, or the latter will be driven out." "If I thought your prediction would ever be verified," exclaimed a man who called himself an Englishman, "I would rather see my children, dearly as I love them, perish before my eyes, than bear the idea that their posterity, however remote, should one day sit down to table with a colored man"; a very silly, as well as a very malignant speech by the by; for he who uttered it was, by anticipation, condemning his descendants for the very thing he was doing himself—acting in conformity with public opinion\*.

\* "I am inclined to suspect that our European vanity leads us astray, in supposing that our own is the primitive complex-

ion; which I should rather suppose was that of the Indian,—half-way between the two extremes, and, perhaps, the more agreeable to the eye and instinct of the majority of the human race. A colder climate, and a constant use of clothes may have blanched the skin as effectually as a burning sun and nakedness may have tanned it; and I am encouraged in this hypothesis by observing that of animals, the natural colours are generally dusky and uniform; while whiteness and a variety of tint almost invariably follow domestication, shelter from the elements, and a mixed and unnatural diet.” Bishop Heber’s Narrative of a Journey, &c. In another passage of his work, the Bishop observes, “that the deep bronze tint is more naturally agreeable to the human eye than the fair skins of Europe; since we are not displeased with it even in the first instance, while it is well known that to them,” (the colored races,) “a fair complexion gives the idea of ill health, or of that sort of deformity, which, in our eyes, belongs to an Albino.”

## CHAPTER VI.

Journey to Providence.—Nullification.—Slavery and “American” Language.—Dexter Asylum for the Poor.—Friends’ School.—Views of Slavery and Abolitionists.—“Canterbury Tale.”—Miss Crandall.—Origin, nature, and “constitutionality” of the Law passed to put down her School.—Connecticut persecution of knowledge.—Stage-opinions of the School-mistress.—Return to Hartford.

ON the 3d of August, I left Boston by the stage at eleven A.M., and arrived at Providence, in Rhode Island, (about forty-two miles,) at six in the afternoon. One of the passengers was a Yankee, (as the New-Englanders are exclusively called,) who had been residing some time in Georgia. After a long silence, which I had interrupted two or three times by vain attempts to promote conversation, my neighbor from the south observed to me that he was surprised to find the doctrines of nullification had made so much progress in the north. In reply, I said that the objection to protecting duties seemed to me, from the different discussions I had heard on the subject, to be confined to the principle. He assured me that such was by no means the case:—that the



question would shortly be agitated more warmly than ever; and that nothing would satisfy the non-manufacturing States but a total change of system or a separation. This bugbear of nullification is likely to be knocked on the head in a quicker and a more quiet way than by lowering the import duties, or arming the executive with summary powers. South Carolina has herself set up factories; and will, if she can work them profitably with slaves, be as little hostile to the tariff as she was at its first introduction.

Turning abruptly to another topic, my fellow traveller observed, that the dangerous experiment, which England was making with her colonies, had so much alarmed the slave States, that the species of property most likely to be affected by it had fallen twenty per cent. The planters, he said, would have no objection to emancipation, if it were accompanied by compensation. I felt as little inclined to discuss this matter as the former. To say that our slaves have been emancipated, while they are still compelled to labor, is an abuse of terms; and to talk of compensation, when the toils and sufferings of the injured are still unremunerated and unrequited, is something worse.

This man amused me much by telling me, by way of compliment, that I was almost the only Englishman he had ever met, who could speak American cor-

rectly:—"I believe," he added, "I should say—English."

M. Jourdain could not have been more astonished, when he discovered he had been speaking prose all his life, without knowing it, than I was at this piece of information. I was no judge of my friend's "American:" as for his "English", it certainly was none of the best. It is not every American, indeed, who speaks *our* language grammatically. Perhaps our rules are too strict: a man would probably be more at his ease who could "lay" or "lie" ad libitum:—to "set" might perhaps be more convenient than to "sit" down:—*persons* need not be so fastidious as to reject a verb *singular*; *relatives* ought to be equally welcome whether in the *nomina-tive* or the *accusative*, and the *present* tense is as good any day as the *past*.

The next day, I walked up to an establishment for education belonging to the Quakers, who have selected a spot remarkable for a fine air and a noble prospect; the view, on ascending the hill, which overlooks the town, takes in as great a variety of beautiful objects as can well be met with anywhere. Adjoining the school is the Dexter Asylum for the Poor—so called in honor of the founder Ebenezer R. Dexter, who bequeathed a farm of forty acres and 60,000 dollars, a few years back, for the use and benefit of the poor of the city of Providence. The institution is under

the inspection of the Town Council, who appoint one of their own body to visit it every week.

The buildings were completed in 1828; and the average number of poor in the establishment is 100 of both sexes; the female being rather more numerous. The superintendant took me over the house, and shewed me the rooms, which were clean and in good order; the kitchen being well-furnished with an excellent range and other apparatus for cooking. The blacks, who form a large proportion of the inmates, take their meals and work with the whites:—whether this regulation is to be ascribed to a more liberal spirit than generally prevails elsewhere, or to a desire of making a retreat to the alms-house more repulsive and degrading in the eyes of those who might feel disposed to prefer its accommodations to scanty fare at home, I did not inquire. It was by mere chance that I entered the house, having gone thither to ask the way to the school, and accepted the invitation of the keeper of the establishment to step in. He was very civil in answering my queries, and remarkably clear-headed and sensible in his opinions on the subject of pauperism. The comforts to be found there, he said, were often superior to what a hard-working mechanic could obtain in his own house. Almost all, who were under his care, had fallen into distress through their own imprudence, and chiefly from habits of intemperance. When misfortune comes unexpectedly and unde-

servedly on the industrious and prudent, the charitable sympathy of neighbors usually supplies a sufficient fund for its relief: any permanent provision for poverty deadens these feelings, relaxes the efforts of the indigent to recover or retain their station in life, and merges the wish to secure assistance, by conciliating respect, in the expectation of partaking, whatever may happen, of the relief which imprudent generosity holds out to the good and bad alike. Such being the result of experience everywhere, he thought the tendency inherent in such institutions, as that under his care, to produce the very evil they profess to remove, ought to be checked\*.

\* The keeper's observations upon the impolicy of interfering with the principle that connects the wellbeing of every man with his own exertions, corresponds exactly with the testimony of those in our own country, who can best appreciate, as they suffer the most by it. "During the last session," (says Mr. Tidd Pratt,) "Mr. Slaney brought in a bill for the purpose of sanctioning the formation of societies for the relief of members when out of employment. At his instance, I made inquiries amongst some of the most intelligent and respectable of the laboring classes, as to what should be the extent of allowance to those who were out of work. I suggested to the parties that one-half the usual wages might be a proper allowance. The unanimous reply of all the operatives with whom I conversed on the subject was, that an allowance of one-third would be ample; and that more than that would only induce the members to continue on the society rather than endeavour to find work." Report of the Poor Law Commissioners, p. 232.

From this place I proceeded to the Friends' School, which stood within a short distance, and was received with much politeness by Mr. John Griscom, whose name is well known to men of science in Europe. There were about 160 boys and girls in the establishment, which is divided into separate parts for their accommodation. The terms are very reasonable, being but 60 dollars a year, and 100 for those who study Latin and Greek. The editions in use are corrected and cleared of those passages which describe so minutely the state of ancient manners, and which are still retained in some of our most fashionable schools, to the great benefit and edification of youth. There is a philosophical apparatus for the students of physical science. The establishment originated in the bequest of an individual;—successive donations have been added, and it is hoped that it will eventually fulfil the anticipations of its friends and supporters. Mr. Griscom had been but a short time at the head of the institution.

The population of Providence was upwards of 16,000 at the last census; and probably exceeds 20,000 at present. Of these, 1500 or 1600 are colored. The latter, I was told by a person well acquainted with them, are a respectable class; and superior in their houses and habits of life, to men of the same rank among the whites. Here, however, as at every other place, they are prevented by the prejudices of their fellow countrymen from engaging

in many occupations, by which they might be enabled to raise themselves to an equality with them, and provide a more honorable asylum in sickness or old age, than the poor-house can afford. They have, however, a few friends, who do honor to the city of Providence by their disinterested exertions in behalf of a persecuted race. Most of them are young men, and unfortunately not of the wealthy class. They are subject to much obloquy and abuse. One of them had already suffered for his zeal in a kindred cause, and had been compelled to give up the business in which he was engaged. He was a baker; and having joined a Temperance society, many of his customers, who were connected with the spirit trade, would no longer deal with him, and refused to eat his bread because he refused to drink their brandy; thus shewing that the consumer of the staff of life is not necessarily "dependent" upon the producer—unless the latter be a foreigner.

Among the abolitionists, with whom I became acquainted through a letter of introduction, was one who had resided a long time in Georgia. The accounts he gave me of the cruelties he had witnessed in that State, were more dreadful than the narratives we had so often from our West Indian colonies—tales of woe ridiculed by the planters and their paid agents, and discredited by those who are now striving to gain "golden opinions" from the British nation, by a shew of kindness towards the objects of

its generous sympathy. Of these atrocities I need say nothing. Of the depravity that must prevail where slavery exists, one example of the many I heard is too characteristic of the system to be omitted. A black Baptist minister, of the name of Andrew Marshall, and possessed of property supposed to be worth 30,000 or 40,000 dollars, was living at Savannah with his wife and his children—the latter, with their mother, were his slaves. A planter in the neighbourhood solicited this man's daughter to live with him. She refused; and, when urged by her father to accept the offer, alleged as a reason for not complying with their joint importunities, that her affections were engaged to a colored man, whom she had promised to marry. Her plea and her entreaties were equally unavailing. The wretch sold her to the less guilty seducer; and she was living, when my informant left the place, with her master; having had a family of nine children by him:—all slaves, destined to share the fate of their mother, and be sold, perhaps in the same way, by their father\*.

On the 5th of August, I left Providence by the stage for Brooklyn in Connecticut, on my way to

\* All the particulars of this case were afterwards related to me by a man I met at New York, who knew the parties well, and corroborated the above statement, with the addition of facts still more revolting.

Canterbury, where a lady of the name of Crandall,—a name that had been heard in every hamlet and house throughout the Union,—had set up a school for colored girls. My object, in thus going out of my road, was to see what could have caused so much ire to the liberal minds (*animis cœlestibus*) of republican America.

The road through which we passed was hilly, and the soil poor and rocky. The first signs of poverty and distress I had seen in the cottages presented themselves. The children were shabbily clad, and the houses had little or no furniture. In general, the workmen board and lodge with the farmers, and earn, on an average through the year, about half-a-crown a day. Their wages during the harvest, are as much as a dollar a day, in addition to their meals, which they take in common with the family; living all together under the same roof. We had an excellent team of horses, and though the whip was never once applied, we went at a good pace, whenever the road admitted of it.

The horses are well trained in America, and are managed as much by the voice as the hand. Humanity has gained by the difficulty of procuring or retaining servants; for, as it is a very rare thing to see a footman in attendance on a carriage, or a groom riding behind his master, the horses are taught, by



mild treatment, to stand when the rider or driver has got down.

An European who travels in the Eastern states, misses much the wild notes and lively movements of the feathered tribes. So many of the small birds have been destroyed, by the silly and pernicious custom of shooting them for sport, that few remain; and the farmer will one day lament their absence equally with the lover of Nature, when the grubs and insects, they were sent to destroy, have thinned his crops and saddened his harvest-home. An association has lately been formed in Pennsylvania, with the object of preventing the annihilation of these useful creatures, and escaping the necessity, which befel the Prussians, of importing the very same species of birds, for the destruction of which they had been paying\*.

The peach-trees suffer very much from a kind of grub that descends through the bark, where the ovum is laid, to the roots, which it preys upon, unless devoured itself by the robin, (a species of thrush,) the innocent victim of the fowler. The woodpecker, like our hedge-hog, falls a sacrifice to prejudice; which condemns with equal justice the one for destroying trees, which it saves by picking out the canker-worm from their vitals, and the other

\* The fact alluded to is mentioned by Priscilla Wakefield in her "Instinct Displayed."

for sucking cows with a mouth made for biting and grinding.

In the United States martins are preserved, and boxes erected for their accommodation, because they are thought to keep off birds of prey from the poultry yard. Turkey-buzzards, in the South, are protected because they are the best, and, in some places, the only scavengers: while swallows escape the sportsman's gun, from a superstitious notion, that, if they are killed, the cows will give blood instead of milk. These subjects should be explained in the schools, that children may see how benevolence is a matter of interest as well as of duty; and learn that cruelty to animals is often mischievous to man.

I sat, the latter half of the journey, between the driver and another passenger. The former was not what we should consider in regular costume; as he had a travelling cap upon his head, and neither coat to his back nor shoes to his feet, which he had thrust into an old pair of slippers. He was a very civil and a noble fellow withal, who might well put to blush "the wealthy and the proud."

After some "confab." upon indifferent subjects, he asked, whether I had heard of what had lately taken place at Canterbury. As I wished to know what he had to say on the subject, I replied in general terms; and, after detailing the particulars, he launched out in praise of Miss Crandall's magnanimity, and in censure of her persecutors. "For

my part," said this single-hearted fellow, "I cannot see why a black skin should be a bar to any one's rising in the world; or what crime there can be in trying to elevate any portion of society by education. It is prejudice alone that has made the distinction; and, if a white man will not enter my coach because I have admitted, and always will admit, a colored person into it, all I can say is, he must find some other conveyance; or I must find some other employment. It is my firm belief, from what I know of these people, that if they had the same advantages as we have, they would be superior to us. But they have no chance as things are at present. Often, when they work for our people, they are unable to get their wages; and, as they know how strong the prejudice is against them, they dare not complain to a magistrate; besides, they are generally ignorant and thoughtless. One man, I knew myself, who worked for a farmer in this neighbourhood for a year. I often noticed him: he was an honest hard-working creature;—yet when the term had expired, his employer would not pay him one cent for his services." "Did no one," said I, "offer to assist him in obtaining justice?" "No!—he went off to another place, and I don't know what is become of him."

My other companion was of the same way of thinking. He was a laboring man—another proof that the country is less infected than the towns with this shocking antipathy; and that the humble tillers

of the ground have, in this respect, more real dignity of character than the purse-proud merchant, or the flippant shop-boy, from whom the small vulgar borrow opinions and habits.

Having breakfasted at Brooklyn, the distance of which from Providence is about thirty miles, the Rev. Mr. May, to whom I had been introduced by a letter I brought with me, drove me over in his gig to Canterbury, seven miles off. The manner in which Miss Crandall, whom I had come to visit, has been calumniated and persecuted by her neighbors for doing what, in any part of Europe, would be considered as an act at least harmless, if not meritorious, affords, perhaps, the most striking instance of intolerance and bigotry that its most uncivilized parts can exhibit in the nineteenth century. As, upon the principle involved in the decision of this case, depends the character of those republican institutions which are supposed to exist in the United States, some detailed history of these extraordinary proceedings may be excused. The chief facts of an occurrence in which the name of a young woman of mild disposition and retiring habits, has, without any fault of her own, been mixed up, are as follow.

Miss Crandall, the heroine of this "Canterbury tale," had for some time conducted, to the satisfaction of the inhabitants, at whose request, or by whose sanction, she had come into the village, a school for young females; and had admitted, as a

scholar, the daughter of a respectable neighbor, whose quarterings were unfortunately not of pure European tinge. There was nothing objectionable in the conduct or character of the person thus introduced. She was a very fine young woman, about twenty years of age, if I might judge from her appearance. She had, indeed, so small a portion of the prohibited fluid in her veins, that she might have escaped observation at a *soirée* in London or Paris, except for her good looks and graceful manners. It should be observed, that the nearer the two castes approximate each other in complexion, the more bitter the enmity of the privileged; the jealousy of encroachment being sharpened in proportion as the barriers that separate them are removed. Shades of color, like differences of religious opinion, augment, by their minuteness, the hatred of the orthodox and predominant party. The pressure from above increases with the elastic force below. Forbearance may be shewn, where admittance to equality is rarely, if ever, claimed;—but contempt and contumely and persecution are sure to be the lot of those who seem to stand on the “vantage ground,” and claim the full and free payment of their rights.

It soon, however, became apparent, that this violation of “the established order of things” was viewed with an unfavorable eye by the aristocracy of Canterbury; that the pale faces were gradually disappearing from the ladies’ school; and that the whole

flock would, before long, dwindle away into one solitary "black sheep."

Resolved not to dismiss, whatever might be said or hinted, the innocent cause of this discontent, the mistress of the establishment had recourse to the only expedient which would enable her to do justice both to her pupil and to herself. She changed her white school into a colored school. In vain her former friends and supporters entreated, remonstrated, and threatened. She persisted in spite equally of advice and opposition. The hallowed soil of Canterbury was polluted by the feet of colored "misses." The sacred privacy of Andrew J. Judson was "broken in upon" by the sable visages at Miss Crandall's windows. What was to be done under such an intolerable insult? How were the rights and privileges of the good citizens of this patrician town to be protected from the intrusion? Immediate application was made to a paternal government; and the legislature passed a law that it was hoped would effectually abate the nuisance, as no colored children from other States could, under its provisions, be introduced into the place against the wishes of the majority of the inhabitants. They had, however, miscalculated the temperament of their victim. She set both her oppressors and their ex-post-facto statute at defiance. She persisted in keeping her school. She was prosecuted; and declining, by the advice of her lawyer, to give bail,

she was sent to prison, and confined (not intentionally it was afterwards stated) in the very room which a murderer had just quitted\*. The next day, she was released, on producing the securities required; and when I was there, the trial was expected to take place in a few days. An appeal from the verdict, if against her, was to be made to the proper tribunal of the State; and from thence, if necessary, to the Supreme Court of the federal government. In the mean time, her enemies, by employing every weapon that baffled resentment and vulgar malice could suggest, were endeavoring to drive her from the place, or render her stay uncomfortable and dangerous. She had been openly insulted and derided; she had been surrounded, or followed, when walking out with her pupils, by

\* "In England, the subject has a better chance for justice against the Sovereign, than in this country a citizen has against a State. The crown is never its own arbiter; and they who sit in judgment, have no interest in the event of their decision." Mr. Bayard on the Judiciary in Congress.—1802.

If it were not for the Supreme Court of the United States, which checks their arbitrary dispositions, the local legislatures would degenerate into the vilest tyrannies the world ever saw. It is on this account that those States which are most aristocratic are least inclined to acquiesce in its decisions; and more opposition has been made to its authority by the slave oligarchies than by the free democracies—a fact which shows that the republican principle is not necessarily weakened by strengthening the general government.

troops of boys, who annoyed her by blowing horns, beating drums, and playing "rough music" with tongs and other noisy instruments. A large stone was one night, about nine o'clock, thrown in at the window, when the family happened to be upstairs. The window was left in the same state as it was in, after the outrage; and the stone, which was as broad as my fist, though not quite so thick, was put into my hands. Had it struck any of the females—there was not a man in the house—the blow might have inflicted a very serious injury.

In addition to these annoyances, no tradesman in the place would supply her with what she wanted; and she was obliged to send either to Norwich, fourteen miles off, or to Providence, more than twice that distance, for her groceries and other articles of domestic consumption. When I add, that no one had ever cast the slightest doubt upon her character, and that she was at the time in a weak state of health, the baseness of her unmanly tormentors will be still more striking.

The following correspondence will speak for itself.

“ TO MISS PRUDENCE CRANDALL.

“ When the Committee visited you last February, stating their objections to your school, they understood from you, by your voluntary suggestion, that you should never desire, and never would put your



colored schollars into the meeting-house,—that you would have preaching at your own house, either black or white; and you also added, that the citizens of Canterbury need have no anxiety on that account, they might be assured no such request would ever be made.

“ It appears now that you have departed from this voluntary declaration, and put your colored schollars into pews ever occupied by the white females of the parish. We ask you to inform us soon by whose licence you have thus taken possession of the meeting-house.

“ SOLOMON PAYNE,  
ANDREW HARRIS,  
ISAAC KNIGHT,

“ SOCIETY COMMITTEE, 26th July, 1833.

“ Please inform Dr. Harris to-day.”

“ TO SOLOMON PAYNE, &c.

“ Canterbury, 29th July, 1833.

“ GENTLEMEN,

“ I received a letter from you on the 21st,\* in which you ask me to inform you, by whose licence I have taken possession of that part of the meeting-house that was occupied by my scholars on the Sabbath previous. I can inform you, that the authority, whether lawful or unlawful, by which I per-

\* There seems to be a mistake here in the dates :—owing, perhaps, to the hurry of transcription.

mitted my family to enter the gallery of your church, was permission received from two of the Society's committee, viz.:—Dr. Harris and Deacon Bacon.

“ On Saturday, the 6th of this month, I sent a verbal request, by Samuel L. Hough, to the gentlemen whom I address, asking your permission to attend Divine worship with you on the Sabbath. I asked Captain Hough to inform you that I would purchase seats sufficient for my scholars, if agreeable to you; if not, any part or portion of the meeting-house you might see fit for us to occupy would be acceptable. Of this Mr. Hough said he informed you. Dr. Harris, in answer, said, we might occupy the seat in the gallery appropriated to colored persons. Mr. H. then remarked, that the seat would not be sufficient to seat the scholars. Deacon Bacon then replied, that we might take the next pews, until we had enough to be seated.

“ Truly I said this to the Committee that visited me on February last:—‘The scholars that come here shall not trouble you on the Sabbath; for we can have preaching either by colored or white ministers in our own house.’ The Committee made me no reply at the time, if I am not mistaken,—and I think I am not.

“ Upon mature consideration, (as regular preaching here was not very readily obtained,) I considered that I had done entirely wrong in depriving my

scholars from attending religious worship in this village.

“ These are my reasons for asking the privilege of entering your church ; and all the licence I have is as given above.

“ Yours, with respect,

“ P. CRANDALL.”

If I might judge of what I saw, both of this lady and of her establishment, during the three or four hours I remained there, never was there a person less deserving of such treatment. As for her pupils,—it would be no easy matter to explain to an European, how any man of common sense could fancy the tranquillity of a country village could be disturbed, and the “rights of its inhabitants” (such was the jargon used on this occasion) could, by any possible combination of “untoward” circumstances, be invaded by nineteen young women ;—unless it were that their good looks and lady-like deportment might excite jealousy and envy among the belles and matrons of the district. Most of them had better claims to grace and beauty than an equal number of Anglo-American females taken indiscriminately. Some were scarcely to be distinguished from whites ; and all were dressed with as much taste and propriety as could be found in any other school of the same kind.

Trifling as this event may seem, it had created no

slight degree of interest in the friends of the Pariah caste, and a much greater degree of alarm among its enemies, as it may lead to consequences destructive of the contemptuous ascendancy assumed by the latter. Among the many letters of condolence, and congratulation, and abuse which Miss Crandall had received, was one with this remarkable superscription:—

“ To Miss Prudence Crandall, (inhumanly and despotically imprisoned by a people calling themselves freemen,) Brooklyn, &c.” The Montreal postmark was upon it; but, as “ *private* ” was written inside, the writer’s name was not mentioned to me. Such proceedings might well excite indignation in a free country like Canada.

After all the ink shed in prose and verse about this little establishment, it must occasion a smile to hear that nothing like rivalry with “ fashionable ladies ” could ever be promoted by it; that none of the ornamental branches of education were taught there; and the utmost ever contemplated was to afford the simple accomplishments of reading, writing, and arithmetic; with a general knowledge of common subjects. To qualify its inmates by these, and the aid of religious principles, for the active duties of life; and raise, by their example and influence, an unhappy race from a state of degradation and despondency, to brighter hopes, and a more honorable rank in society, is the only crime that has

ever, with the least shadow of truth, been imputed to the "village school-mistress" and her friends.

Mr. Judson, whose name occurs most frequently in this business, as the chief actor, is the lawyer and great man of the place. Soon after he had displayed so much zeal in the same cause as that which the Colonization Society have undertaken, he was elected Secretary of the Windham County Colonization Society;—an appropriate reward for his services.

Miss Crandall's trial came on at Brooklyn in August. Judge Eaton, who tried her, was one of the committee of the legislature that drew up the law under which she was indicted. He charged the jury three times to convict her; and evinced throughout a marked spirit of hostility against her\*. Five of the jury were for her, and seven against her each time. As they could not agree, she was discharged. The second trial

\* The judges in Connecticut are appointed by the legislative power; and, if I mistake not, are, with the exception of those in the supreme and superior courts, who hold office *quam diu se bene gesserint*, removable on an address to the executive by two-thirds of the two houses of assembly. "If the legislature," says Daniel Webster, "may remove judges at pleasure, assigning no cause for such removal, of course it is not to be expected that they would often find decisions against the constitutionality of their own acts. If the legislature should unhappily be in a temper to do a violent thing, it would probably be in a temper, to take care to see that the bench of justice was so constituted as to agree with it in opinion." Webster's Speeches, p. 220.

ought to have taken place in December following before the same judge; but, in October, she was indicted under a new writ, and brought before Judge Daggett, who was well known, both for his attachment to the colonization-cause, and for the active part he had taken against a projected college for colored young men at Newhaven, the University of which, it was alleged, would be injured by its establishment. It was not likely, therefore, that the question at issue would meet with an impartial and unbiassed consideration in that quarter\*. The prisoner was convicted; and appealed, from the sentence, to the Court of Errors, where the original proceedings were quashed on the ground of an alleged informality—a very convenient loop-hole to creep out at.

The law, under which Miss Crandall was arraigned, is as follows:

\* How far the judges are inclined to be subservient to the legislature, (or whatever may be the appointing power,) may be seen in the case of Judge Clayton, whose example would inform them what price they must pay for independence. He was dismissed from his office in Georgia for the opinion he had given in favor of the Cherokees—an opinion confirmed by the high authority of Chancellor Kent, who thus expressed himself in a letter to him, dated Oct. 13, 1831. “ I am most entirely persuaded that the Cherokee title to the sole use and undisturbed enjoyment of their mines is as entire and perfect as to any part of their lands, or as to any use of them whatever.”

“Whereas attempts have been made to establish literary institutions in this State, for the instruction of colored persons belonging to other states and countries, which [meaning, probably, the attempts] would tend to the great increase of the colored population of the State, and thereby to the injury of the people: therefore it is enacted, that no person shall set up or establish, in this State, any school, academy, or literary institution, for the instruction or education of colored persons, who are not inhabitants of this State, nor [or] instruct or teach in any school, academy, or literary institution; or harbor or board, for the purpose of attending or being taught or instructed [meaning, probably, harbor for the purpose of teaching] in any such school, any colored person not an inhabitant of any town in this State, without the consent, in writing, first obtained of the majority of the civil authority and select men of the town, where such school is situated [to be situated] on penalty,” &c.

It was at first proposed to enforce an old law against Miss Crandall; but its “damnatory clauses” went too far even for the *liberty* these people wish to exercise. By a similar enactment in Rhode Island, the majority of any town may remove from among them any one settled there, if so disposed. Not long ago a Methodist preacher took up his abode in a country village of that State, and excited,

by his sermons, a spirit of great animosity among the people. They notified to the town clerk their wish that he should forthwith quit, or be expelled at the cart's tail. The man in office had happily more discretion than his neighbours; and the intruder, though fully aware of the light in which he was viewed, remained.

An old law of Connecticut, dated 1650, says: "no master of a familye shall give interteinment or habietation to any younge man to sojourne in his familye, but by the allowance of the inhabitants of the towne where he dwells, under the penalty of twenty shillings per week." It was reserved for the nineteenth century, and the town of Canterbury, to exclude females.

The whole question turns upon one point;—whether blacks (a term that includes all the various shades of color) can be citizens. Mr. Justice Daggett maintained that they are not citizens, and quoted, in support of his dictum, the opinion of Chancellor Kent. The passage cited, however, is very far from confirming the position thus assumed. It is to be found in his 2d vol., p. 250. "In most of the United States there is a distinction, in respect to political privileges, between free white persons, and free colored persons of African blood: and, in no part of the country, do the latter, in point of fact, participate equally with the whites, in the exercise of civil and



political rights. The African race are essentially a degraded caste\*, of inferior rank and condition in society. Marriages are forbidden between them and whites in some of the States; and, when not actually contrary to law, they are revolting, and regarded as an offence against public decorum."

The commentator then refers to the Statutes of Illinois and Massachusetts which I have before quoted, and proceeds: "A similar statute-provision exists in Virginia, and in North Carolina. Such connexions in France and Germany constitute the degraded state of concubinage, which is known in the civil law;" (the learned author means that such connexions are analogous to what are classed, under the civil law, under the term concubinage; not that marriage between blacks and whites is prohibited in France or Germany — no such absurd restriction

\* If by the word "essentially" be meant a distinction founded in nature, the author contradicts here what he said at the New York State Convention, that "the distinction of color was unknown in Europe." If he intended to say, that the minds of his countrymen are essentially imbued with a feeling that opposes itself to the elevation of the class alluded to, he merely asserts what every body knows, and what, he must be well aware, is connected with causes, that explain its existence, while they demonstrate its injustice. The ex-chancellor is too shrewd a man to misunderstand the text in Tacitus: "*proprium humani generis odisse quem læseris*:"—and too good a man to look for its commentary in his own bosom. What must be the force of prejudice, when such a mind can bend before it!

being known in either.) “ But they are not legal marriages, because the parties want the equality of state or condition, which is essential to the contract.” The author has declared, in another passage, that “ Indians never can be made citizens”; but, he is so far from asserting the same of the people in question that he says, in the 1st vol. page 215 of his Commentaries, and in the 2d vol. page 71, directly the reverse.

In the former he says, “ The general qualification of electors of the Assembly, &c., are, that they be of the age of twenty-one years and upwards, and free resident *citizens*, &c. In some of the States they are required to possess property and to be *white* as well as *free* citizens.” In the latter these are his words: “ The article in the constitution of the United States, declaring that citizens of each State were entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States, applies only to natural born, or duly naturalized citizens; and, if they remove from one State to another, they are entitled to the privileges that persons of the same description are entitled to in the State to which the removal is made, and to none other. If, therefore, for instance, free persons of color are not entitled to vote in Carolina, free persons of color emigrating there from a Northern State, would not be entitled to vote.”

It may well be doubted whether the restriction here employed is warranted by the words in the con-

stitution, in which nothing is said about "persons of the same description":—a paraphrastic mode of interpretation, rather convenient than honest. There can be no doubt, however, that the allusion either acknowledges the right of citizenship in the black, or is perfectly nugatory and irrelevant.

By the first section of the second article of the constitution of New York State, "No man of color, *unless* he shall have been for three years a *citizen* of this State (New York), and for one year next preceding any election, shall be seised and possessed of a freehold estate of the value of 250 dollars, over and above all incumbrances, charged thereon, and shall have been actually rated and paid a tax thereon, shall be entitled to vote at any such election;"—(*i. e.* for representatives.)

This is a question of the utmost importance: for as none but citizens can hold land in most of the States, or vote for members of Congress, not only would the titles of estates purchased of blacks by many whites be shaken; but the whole frame of government, with all its obligations, internal and external, and all its statutes, made by legislators to whose election blacks have contributed, might be endangered, if it were decided by the highest authority of the land that no one of African descent can be a citizen of the United States\*.

\* Aliens cannot hold land in the United States unless, as the Act of Congress of April, 1802, directs, in Sect. 4, they are

A few observations more upon this point may be pardoned. In the different Acts of Congress, which have been passed to establish rules of naturalization, "any alien, being a free white person, may be admitted to become a citizen of the United States." Then follow the conditions and qualifications. Now, if, as the Judsonians maintain, a colored person can never be a citizen, why was the epithet "white" employed on the occasion? Had no blacks been admitted to citizenship at home, Congress would not have thought of excluding them from it when aliens. Exclusion by legislative enactment implies the absence of previous disqualification by the constitution. In most of the States, the word "white" is used in fixing the qualification for voters, with the express object of excluding colored persons who would otherwise have been entitled to the franchise.

A free mulatto convicted of a crime, which, by a law passed in 1823, subjected him to be sold, was purchased and taken from Virginia to Tennessee; the Circuit Court of which, on his petition, decided in favor of his freedom, on the ground that the statute

"*naturalized or admitted* to the rights of citizenship." Whether the law of Ohio, authorizing them to hold land, be constitutional or not, is another question; but in New York State, they certainly cannot. Now persons of color, as I have just shewn, not only hold land in that State and vote for representatives,—but must have a freehold estate of the value of 250 dollars to have a vote at all.

under which he had been condemned was contrary both to the Bill of Rights of Virginia, and to that clause in the constitution of the United States which prohibits bills of attainder. Considering the origin and object of this instrument, the protection thus afforded must have been given to him as a citizen.

The Secretary of State is empowered by an act of Congress, to grant passports to American citizens, visiting foreign countries. Mr. Purvis, son-in-law of James Forten, a man highly respected, in spite of his African blood, at Philadelphia, received one not long ago on application. As it described him as a person of color, another passport, through the kindness of Mr. Roberts Vaux, was procured for him in the usual form. Here is a recognition from the highest authority to every foreign nation, that a colored man is a citizen of the United States. It may appear tedious to dwell so much on this point; but what must be the state of feeling in any country, when a judge, who depends upon it for his bread, can risk his professional reputation in asserting what any stranger, who happens to be travelling through it, can see at once to be as unfounded in principle as it is iniquitous in its motive and object?

On our return to Brooklyn, Mr. May introduced me, after I had partaken of his hospitality, to a very interesting old man, who has been for more than sixty years an uncompromising abolitionist. He

was then in his 80th year, and was enjoying the retrospect of a good and useful life, and doubling its term by recalling past events in the bosom of his family. Here I spent the remainder of the evening, with as much pleasure as if I had been surrounded by the friends of my youth. It was a lovely night; and we sat chatting in the porch before the door, till the hour of retiring to rest dispersed the group, the female part of which had already been drawn away by a young man, whose voice, accompanied by a guitar he held in his hand, had greater attractions for his fair audience than a philosophical discussion on the aristocracy of the skin, or a moral estimate of the influence which public opinion in Europe might exercise upon public conduct in America.

The next day, I paid a visit to some of the farmers in the neighbourhood of the town, accompanied by a young man from Boston, who was reading with Mr. May. We were received in a very friendly and obliging manner by the women, (their husbands being out,) and sat some time, conversing upon the usual topics which suggest themselves on such occasions. The house was kept in a very neat and comfortable state; the sitting-room and kitchen and dairy (the latter of which we inspected at one of them) reminded me of our own snug farm-houses. There were the long-backed rush-bottomed chairs; the maple tables, with the leaves down; the clock ticking against the wall; the gun slung upon the

cross-beam of the ceiling; the nice tiny looking-glass, and the cozy arm-chair for the old folks in the chimney corner.

Some of these estates have remained a long time in the families of the present possessors. The average duration, indeed, from all I could learn, is longer for the landholders here than is generally assigned to our gentry—whose extent of domain is the chief cause of alienation, with the assistance of mortgages, settlements, and the various expedients to unloosen what is tied up, or dissipate what is within reach. Simplicity of manners, virtuous habits, and domestic affections, are the chief characteristics of a class of men, to whom the institutions of their country give a spirit of frankness and independence; and whom an inexhaustible stock of land in the western country secures from the pressure of low profits, by opening a safe and salutary valve to a superabundant population.

A feeling, "almost peculiar to New England," prevails, that farming is "not so genteel and honorable as some other employments." Such was the statement made by the Rev. G. Perry, at the meeting of the Essex Agricultural Society in 1832. This prejudice has, perhaps, some effect both in preventing the splitting of farms, and increasing the amount of emigration to the new states and territories where no such discouragement to agriculture exists.

I had afterwards, as well as on this occasion, op-

portunities of conversing with the farmers in different parts of the country ; and found them, in general, better informed, and less narrow-minded than the inhabitants of the cities. It is not only in this respect that they differ widely from the same class of men in England, where the rural districts are less enlightened than the towns ;—but they possess, from the favorable circumstances in which they are placed, a much greater spirit of independence, having no landlords to control their votes at the elections, and keep them in a state of thralldom more galling than the yoke of feudal vassalage. Not but what there are plenty of men, as the present possessor of the enormous patronage vested in the Federal Executive has shewn, mean enough, if they had it in their power, to whisper “rents” or “tithes” in their ears at the polling booths ; and others, still meaner, to crawl into the Legislature on their submissive shoulders.

The prices of provisions are low in this part of the Union. Board and lodging at the inn where I staid, would be about two dollars a-week, with three meals a-day (meat at each). The same for a single man in a private family, somewhat less, or 100 dollars a-year. A gentleman at Brooklyn told me he paid for himself, his wife, and two children (one an infant), six dollars and a-half a-week, including every thing—rooms, fuel, attendance, &c. A house, fit for a man with four or five children,



would let for about 100 dollars. The tenant of one of this description (such as our village-lawyers and prosperous tradesmen are contented with) paid 140 dollars a-year, six acres of land being attached to the house.

There is so little litigation in the district, cheap as law is, that the few lawyers to be found there, are obliged to maintain themselves by farming or some other occupation. It is common for brothers to live together; or, if neighbors, to assist each other on their farms. Feelings of distrust or suspicion are little known. To impute unworthy motives or fraudulent intentions would be thought to manifest, not a regard for the interests of the family, but a malicious disposition or a domineering spirit. Divisions are rare where no distinctions are acknowledged.

The person, of whom I have spoken as my guide in the morning, took me with him in his open carriage in the afternoon to see the country. As we passed, we were saluted by the different persons we met on the road, particularly by the children, who smiled and bowed and curtsied in their best manner. Much courtesy and kindness are kept up between the various classes and ranks of society, the members of which seem to form but one family, where kind offices are reciprocated by a fair interchange, and blended into one harmonious feeling of confidence and contentment. At this par-

ticular time there was an interest attached to the spot, that will render it memorable in the annals of the nation. A new æra was commencing for no inconsiderable portion of its population; and the success which awaits the noble efforts made in their behalf, will be associated in the memory of a grateful race with the humble but honored name of a school-mistress in the neighborhood—a “village Hampden, that with dauntless breast the little tyrant of” her “fields withstood.”

The plague-spot that has infected the cities and towns and hamlets of the whole commonwealth, has been thrown off from the healthy and manly minds of many of the farmers in the neighborhood of Brooklyn. One of them said to me in his frank and open manner, that he knew no distinction between man and man; and should think himself disgraced if he refused to sit down at the same table with any human being who differed from him in complexion only. This same man, when it was proposed at a public meeting, to remove the people of color to seats more remote from the body of the church, to which he belongs, strongly opposed the proposition, and declared, that, if the resolution were carried, they should sit in his own pew. The thin-skinned whites took nothing by the motion.

On the 9th I proceeded to Hartford, the distance of which from Brooklyn is forty miles. There is nothing remarkable in the country, except that the

soil improves as you approach the river Connecticut, and several factories rear their heads along the road, evincing, with the plantations of white mulberry trees, that are seen here and there, the fixed policy of "encouraging" national industry, and becoming "independent" of foreigners, both for manufactures and for raw produce.

It has long been a favorite object to introduce silk of native production. Premiums have been offered, legislative protections granted, and detailed instructions given, for the culture and management of the trees and the cocoons and the filament. Experiments in various parts of the Union have been made and their results published to the world. In short, nothing has been spared to effect what, if it add to the natural resources, by a more profitable investment of capital than foreign trade offers, will prove highly valuable and important. Mr. Wadsworth of Hartford told me, that, forty years ago, he had a waistcoat made of silk that had never crossed the ocean. The annual consumption of silk in the United States is said to amount, in value, to ten millions of dollars. The legislature of Massachusetts has lately granted a bounty of one dollar for every 100 white mulberry trees, properly planted in that State; and the same bounty for every pound of silk reeled from the cocoon and adapted to manufacturing purposes.

The stage was nearly full; and the conversation

turned upon the subject of the Canterbury school. A military man, who was one of the passengers, observed, that he had never heard so much about the blacks as he had during his short stay in Brooklyn, to which he had come on a visit from Pittsburgh, where he was quartered. All parties were agreed in condemning poor Miss Crandall. One said that she was a mere tool in the hands of agitators and fanatics, who had gained her over to their cause by paying her debts: another assured the person, with whom he was zealously discussing the matter, that, to his certain knowledge, all the disturbance had originated with Mr. Judson's enemies—who were his enemies he did not say. The friends of a man, who could persecute an unprotected unoffending female, can be bound to him by no tie that honor or humanity would acknowledge. Having listened very patiently for some time to what was said, I, at last, remarked that it seemed to me to be "much ado about nothing," and that, as an European, I thought it highly ridiculous that a great nation should see civil war and commotion in a swarthy skin. I could not understand, I said, how it was that, in the very place where the white and black children of the humbler classes were educated together, any one should insult the parents of the latter by openly asserting that schools for the wealthier classes ought not to admit a colored pupil among them. This citizen of a re-

public must be either above or below public opinion. He does not want the suffrages of his neighbours, or he despises them. If the carpenter's and mason's child escape contamination in the public schools, the lawyer need not fear for his daughter's "gentility" and purity, even though a brunette should be admitted to her presence.

## CHAPTER VII.

Deaf and Dumb Asylum at Hartford.—Girl, deaf, dumb, and blind.—Impressment of British Sailors.—Deed of Sale.—Universalists.—Female Seminary.—Lunatic Asylum.

THE day after my return to Hartford, I went to the Deaf and Dumb Asylum with Mr. Wells, the treasurer. I had had a cursory view of the establishment on my former visit. On entering the house, we found several visitors there, and were ushered into a room, where some of the pupils were taking their morning's lessons from a deaf and dumb teacher, who received us with great politeness; and invited us, by signs, to be seated. The class had been two years in the establishment, and were receiving instruction in grammar. The manner in which they wrote on boards affixed to the wall their answers to his questions on the meaning of words, and explained the distinctions between the relative pronouns, shewed that they had made great progress during that time. Their hand-writing was good, and generally correct in point of spelling. Among them was a black boy, or rather a mulatto, who had been sent by the State of Massachusetts to the Asylum. As it

is very unusual to see the different colors thus harmoniously mixed in a place of this sort, I felt anxious to know whether any proof of the supposed difference of intellect between the two races was to be found here. There had been two or three instances of a similar kind in the house before. It was probably through the influence of the superintendant, who is a very liberal man, and at the suggestion of his brother, whose mind has long been thoroughly cleared of the "perilous stuff" of prejudice, that such a departure from a general rule was permitted. I wrote down on a piece of paper the following question, and put it into the teacher's hands: "Is the black as intelligent as the white?" He directly wrote with his pencil, "No, Sir! he has a pretty good mind." I wrote again:—"Is it so with all the blacks?" The answer was, "No, Sir!" Thinking he might suppose I asked if they all had pretty good minds,—I added: "I mean, is the black race inferior to the white?" "No," was his reply. On asking an elderly woman who appeared to be the matron, whether any repugnance or feeling of displeasure had been shewn, on his arrival, towards the colored boy by his companions, "not the least," she replied, "on the contrary, they all crowded about him when first he came, and seemed highly delighted with him. He is a great favorite with all of them, and more beloved than any of the others."

Had the Judsonian law for the suppression of

knowledge been enacted three years sooner, this poor fellow might have been excluded from the Asylum, and remained a burthen to that society of which he will now be an useful member. It was found, on inquiry some years ago, that there was in the State of Pennsylvania, one person deaf and dumb to every 2000 among the whites. If the same proportion holds throughout the Union; and if there are everywhere, as is said to be the case in New York State, two blacks to one white thus afflicted, it must be as impolitic as it is illiberal, to exclude this class of the population from institutions that are open to every other.

After this, we went into an adjoining room; where we found twelve or thirteen pupils—among whom were three girls, going through their exercises in writing. They wrote down, in answer to the questions put by the teacher, the ten commandments, taken indiscriminately; and afterwards gave, by signs, a grammatical analysis of sentences he had put down upon a board. Their answers were perfectly correct, though they had been but fifteen months in the establishment, and knew not the meaning of words when they first came. Our next visit was to the workshops; where we saw some beautiful specimens of cabinet-making, which, with shoe-making, is the trade taught to the boys. The girls learn sewing. The work of the former is done by contract; and the proceeds have, for the last two or three years,



covered the expenses of teaching and purchasing the raw material. The shoe-making leaves a small profit. The person who instructed them told us that his pupils were docile and intelligent; and would do, upon an average, better and more work than most journeymen. When he goes out, he leaves the class under the care of one of the boys; and he has never found the confidence thus placed in him abused. One boy, whom he represented as idle and artful, he has sometimes set over the rest on these occasions; and he has always discharged his duty faithfully. Such are the good effects of trusting to the principle of honor as a motive of conduct.

It is a common opinion, that persons who are deaf and dumb, are more sensitive and irascible than those who are not afflicted in the same way. This notion, like most of those that are unfavorable to human nature, is entirely erroneous and unfounded. Their character depends, like that of all mankind, upon the treatment they meet with, and the circumstances in which they are placed.

Though it be doubtful whether congenital deafness is hereditary, yet there are numerous instances of its prevalence in the same family. Cases have occurred of this infirmity having been found in three, four, five, and even more children of the same parents. Three cases only are known at the institution that had the appearance of being hereditary. One of the instructors is deaf and dumb, and his wife is the same.

They have four children, who have no defect of the kind. Some inconvenience is experienced from this double privation in the domestic circle, but less than would probably arise in a crowded city, or among strangers. Intermarriages of this kind are indirectly discouraged; the absence of all restraint upon the affections renders prohibition unnecessary; and no secret attachments are likely to take place where suspicion has not counselled concealment. One old woman in Massachusetts has no less than fifteen great-grand-children who are deaf and dumb; yet not one of the intermediate links, which connect her with these unfortunate beings, labors under the same infirmity. Six of them belong to the same family, in which there are eight children; two only having escaped this calamity. In another, where there are ten, every other child is thus afflicted, though neither of the parents is so.

The proportion of persons thus deprived of a sense, on the possession of which the exercise of one of the most valuable faculties depends, is said to be, in the United States, one in 2000. This is less than what prevails in Europe, where one in 1537 is the estimated average.

This interesting institution owes its origin to the father of a young lady at Hartford, who was deaf and dumb. To establish a school for young persons laboring under her infirmity, a subscription was raised among the inhabitants; and Mr. Gallaudet,

the descendant of a Protestant refugee from France, was commissioned to enquire into the best methods of instruction in Europe. On his return, the asylum was formed, and he was appointed the principal or superintendent—an office now filled by Mr. Weld. A grant of land in Alabama was obtained from Congress; and, from its sale, a fund of about 200,000 dollars has been created in furtherance of its benevolent objects.

Each pupil pays (either through the State to which he belongs, or through his family) 100 dollars a-year—a reduction from 115 having very recently taken place. The rest of his expenses is defrayed out of the fund. The annual charge originally fixed by the Directors for each pupil was 200 dollars—a reduction was subsequently made to 150;—and from that, in 1825, to 115. The number of pupils during the last year has varied from 120 to 136; for whom there were about nine tutors. Scarcely one of them required any medical advice in the course of the year.

Visitors are admitted at all times, if strangers; and those, who were formerly pupils, have full liberty to call upon their former companions; as no restraint or restriction is known. Many of the Hartford people are familiar with the use of the signs, as they are in the habit of seeing the pupils, both at the institution, and at their own houses.

Some of the latter, who are now settled in the neighborhood, were present while we were in the

house, and were conversing by signs with their school-fellows, without exciting distrust; the discipline pursued throughout being of that nature as not to suggest any thing clandestine or improper by interdicting communication or prescribing irksome regulations. Mr. Weld's observations upon this subject were particularly judicious and sensible.

Mr. Gallaudet, whose wife is deaf and dumb, told me that his children learn their mother's signs more readily than their mother-tongue; and communicate their ideas by this mute language with astonishing facility, and in a very short time. The same is observed with respect to the children of the tutor, Mr. Clair, of whom I before spoke. The parents and the children have no difficulty in understanding each other; though the former cannot speak a word. These facts go far to confirm what Arrow-smith has said upon this point. He recommends that deaf children should be educated in the common schools, on the presumption that the sympathies of infancy and the natural instincts of imitation, will suggest to the pupils—both the perfect and the deficient in the sense under consideration—some method of interchanging their ideas. Mr. Gallaudet approved of the principle, and added that its application should be confined to the early periods of life, that the subject may come, in some measure prepared, into the regular establishments for such persons. The experiment might easily and safely

be made in an infant school. Another plan might be tried of teaching the use of language, by directing the attention of the pupils to the movements of the organs of speech, as they are brought into action by the exercise of the voice.

One poor unfortunate inmate of the establishment, (Julia Brace,) about twenty-six years of age, is blind as well as deaf. This calamity came upon her when she was four years of age—at which period she may be supposed to have acquired a considerable stock of ideas. Before she was brought to the asylum, she had been accustomed in the absence of her mother, to take charge of her younger brothers and sisters; and, in the performance of this duty, acquitted herself to the satisfaction of her parents. It is by the touch and the smell that she is enabled to distinguish objects, and recognise the different inmates of the house. She is neither idle nor useless; being employed in sewing, arranging the linen, and cleaning up the tea-things. While occupied in the latter task, she one day found, among the tea-spoons, one that was made of silver, and of the same size with the rest. It is extraordinary, that she should have perceived the difference of metal among 120 or 130. She immediately took it to the matron. She is very neat in her dress, and the arrangement of her hair. The fashions of the day are familiar to her; and she shews a marked preference, in selecting a gown or a ribbon, for those articles, which are most

in vogue, for the cut or the quality. Having observed that the looking-glass is generally consulted in the important affairs of the toilette, she places herself mechanically before it, when similarly engaged: Her notions of property are very orthodox, and strictly enforced upon others when her own rights are concerned. She has never been known to take any thing that did not belong to her, or to allow any one to deprive her of what was her own. There is a box, at the entrance to the Asylum, appropriated to her sole use. The donations, which are placed here to the average amount of more than 100 dollars a year, are funded for her benefit, and will form a valuable resource in case of accident. Last year the donations were 110 dollars—rather less than usual. Some little opposition was at first made to her admission, as an object not contemplated by the regulations of the institution. As it is supposed that there is but one other person in the Union similarly afflicted, no fear of establishing a precedent by deviating from the letter of any law, is to be entertained. She has, as may be supposed, her attachments, and evinces her regard by any little attentions or kind offices in her power:—such as nursing her favorites in sickness. When they are about to quit the place, she is generally aware of their intention, and gives intimation of her knowledge by various signs, expressive of her feelings. The sense of smell chiefly serves her to discriminate

one thing or one person from another. When I put a silver pencil-case into her hand, she drew out the pencil two or three times, and tried the point with the palm of her hand; having first ascertained where the slide was; she then applied the case to her nose, and afterwards to her tongue, which seemed to be a finer organ of perception than the hand, and to be used in this instance, for the purpose of discovering what metal the instrument was made of.

When any one she is acquainted with dies, she indicates by certain signs, that he has ceased to breathe, and is laid in the ground. It is not unusual for her to express a wish to visit a dead body;—to pass her hand over it, when brought into contact with it;—and to manifest clearly her knowledge that life is extinct. When an infant, her temper was very irritable. It is now subdued; and she seems to be cheerful and happy. It is not certain whether she has any idea of a Supreme Being or of her own responsibility, beyond what the most scrupulous observance of decency and propriety might imply. It is difficult to form any correct conception of what is passing in her mind, or to separate the results of mere imitation from the operations of reflection.

The case of James Mitchell, recorded by Dugald Stewart, is somewhat similar to this; his sight, however, for the short time he possessed it, was too

weak to convey ideas to the mind. There are strong marks of resemblance in the character and actions of these afflicted beings. Julia, however, if less intelligent, seems to be more amiable. The difference may arise from circumstances of situation. Her active powers are less exercised than her passive.

It is to be hoped that some philosophical inquirer will give the world a detailed narrative of all the phenomena connected with the physical and moral existence of a being so rare and so interesting.

Imperfect as her organization is, it is gratifying to know that the narrow range her mind is permitted to take, is made, by kind and judicious management, to bring back to her as much enjoyment as her lot will admit of; and that sufficient communication is opened with the external world, through the few channels that remain, to secure her against the bitter pangs of loneliness and desolation.

The sense of touch seems to be the first used by infants. It is by that that they regulate the exercise of the rest. How wonderful is it that the instrument which is generally employed to correct the others, should be able to take their place, when they are wanting! and that the same organ which is an auxiliary in fixing ideas should be capable of forming them by itself! The sense of touch may thus supply the want of hearing, or of sight, or of both; but would the



other senses, separately or in conjunction, supply the want of touch?

There are in the United States six institutions of this kind. The one described; another in the City of New York, containing about 124 pupils; another at Canajoharie (in the same State), containing 34; the Pennsylvania Institution (80); the Ohio Institution (25); and the Kentucky, containing about the same number. There is great remissness on the part of relatives in sending these unfortunate beings to the asylums provided for their instruction. The State of Massachusetts appropriates more money to this object than is actually expended; the surplus being made over to the Trustees of the Blind Asylum at Boston.

After dining with Mr. Wells, who is an Englishman, long resident in Hartford, where he is very highly respected, I spent the rest of the day at Mr. Wadsworth's. A circumstance he mentioned in the course of our conversation, exhibited in a very strong light our unjust and impolitic system of impressment for the navy. On his way to Newhaven, during the last war, he fell in with four of our sailors, who had been taken prisoners in the Macedonian by Decatur. They all told him they were glad their vessel had been captured; as they hated a service into which they had been forced: and they added that they hoped they should never return to their own country. "It is a common thing with us", they said, "when we are going into action, to whisper to one another,

when we are out of hearing of our officers, 'let us hope we may be taken prisoners.'"

The *Superb* was off New London when news arrived that peace had been signed. Admiral Hotham, who commanded the blockade, was so affected by the intelligence, that he is said to have shed tears of joy. He had been anxiously waiting for the termination of a contest, which was peculiarly unpopular with the naval men engaged in it, as it was felt to be something unnatural to be fighting against a nation, who, in their habits and language, might be considered brothers. The English captain came on shore; and Mr. Wadsworth's description of the manner in which he was received at New London and at Hartford, and of his delight and astonishment, which the kindness and cordiality everywhere shewn him, excited, was as vivid as if the events he was narrating had recently taken place. He could not restrain his feelings on beholding so many well-dressed and courteous people pressing forward to welcome a stranger who had come to their shores as an enemy, and found a friend wherever he went. He frequently exclaimed, when accompanying the party of American gentlemen, who had gone out through a deep snow to escort him to their town, that he was "the happiest man in the world." All who were introduced to him were amused with his vivacity and charmed with his frankness. He remained under the hospitable roof of his kind-hearted eulogist three or four days;

and left behind him, in favor of the British navy, an impression, which even its enforcement of an impolitic, if not an unjust, claim, will not easily efface.

In the course of the evening, a neighbor, a justice of the peace, came in upon business. The object of his visit was to obtain signatures to a deed of sale. Nothing could be more simple than the form required. If printed, it costs 6 cents, (about three-pence of our money,) though any piece of paper or parchment would be sufficient for the purpose. The justice of peace receives 20 cents for his trouble, but this is frequently not demanded or expected; and the town-clerk, who records the deed, the same sum. Two witnesses are necessary. However valuable may be the estate transferred, the cost does not exceed this sum. The greatest possible security is thus given to the title; for the register is accessible to every one, and is legal proof of the transfer, should the original deed be lost.

The lawyers have as little reason to be pleased with Hartford as with Brooklyn. Some of them have found the study of their profession too dry without the practice, and have sought more satisfactory ways of employing their time.

I saw, this evening, for the first time, a humming-bird on the wing: it was flitting about from flower to flower, inserting its long bill into the calix, in search of its food, and reminded me, by its actions and habits, of the moth known in England as the

jasmine-hawk. It appeared to be very shy; darting off with astonishing rapidity as any one approached, and returning to its task as the intruder retired. It rarely perches during the day.

The city contains about 7000 souls. For the instruction and amusement of these, there are seven political newspapers, and five devoted to religious subjects, in addition to periodical publications of a different description. Besides the above, there are circulated, or taken in by the inhabitants, 80 daily papers, 432 published once a week, and 110 twice a week:—all from other places. Of churches, there are no less than ten, one of them belonging to the colored people. This calculation was made two or three years ago. An increase has no doubt taken place, since that time, in the particulars above stated.

Among the churches is one belonging to the Universalists, a sect little known in England, and not well understood in America, if I may judge from the unsatisfactory answers I received to the questions I asked about them. To solve the problem, I resolved to go to the fountain-head at once. On arriving at their place of worship, I found part of the congregation assembled in front and in the door-way, waiting for the preacher. Observing a black about to enter, I asked a man, who was standing on the steps, whether they admitted persons of that description in the body of the chapel among the whites. "No,"

he replied : “ they *set* here, as in all other meeting-houses, in little slips set apart for them. They *don't ought* to be among us ; so they have places by themselves. It is giving the poor *creturs* a chance, you know.” The service commenced with a psalm ; after which the preacher, a plain homely-looking old man, between sixty and seventy years of age, read one of the psalms, in a version so completely new, that the simplicity of the common translation was lost in the various alterations which the text had undergone ; omissions and interpolations having been added to the substitution of modern for the old phrases. To this succeeded one of Addison's hymns, which had also felt the revising hand of the compiler. The “ *aweful* throne ” of Jehovah was changed into the “ *royal* throne.” Then followed an extempore prayer, and another hymn ; and, after them, the discourse. The text was, “ Blessed are the people that are in such a case ”, &c. ; and the commentary upon it embraced two topics,—happiness in this world, and in the next. In the former part, the minister drew a picture of the prosperous state of his native country, enjoying independence, in contrast with what it would have been, had its efforts to throw off the yoke imposed by England, failed. The language was grossly familiar and unpolished ; and the facts stated in support of his assertions, were equally opposed to historical truth and to good taste. The quaint and vulgar manner of the preacher

drew frequent smiles and titterings from his audience, who seemed to be highly amused with his illustrations and examples, all of which were derived from every-day life, and were suited as little to the place as to the subject.

He then repeated that part of the declaration of independence, in which a nation, one fifth of which is in a state of abject slavery, or social degradation, proclaims to the world, that all men are created equal, and said that he could not sufficiently admire the intrepid signers of that immortal instrument. After much more of this common-place declamation, which he delivered with the utmost volubility, he looked at his watch, and observed that he had not time enough to do justice then to the theme, or enter as largely as he could wish into the second head of his discourse. He assured his auditory that the fears generally entertained of the punishments that were supposed to await us in another state of being, were groundless and irrational; that the Creator, or as the word Lord, according to his interpretation, signified, the "Owner," who had bestowed upon us so plentifully his bounties in this world, would not, inconsistently, torment us in the next. "As for the story," he added, "about the ground being cursed for Adam's sake, there is not a word of truth in it. Do you think those people, who believe their children are to be miserable hereafter, could be happy, if they really believed what they said?—No such

thing! I don't believe one word of it! We shall be happy, every one of us, when we have left this present scene. So we may make ourselves happy while we are here—that is, not wickedly happy; for the wicked can't be happy."

This was almost the only sentence I heard that implied any distinction between vice and virtue; and this recognises no moral obligation, except so far as a man is bound to make himself happy. The rest of this disjointed rhapsody was made up of distorted passages of scripture, sarcasms on the doctrine of future rewards and punishments, and assurances that the goodness of God is inexhaustible, irrespective, and unmixed with any other attribute. After the service was over, I asked a man who sat in the same pew with me, if the present occupier of the pulpit usually preached there? He replied, that he merely officiated occasionally. "Pray," said I, "are these the doctrines maintained by the Universalists?" "Yes!" was the answer, "we believe that men are punished for their sins here: not in the next world." A very convenient sort of doctrine truly!—and one that it is hardly worth while paying a man for teaching, unless it be necessary for those who believe it, to be reminded of a truth, which has been concealed from every nation that has any idea of a God, and might perhaps be forgotten under so blind a guide as conscience.

The Universalists are sometimes confounded with

the Restorationists, who maintain that the duration of future punishment is limited and not eternal;—relying chiefly for the support of their opinions on the interpretation they affix to the word *αιωνιον*. The importance of the distinction is not confined to the persons who hold these tenets; for if the statute concerning oaths were strictly enforced in the State of New York, in none of the courts of justice there could the evidence of an Universalist be received—that act requiring that a witness should believe in the existence of a Supreme Being and a future state of rewards and punishments. The sect labors under the imputation of disguised infidelity; though its origin may be traced to the Calvinistic doctrine of atonement—pushed to its extremest consequences; the ransom that was paid being supposed to embrace all mankind, and to absolve them from responsibility in the next world for the deeds done in this. From the following list of the various denominations of religion as they existed in 1831, it will be seen how many churches belonged to the Universalists.

The Baptists and Methodists had 4484 churches.

The Presbyterians ..... 1472

Congregationalists ..... 1381

Episcopalians..... 922

Roman Catholics ..... 784

Dutch Reformed..... 602

Friends..... 462

Universalists..... 298



Lutherans .....	240 churches.
Unitarians.....	127
Calvinistic Baptists .....	84
Swedenborgians.....	73
Moravians.....	56

In addition to the above, the Jews had ninety-six synagogues.

The next day, I went with Mr. Gallaudet to the Female Seminary; and my conductor, having introduced me to the master, Mr. Brace, withdrew, having other matters to attend to. The young ladies had just assembled for the business of the morning; and, as soon as "absence" had been called over, and some observations had been addressed to the pupils, they proceeded to their respective classrooms:—some to study geography, others geometry, arithmetic; history, &c. Two or three of the girls, whose ages were about twelve or thirteen, went through some propositions in the third book of Euclid, and worked out the demonstrations by means of a board, on which the figures were chalked. They performed the allotted task with great clearness and very correctly. The proficiency of the historical class was ascertained by a female teacher, who put several questions to them, arising from what they had learned the preceding day. The master then took me into another room, where his Latin scholars were ready with their lessons. One of them translated, *vivâ voce*, part of the second book

of the Æneid, in a way that shewed she fully understood the subject as well as the language. When she came to that passage, where the poet represents Dido as dreaming that she sees and hears Æneas, she hesitated at the words

“—infandum si *fallere* possit amorem.”

The master said that *fallere* meant to *reject*—to *throw away*—looking at me at the same time, as if to ask my opinion. I ventured to observe that the expression had another signification, and quoted one or two well-known passages in Horace. She immediately remarked, that it would be inconsistent with the character that Virgil has given to Dido, if she were represented as wishing to *get rid* of her love. I could not help thinking that the engaging picture of the tender passion thus presented to the imagination, was not exactly the fittest study for a girl of fourteen or fifteen years of age.

There are about 100 girls who attend this establishment. They board with their families; or, if strangers, in some respectable private house. The average expense of education, including board and lodging, does not exceed 200 dollars a year. The discipline appears to be judicious and effective. No rewards or punishments are employed to conciliate or enforce it; nor is any humiliation inflicted, either by reproving disobedience in the presence of others, or allowing precedence to superiority of merit. The

master told me he seldom had occasion to find fault twice for the same offence. A hint, either in private, or through the parents and friends, is generally sufficient to ensure obedience and stimulate exertion. Among the books belonging to the institution, I observed Vattel, Ferguson on Civil Society, Kames's Sketches, Say on Political Economy, and Brown's Philosophy of the Human Mind.

I believe it will be found that the women are more highly educated in this part of the country than the men—too much so, according to a Hartford physician, Dr. Brigham. "In general," he says, in a work before quoted, "the mental peculiarities of the female mind are not regarded in education. Their intellectual powers are developed to the greatest degree; and thus their natural sensibility is changed or rendered excessive. This excessive sensibility is not always counteracted by bodily labor and exercise; for there is probably no country in the world where women belonging to the wealthy class exercise so little, especially in the open air, as in this." Calisthenics, as they are practised at this school, form no exception to the neglect thus censured. It can promote neither strength nor beauty to move the arms about mechanically, while the body is gently waved to and fro, or curved backward and forward, without any change of position or active exercise of the muscular powers.

I was so much interested by what I had seen at the Lunatic Asylum on my former visit, that I walked thither again, accompanied by a young Greek, who was lodging at the same hotel with me, and who is now removed from the Theological College at Hartford, where he was lecturing, to Newhaven. When we arrived, there were so many visitors there, that the attendant was too much engaged for us to obtrude upon his time. He informed me, from the slight conversation I had with him, that nine-tenths of those under the care of the establishment are cured during the first six months of the disorder. This is the result of seven years' experience. A newspaper was lying on the table, and I inquired what he would do if there should be any thing in it he might not like the patients to see,—observing, at the same time, that at Boston, a practice which appeared to me ill-judged, prevailed, of cutting out the objectionable paragraphs. “On such occasions,” he replied, “we should rather remove the paper altogether, and explain, if we were asked, why we did so, than do any thing that might denote distrust or excite suspicion.”

A man had been brought some time before to the institution, who was resolved upon suicide. He was told, on his arrival, that he might be left alone, if he would give his word and honor that he would not attempt to destroy himself:—he at first

refused to do so:—after some time had elapsed, however, he agreed to the conditions; and was then so much better that he was allowed to walk about the garden by himself.

I had some conversation with one of the patients—a Scotchman—who was sitting in the room where we were. He talked very rationally both upon common topics and upon his own case. He had been there, he said, but a few days, and thought he had derived benefit from the change of air and scene. Visitors come and go without exciting any unpleasant feeling in the patients, who converse freely with them about their complaints. Insanity is as often as any thing the subject of conversation. The constant communication that is kept up among the invalids has an excellent effect on the mind. The great interest they take in each other's welfare, often inquiring how they are, keeps up a gentle exercise of the sympathies; and, in feeling for the misfortunes of others, they learn to forget their own. To cultivate the benevolent affections, is doubtless a very important principle in the treatment of insanity, as well as the best prophylactic; for what M'Laurin says of its prevention may be said of its cure. "I think company not the securest remedy against this black passion (melancholy); but rather the filling the vacancies of our minds with the highest degree of those noble

ardors and affections to the good of mankind, and of doing good and gallant actions which may enlarge and cultivate and exalt our minds, and keep them still keen and bright.”

I particularly asked what was done with a violent maniac on his first coming into the house. I was told that the method pursued, in such a case, was to put the patient in a room with a very powerful keeper, whose duty it is to divert his mind if possible, and to prevent his doing any mischief. No strait waistcoat is put on, or any physical coercion used, if it can possibly be avoided, during the day. At night his arms are secured; and, if he will promise to be quiet, the straps, or whatever instruments are employed for the purpose, are removed. After a short time, an improvement generally takes place; the confidence of the patient is obtained, new associations spring up in his mind, and something like self-control succeeds to the former violence and aberration of the will.

A curious case was mentioned. It was that of a man afflicted with the monomania of self-destruction. He was permitted to go into the town with a keeper. One day he complained that he was followed by a spy wherever he went. He was assured that he should be watched no longer if he would promise the physician not to make any attempt on his own life. He refused to do so; and

his shadow continued to follow him. Tired out, at last, by this annoyance, he resolved to comply with the terms offered. He made the promise, and he kept it faithfully. His restoration to health was the result of his agreement.

## CHAPTER VIII.

Salary of Preacher.—Country People.—Albany.—Autographs.—Marriage Ceremony.—Shakers.—Saratoga.—Utica.—Sale of Negro by himself.—Auburn.—Convict labor unpopular.—Canandaigua.—Avon.—Geneseo.

ON the 13th I left Hartford at 10 A.M., and did not get to Sandisfield, though but forty miles distant, till half-past seven in the evening, as the road was very hilly. After passing through several towns or villages, the stage stopped at a small place called Colebrook,—a pretty picturesque village,—where an old lady got in. All the other passengers, a very noisy and a very numerous set, had taken their departure. Finding she lived in the neighborhood, I asked to what denomination a handsome church by the side of the road belonged, and what stipend the minister had. From her answer I learned that the congregation belonged to the Independents, who had lately settled 700 dollars a-year on their pastor. The usual mode of proceeding on



such occasions, is to *try*, or as she termed it, to *hire* a preacher; and, if he suits the people, to give him a *call*; when, if he accepts the proposal, he states what salary he expects. There was some demur, on the part of the more elderly, as to the propriety of allowing so large a sum; but the younger portion of the community took up the matter very warmly, and the stipend was fixed at that amount. When the low price of provisions is considered, (board and lodging of the best description being, in the neighboring town, less than two dollars a-week,) it will be seen how much better paid the incumbent is, than many of our clergy. The Americans are said by many to have no religion, because the State is not its nursing father: perhaps they pay so much for religion because they want it; while others want it because they pay so much for it.

On arriving at the little tavern where I was to sleep, I begged to have some tea and some meat, or some eggs and bacon. The following is a bill of the fare placed before me:—Four or five large slices of toast, swimming in a pool of melted butter—a large dish of fried bacon—half-a-dozen boiled eggs—an apple pie—some preserved quinces—cucumber in vinegar—currant jam—potatoes with butter—sweet cake—cheese—bread and butter—and tea with its usual accompaniments.

As soon as I had finished my repast, the driver, with whom I had been chatting during the latter

part of the journey, came in and sat down to table. I told him I would have waited for him, had I been aware of his coming. He made some excuse for his absence; but I could see plainly that he had felt unwilling to intrude upon me. It was a wild and poor country; and the manners of the people were simple and primitive. The front door of the inn was left open the whole night. They seemed to have a very summary and conclusive mode of collecting taxes; I copied the following notice which I found on the wall of the bar-room. "All persons who have neglected to pay their taxes on bills committed to Josiah H. Sage, collector, are hereby notified that, in consequence of the sickness of the said collector, the bills are at my house, where those who are willing, can have opportunity to pay their taxes, if they improve it *soon*; and those, who neglect, may expect to pay a constable with fees for collecting.

"J. BOSWORTH.

"Sandisfield, Aug. 2, 1833."

The next morning I started early in a light carriage for Albany. The lad who drove was very loquacious. He talked a great deal about England, which he said he longed very much to see—a feeling more common in this class of the people than any I met with. I made it a point, whichever way I travelled, and whatever person I conversed with, to give some hint that I was from the old country. I uniformly found that the inhabitants of cities, with few ex-

ceptions—chiefly of men of cultivated minds,—very seldom made any remarks upon the state of England; whereas the country-people, more particularly the stage-coachmen, if inclined to talk, generally evinced a desire to know what is passing in the old world. The state of our roads, the system of farming, and other matters connected with their occupations, were objects of curiosity and interest to them; while the former observed that dignified silence which becomes the consciousness of an undoubted superiority.

We were talking about the Irish laborers, who bear but an indifferent character everywhere. “They are an ugly set of people,” said the boy:—“but there are no people I hate so much as the niggers—I always drive over ’em, when they get in my way.” “But why do you hate them?—I suppose they are much the same as other people.” “So they are, to be sure:—I don’t know why I hate ’em:—but I do hate ’em.” There was no answering this. It had good classical authority. Martial himself could not have given a better reason.

At Stockbridge, a very pretty town, where we stopped some time, I stepped into a saddler’s shop, where I found an Englishman, working as a journeyman. His wages were five dollars a-week, besides board, lodging, washing, and mending. He spoke highly of the people, who were always ready to shew

him civility, and inclined to befriend the industrious and prudent.

The day after my arrival at Albany, I called upon a clerical gentleman to whom I had a letter of introduction, and was invited to drink tea with his family. He had a singular taste, which he had acquired in England, for collecting autograph signatures of persons remarkable in their generation for something or other. He shewed me a considerable number—many of them of very equivocal celebrity. There were some of an early date; and others more “modern instances.” He had the signs manual of Lord Teignmouth—Lord Bexley—and Sir Francis Burdett:—all obtained directly from these distinguished personages in reply to letters he had written to request the honor of having specimens of their hand-writing. He had sent four:—the fourth received no answer. He asked me to guess who it was, after telling the names. I was right: it was Lord Brougham. He had made applications of a similar kind to upwards of fifty public characters in his own country, and had, with one or two exceptions, attributable to accident, met with obliging and courteous replies.

About nine o'clock, a young man entered, and whispered something in a mysterious manner into my host's ear; when he got up from his seat, and went out into the passage, whence he returned

with a young couple, who had come, in appropriate dresses, and accompanied by the bride's-maid and another swain, to be joined together in holy matrimony. As I thought I might be rather in the way on this solemn occasion, I was about to leave the room, when I was requested to remain; and the rest of the family made their appearance. An extempore prayer was then offered up by the minister, who placed the hand of the damsel in that of her betrothed; and the questions, adapted to such cases, having been put to the parties principally concerned, the ceremony concluded, and the new-married couple made their "exeunt;" one of the young men having put something into the clergyman's hand. It proved to be one dollar only; more is generally given for the *job*,—from five to fifty. The names of the husband and wife were subsequently inserted in a register with those of the witnesses and the dates. The whole was over in five minutes.

Marriage is considered a civil contract, and, when properly attested and registered, is equally valid, whether solemnized by ministers of religion, justices of the peace, or the proper municipal authorities. The Quakers, as with us, have their own forms. Consent of parents or guardians is not necessary, in the State of New York, to legalize marriage, providing the parties have arrived at the age of legal consent, which is fourteen for males and twelve for females.

After this business was dispatched and our autographic decipherings were renewed, an English dissenting minister made his appearance with letters of recommendation from his own country, which he had recently quitted. His object was to obtain the charge of a congregation, or to find employment as a teacher. He had emigrated to the New World in the hope of finding bread for himself and his five children. When he had left the house with a promise that his case should be attended to, I was told that many applications from persons of a similar description and from the same country had lately been made—some of them of such a distressing nature as to imply a great mass of misery in the class to which they belonged. One case among many was that of a respectable man with a family of ten children in a state of complete destitution.

At the hotel where I lodged, I met accidentally with one of my fellow passengers from Liverpool, who was on his way to the Shaker-establishment at Watervliet, about eight miles from Albany. As it would have been an unpardonable omission to leave this part of the country, without seeing these singular people, I gladly availed myself of the opportunity, and we went over together the next morning. On our arrival, we found a party assembled for the same purpose, and joined them in the round they were about to make under the guidance of one of the sisters. After inspecting the kitchen and the dairy,

which were throughout distinguished for the cleanliness and ingenious contrivance observable among these people, we fell in with an elderly man, to whom I addressed a few questions, relative to the establishment. His replies were very brief and abrupt; and his manner indicated something like displeasure, as if he thought our object in coming was to ridicule the fraternity. When I told him that we were from the old country, and that we wished to judge for ourselves of a system about which so many conflicting reports had been given, his countenance brightened up, and he offered us his services; inquiring at the same time whether we belonged to the party with whom he had found us. "Well! then," said he, finding that we did not, "come along with me; and I will shew you what is most worth seeing." He then took us with him into the bed-rooms of one of the buildings, of which there are three or four; and remarked to us that we might see the falsehoods that had been propagated about them with respect to the total separation of the two sexes. On the pegs in the passage, into which the doors of the rooms opened, were hanging, on one side hats, on the other bonnets and cloaks; their respective owners being occupants of the adjoining chambers, as we could perceive by the furniture and clothing in them. As a protection to the wall, a large sheet of brown paper was affixed to it; so that the hat or bonnet, while suspended from the peg, left no mark or stain

when removed. Every part of the place was remarkable for the utmost order and neatness. Our next visit was to the working-rooms, where there were several women, dressed in the Quaker style, and busily occupied in weaving cotton stuffs, and in other employments suited to their sex. One or two of them were young and good-looking. They seemed to be very cheerful, and replied to our observations in a shrewd and laughing manner. They were disposed to be merry and enjoy a joke as much as any of their unregenerate sisters in the world. There was nothing like restraint or embarrassment in the women we met in our round. They were moving about in all directions, and exchanged sallies of wit with our guide as they passed each other.

Having satisfied our curiosity, the old man led us into a little room, where he said he passed his leisure hours in making whips; and, begging us to be seated, he exclaimed—"Now let us have a little chat about the affairs of Europe; and first let me ask you, do you know who O. P. Q. is?" I had been the chief interrogator, as my companion was a mere lad, and was now questioned in my turn. "I believe," said I, "I can tell you who he is, or at least who he is supposed to be." The name and the history of the Morning Chronicle's reputed correspondent were communicated to him; and I wrote down the former at his request, adding the titles by which it was once followed. Having obtained all the information I



could give him upon this point, he proceeded to discuss the political events and prospects of the old world; and exhibited a good deal of knowledge and sound sense both in the questions he put and in the remarks he made on the answers they elicited. Among other persons, he spoke of Sir Francis Burdett and Cobbett; and strongly reprobated the treatment Queen Caroline had received from George the Fourth, and his servile ministry, who succeeded, against their better judgment, in awakening a spirit, that has since given them no little trouble, and is now struggling for the mastery. Though I am but little acquainted with the scandalous chronicle of kings, I could easily have put him in possession of a few facts that are too well known in Europe to excite surprise or indignation. He was not disposed to make allowance for vices and failings, from which it would be unjust to expect exemption in these "chartered libertines." The venerable recluse launched out on the subject of these "delicate investigations" into a strain of morbid curiosity that required no further encouragement, to illustrate the powerful effects of human nature upon feelings long suppressed or diverted from their ordinary channels.

It was getting late; and we had seen enough to judge of the reaction which forced celibacy and religious seclusion have a tendency to produce upon the mind. I suggested, therefore, that it was time to take our leave; when our guide proposed a visit to

the school ; where, as he told us, we might judge for ourselves how far it is true that the Shakers are purposely kept in a state of ignorance. To the school then we adjourned, and met the children coming out. They all willingly and cheerfully acceded to our request that they would return to their lessons ; and we had an opportunity of witnessing the care bestowed upon their education. Two letters, written by the pupils,—one a girl of thirteen, the other rather older,—I have now in my possession. They are well written and well expressed, and fully disprove the imputation of neglecting instruction. That sort of knowledge is alone imparted, which may be useful to them in the occupations to which they are destined ; and the elementary books used in the public schools of the country are employed for the purpose.

I may here observe, that the facility with which the Shakers receive children into their establishment, has a tendency to produce many of the abuses arising from Foundling Hospitals. One case I am myself acquainted with where an illegitimate child was left with them by its parents, who pretended to be man and wife, and unable to provide for it ;—leaving at the same time a fictitious name, under pretence of reclaiming it on the first opportunity.

We saw several copies of the Bible and Testament in the common versions. These are accessible to the scholars at any time—so unfounded is the report

that the Scriptures are studiously kept out of the hands of these religionists.

There are several farms belonging to them. The establishment consists of about 300 men and women, who possess 2000 acres, part of which is garden ground. They derive a considerable revenue from the sale of seeds and cheeses, in addition to the other produce of their industry, whether agricultural or manufacturing.

Their mode of life is extremely simple and highly conducive to health and longevity, the average duration of life for the last thirty years having been, at this station and at New Lebanon in the same State, nearly sixty years. The whole number of those who belong to this sect, the chief peculiarity of which is, as is well known, complete abjuration of marriage, is between four and five thousand, dispersed, in separate communities, over various parts of the Union. They believe, as far as they have any creed, that God is not three in one ; but two in one. They infer from the text :—“ So God created man in his own image : in the image of God created he him ; male and female created he them,”—that “ there exists in the Deity the likeness of male and female, forming the unity of that creative and good principle from which proceeds the work of father and mother, manifested in the power to create and wisdom to bring forth into proper order all the works of God. If it were not so, then man, who was

created male and female, could not with any propriety be said to shew forth the image of God." But the manifestation of this, they affirm, "does not imply two persons, but two incomprehensibles," shewing, according to their notions, "something essentially different from three persons in one God, all in the masculine gender, as established by a council of Catholic bishops in the fourth century, and which has been the prevailing creed among their blind and bigoted followers to this day." In accordance with these singular tenets, they hold that there have been two distinct advents or revelations, corresponding to the two natures, male and female; Ann Lee having been ordained to the second. "The Father is the first in order of the new creation; and the Mother is the second,—the glory, wisdom, and perfection of the Father. And in and by the son and daughter, or Christ in his first and second appearing, the Father and Mother are both revealed and made known, through the mutual influence of the eternal world proceeding from both; who are one in essence, nature and union; but two in their office and manner of operation." No one can deny that this is incomprehensible enough to answer all the purposes of mysticism. By permitting marriage, however,—the only way in which man and woman can be made one,—Mother Lee might have completed the analogy, and applied the doctrine of dualism as well to the object, as to the author, of Divine Good-

ness. Her domestic trials might perhaps have confirmed, if they did not produce, her attachment to celibacy ; for her husband, not long after her arrival from England, left her to live with another woman, and dissolved the connexion for one less spiritual.

The Shakers allow no distinction whatever between man and man, but what is founded on moral worth, and admit persons of all colors to the same privileges. Hence, probably, arose those bitter and cruel persecutions to which they were at first exposed, rather than from the charge of alienating children from their parents and disturbing the natural order of society. About thirty years ago, an establishment they had formed in Union Village, in the State of Ohio, was attacked by a lawless mob of 500 armed men ; led on by officers, and followed by nearly 2000 people, who had assembled to witness this brutal outrage on a peaceable community of religionists. The pretence of all this violence was, as is usual on similar occasions, to protect religion from dangerous fanatics. Such, however, was the patient mildness with which the Shakers conducted themselves towards these turbulent intruders, (the real fanatics,) that their malice was disarmed, and they retired with far different feelings from those with which they had arrived.

I had no opportunity of seeing the society either at their meals or at their devotional exercises; the

latter of which are said to be inexpressibly ludicrous—though the sight of rational beings cutting capers to the glory of God must be rather humiliating than amusing. These peculiarities are becoming less preposterous; and, as the distortions of the body are exchanged for movements more natural and graceful, the attention of the inquisitive to these ceremonies will probably be lessened; and visitors will content themselves with the picture of a happy and harmless community, usefully employed and exempt from most of the cares and follies of civilized society.

We returned to Albany in time for dinner; and at three o'clock I started by the rail-road for Saratoga. The first sixteen miles we performed in forty minutes, when we dismissed the locomotive power, and having descended, for a short distance, down an inclined plane, went on, by means of a single horse, to the Springs, which we reached at eight; the whole distance being thirty-six miles and a half. We were detained some time at Schenectady, twenty-two miles from Saratoga. The place was crowded; and I was glad to return the next day to the western road, from which I had deviated for the purpose of taking a peep at the American Cheltenham and its "fashionables." I staid there so short a time that I am not a fair judge of either. There must, however, be some great attraction

in the one, when the other can congregate in such numbers, in spite of a hot sun, a sandy soil, and noisy hotels.

The next day the rail-road conveyed me back to Schenectady in an hour and eighteen minutes, the cars having stopped ten minutes at Balston Spa to take up some passengers. From the former place I went by the stage to Palatine (thirty-nine miles). The road runs by the side of the Mohawk river nearly all the way to Utica, and presents some fine views.

One of the drivers made a singular remark to me. He was saying that many of the Dutch or German settlers have colored servants\*, who generally prove honest and industrious in return for the kindness shewn to them. "You Europeans," said he, "must be astonished at the superstition you see here. It is disgraceful to our national character, and contrary to common sense and justice to despise a whole race, who are just as good as we are. It is cowardly to insult people who cannot defend themselves, and ungrateful to oppress those who are working for us."

\* The "Dutch" farmers are accused, most absurdly, of employing these men, because they can get them at lower wages than whites—as if there could be two rates of remuneration in the same place for the same kind of work. I once heard a black and a white laborer comparing the amount of what they could earn as farming men. I was sitting by them on the top of a stage, and listened to their conversation.

These were nearly the very words he used. The customs here are certainly capricious and somewhat puzzling. If a black man be free, he is not allowed to get into the stage—if he be a slave, he is. An American will tell you that the exclusion is owing to the olfactories;—what is the admittance owing to? The day before, I observed a black woman, with some ladies and other persons, in one of the cars. She was the slave of one of them. In England, a man would be considered ill-bred, if he were to put his livery-servant into a stage-coach with gentlemen. Yet even “a natural antipathy” is sacrificed in America to the vanity of one section of the Union and the servility of the other. If the Northern States had a proper spirit of independence or becoming pride, they would adopt some retaliatory measure, and prohibit the introduction of slaves from every State that prohibits the introduction of their colored citizens. But this they dare not do. Well may the planters laugh at the “pedlars.” They out-vote them in Congress; and they thrust their “niggers” into their stage-coaches under their very noses.

The next day I went on to Utica (thirty-seven miles). In the evening, as I was strolling about, I entered into conversation with one of my swarthy friends, and obtained from him a singular piece of information. He had been sold not long before by his own consent. Upon inquiring into the particu-



lars of what I had hitherto thought a very uncommon occurrence, he assured me that such kinds of bargain were by no means so rare as one would imagine. The manner in which he disposed of himself was this. He agreed with the captain of a vessel from Albany, to go out with him to Martinique, where he was purchased by a planter for 500 dollars, and received half of the sum as his share of the bargain. On the departure of the vendor, who had made a previous arrangement with the commander of another vessel to take him off the island, he made his way, with the assistance of the port-officer, whom he bribed, to the latter; and, before the ship that had taken him out returned, got back to New York, with his freedom safe, and what he had received for a few hours' slavery in his pocket. He told me he had had several offers since to engage in a similar speculation; but had declined, as he could not trust the proposers.

A few miles before we reached Utica, a passenger in the stage related an anecdote, which, though a choice specimen of what are called Yankee tricks, must yield the palm to the former. The circumstance occurred at the very spot we were passing over, when the limits of the settlement had not reached what is now the populous city of Utica. About that time, an unlettered man, known by the name of Judge Sterling, had been raised to the bench, or rather appointed, on account of his supe-

rior shrewdness, to administer justice to the district, and arbitrate between the settlers and the squatters from the East. He was very pious and fond of money; and contrived to gratify both dispositions, by placing a chain across the road, in front of his house on a Sunday, and exacting a toll from every passenger. A Yankee, who was on his way to the wilderness beyond, was stopped, and the customary demand made. "Give me a receipt," said he, "that I may not have another toll to pay as I go through your district." The judge produced a blank piece of paper, and desiring him to write one, affixed his signature to it. The rogue had written over it:—"Please to pay to the bearer the sum of 100 dollars." This draft he got cashed in the village at a store, having added the owner's name to it, and it was not till some time after, that the fraud was discovered by the dupe.

The next day, I proceeded to Auburn (seventy-five miles). The road was uninteresting, and none of the best. While we were going slowly up a hill within a few miles of the city, two very pretty children, neatly dressed, and apparently daughters of substantial farmers, held out a basket of plums to us, when one of the passengers, after he had taken out the contents, inquired of the little girl, who had taken it back from him, what she asked for them. "Nothing," was her answer. "Oh! but you must take something." "No; you are very welcome to

them." He still pressed her ; but she declined the money. He was a Southerner :—a New-Englander would not probably have accepted the proffered kindness so ungraciously. As the stage was proceeding—"I should not have expected," said he, "to find so much disinterested civility in this part of the country." This was as chilling and as illiberal as Moliere's "*la vertu—où va-t-elle se nicher?*" It was not very complimentary to the people of the northern section. One or two of them were present ; but said nothing at the time. The remark, however, was not lost upon them, any more than upon myself, as the comment made upon it afterwards convinced me ; while it confirmed the inference I naturally drew from this trifling incident, as to the difference of rank, and its accompanying respect, that prevails in the Slave-States and Free-States.

The next morning I visited the prison ; the external appearance of which bears a much stronger resemblance to places of the same kind in Europe, than any I had before seen in America. It was here, I believe, that the Penitentiary system was first tried. As the agent was out, the chaplain took me round the different parts of the establishment. There are altogether 770 cells ; 220 of which are in a building lately erected on a better plan of construction than the old one ; though, in both, the means of properly ventilating the cells are defective ; as there is no aperture in any of them, like

those at Sing Sing, for keeping up a current of air by an open communication from the back part of the room with the air at the roof. The space, however, between the dormitories and the wall, which forms the opposite side of the passage, is much larger than that in the old portion of the building.

There is a difference in the manner of securing the convicts in their cells between this prison and that at Sing Sing; each lock being separate, and the door too far withdrawn from the range in which the rooms are placed, to admit of any communication between them. The dinner, too, which at the latter is taken separately and in the cells, is here eaten in common, at tables provided for the purpose. One advantage, said to arise from this arrangement, is the facility with which the quantity of food can be regulated according to the exigencies of the prisoners; among whom the hard-workers require more than those whose employment is less laborious. This accommodation, however, might be obtained, if required, by a liberal apportionment of diet, as easily in the other system, by sending the keepers with a supply along the line, and requiring the convicts to make the same signs through the bars of the cells, when they want more meat, that are here made at the public table with the same object. At Sing Sing the convicts have the same rations; but that is not a necessary consequence of eating separately.

There is a greater variety of manufactures carried

on at this prison than at Singsing or Weathersfield ; and the avenues, or covered ways, through which the keepers, by means of small slits in the wood-work, are enabled to see the men at work, are more complete ; as, in most cases, they are carried all round the workshops. These contrivances not only afford the best security for the due observance of silence, and of obedience to other regulations, by impressing on the minds of all at work, that they are under the immediate eye of vigilance and authority, —but enable visitors to see all that is going on, without occasioning any trouble or interruption to the business of the place. Out of 696 that were under confinement at the time of my visit, there were but eight in the infirmary—a greater number than the average. Here, as in other establishments of a similar kind, it is found that the sudden transition from immoderate indulgence to total abstinence, in the case of habitual drunkards, has a good effect upon the general state of health ; shewing that reform, to be salutary, need not always be gradual ; and that a remedy may be radical with the physician, and yet conservative to the patient.

The system pursued here is milder than that at the penitentiary on the North river. From the latter there have been transferred to the Auburn prison, at two successive periods, 120 convicts ; and all of them have expressed a decided preference to the treatment that has followed the change. This

testimony may be thought to favor the system it is employed to discredit; and, if capital punishments were the best, because a man would rather be flogged than hanged, severity of discipline would find its best advocate in the terror it excites. Other feelings, however, are to be enlisted in aid of reformation; and preventive checks to crime are not to be estimated by the tortures applied to the body or mind of the criminal. Any one can perceive in the countenances of the convicts at Auburn, much less of that ferocious and resentful feeling, which the "cat" at the Sing Sing penitentiary has left impressed on the features of its inmates.

A violent and ignorant outcry, which has forced its way from the workshops of the mechanics to the doors of the legislature, has been raised, particularly in the State of New York, against convict labor, from its supposed tendency to ruin trade by lowering its prices. A slight consideration, however, will shew that no such injury can possibly arise from an open contract; the nature of which is to keep down the profits of the new competitor to the level of the general market. I was assured by a very well informed man, whom I met at a time when public attention had been directed to these disputes, that he could purchase shoes at Albany, of a commissioner from Lynn,—a town in Massachusetts, famous for its "cordwainers,"—fifteen per cent. below what they would cost at Sing Sing, to which place he had

gone under an impression that he could get them cheaper there. He added, that it was not an uncommon thing at Auburn, to procure household furniture from New York, rather than from the prison in the neighborhood. Such are the fallacies and falsehoods relative to the work done in the penitentiaries; the inmates of which are accused of inflicting a fatal blow to the interests of honest industry. That this opinion is very general, is evident from the high prices at these places, occasioned by the influx of those who, while they entertain it, afford the best refutation of an error that will cure itself.

Unfortunately, this question, like every other of a public nature, has assumed a political form; and the ignorance of the working-classes is used as a tool for party purposes. The Whig (or anti-Jackson) convention, recently held at Utica, have resolved, in their wisdom, as follows: "Inasmuch as the mechanic arts are among the great sources of a nation's wealth and happiness, it becomes the duty of the government to extend its protection to the most intelligent and important class of our citizens; and that the employment of State convicts in the fabrication of articles which come into ruinous competition with the labor of honest industry, is a burthen upon mechanics so onerous as to demand the prompt and efficient attention of the legislature."

The Buffalo Whig contained a circular (dated August, 1834) from the agent and keeper of the

Auburn prison. To the queries therein inserted, the editor gives certain answers, as they were made by a mechanic,—the last person whose evidence on a subject involving so intimately his prejudices and interests, would be taken as conclusive by the agent, or any one who wishes to get at the truth. “The several mechanical branches,” says this judge in his own cause, “with which the prison wares have come into competition, are seriously injured; and it is said, some establishments have been broken up in consequence, and that others must follow. It is believed, that the low prices at which the prison wares are sold, is the principal cause of complaint; it being, on some articles, but little above the price of the raw material.”

The Editor of the Whig observes upon the above: “We were recently acquainted with a very worthy mechanic in this city, now deceased, who, previously to his residence here, was employed in superintending the blacksmiths in the Auburn prison. That trade he followed here; and, from his knowledge of the discipline of the prison, and the signs by which the prisoners (not being allowed to speak) call for what they need, he often detected those he employed as graduates of the Auburn Institution. He informed us, that he detected in this way, from fifteen to twenty of these, in the course of two years. Several of them proved most arrant knaves; and no one so demeaned himself as to retain his place



longer than a few days. Some of them pilfered his small tools; and one broke open his shop at night, and robbed it. A chair-maker, also at work here, plundered his employer and decamped, who was from the same school. In short, reformation, we believe, can seldom be found to have resulted from our prison system." The last paragraph is quite unnecessary. The whole style of argument clearly shews, that public opinion has already passed a verdict of "guilty." What chance of reformation is there in a discharged convict, when he knows that he is recognised, suspected, and despised? He is precisely in the same situation with men of the same class, who, in France, are placed under the surveillance of the police, and subjected to a system of discouragement, that has long been complained of as reproducing crime in a multiplied and aggravated form.

After this, we need not be surprised at what follows: Mr. Humphreys, who is said in the *Mechanics' Magazine* (an American publication) to be "better able to judge of the effects produced by attempting to reform criminals by state-prison-labor than any one else in the community," says, in his report to the legislature of New York, in 1834, "To the first question: 'What portion of offenders sentenced to the penitentiary, or to the State-prison, as far as your experience enables you to say, reform?'—I answer; I regret to say, very few. My opinion

is, as far as my experience enables me to give an opinion, that there are not more than two out of 100 well-attested instances of durable reform." Again—" At every court of the general and special sessions, held in the city, with few exceptions, several old offenders, who have been before sent to our penitentiary or State-prison, or to the State-prison of some other State, are again tried and convicted."

The next day I left Auburn with the same party, and reached Canandaigua—one of the prettiest villages in the State, where I remained till the 22d, having been invited to dine with a Scotchman, who has been living there some time, and has just finished a splendid house, to the great delight of his neighbors, who have thus the prospect of retaining among them a man of sterling worth and good sense. I was indebted for his acquaintance to a person whom I had met at New York, while in attendance upon the governor, and who recognised me in the Court-house, while I was listening to a tedious and uninteresting trial for petty larceny, and was happy to accept his polite offer of an introduction to his friends. With Mr. Greig, who had asked one or two persons to meet me, I passed a very agreeable evening.

The towns, springing up like magic, and the beautiful lakes I passed between Albany and Avon, which I reached the following day, have so often been depicted, that I should rather claim praise for omit-

ting, than risk blame for enlarging upon, a subject, which, in one of its features, almost eludes description by constant addition and extension, and, in the other, demands a more skilful hand for delineation.

I had written a few days before to Mr. Wadsworth, who had invited me, when I met him in the summer in New York, to take his house on my way to the Falls of Niagara; and soon after I got to Avon, his eldest son arrived at the hotel, and drove me with him in his gig to Geneseo, about ten miles out of the Buffalo road. Avon is twenty-five miles from Canandaigua; and the latter thirty-nine from Auburn.

Geneseo, the county town of Livingston county, is beautifully situated on an eminence, that overlooks part of the fertile and delightful valley through which the Genesee flows on its way to the lake Ontario.

## CHAPTER IX.

Country Gentleman's House, — English Settler. — American Hospitality. — Emigrants to the West. — Buffalo. — Seneca Indians. — Canada. — City of Ararat. — Falls. — Eccentric Englishman. — Canada Farm. — Difference of Prices in the two Countries. — Strike of Masters against Servants. — Low Life above Stairs. — Brock's Monument.

MR. WADSWORTH'S house commands a fine view; the rising ground on the other side of the river presenting an undulating surface of woods and fields, interspersed with farm-houses. Such a prospect, whether you regard the variety of the scenery or the richness of the pasturage it embraces, is rarely to be met with. Such is the fertility of the alluvial soil, that a farm of eighty acres, situated higher up in the flats, near Mount Morris, has continued to bear the finest crops of wheat and other grain, for thirty-seven years without intermission, and without manure. It was purchased for sixty-six and a half dollars an acre: and the year before, yielded twenty, and was expected, in the ensuing harvest, to yield

thirty dollars net profit per acre. The average crop on Mr. Wadsworth's land was twenty bushels an acre; that on the best being forty. The establishment is on a very large scale; above 2000 acres, if I was rightly informed, being in the proprietor's own hands,—in addition to other farms and lands which are estimated at more than 100,000 acres. The average price of land cleared for sale is twenty dollars an acre; the best land sells for thirty, including a good dwelling-house, barn, &c., with the respective lots. The net profits of one field of wheat, the year I was there, were twenty dollars an acre;—just two-thirds of the fee-simple of the land. Where the farms are let out, the rent is usually one-third of the crop; the tenant defraying all the expenses of cultivation. The grain, thus obtained, is made into flour and sold. The retail price of meat is moderate, averaging six cents a pound for the best beef through the year. Eggs ten cents the dozen: cheese six to eight cents the pound. Wheat eight dollars the quarter. Board and lodging at an hotel, for one person, about two dollars per week.

A clergyman, in this part of the country, receives about 500 dollars a-year for his stipend; and can live comfortably upon it, being able to keep a horse and chaise, besides maintaining his family. The farming-men on Mr. Wadsworth's estate have ten dollars a month, in addition to board, lodging, &c. One of them saved, the preceding year, fifty dollars.

In a few years, these men, if industrious and prudent, become proprietors of land, and lay the foundation of a competent provision for their children. An Irishman, who had, some years before, the care of the sheep, the number of which was at that time about 7000, (since succeeded in their luxuriant pastures by eight or nine hundred bullocks,) laid by 500 dollars during the period of his service on the estate, and purchased 300 acres of land in the territory of Michigan with the earnings of his industry, which, by successive accumulations, now amount to eighteen or twenty thousand dollars. I wish this were a fair specimen of Erin's sons; but the prevalence of dissipation and improvidence among the most numerous class of Irish emigrants, has stamped them with a character too generally unfavorable to be removed by such examples of prudence.

I am indebted to Mr. Kemp—an Englishman, who has resided four or five years on a farm of 600 acres, in the township of Groveland, five miles south of Geneseo, for the following statement. He gave fifteen dollars an acre for his land; and it is now worth, including the house and outbuildings, thirty dollars an acre; or twenty-seven exclusive of them. The average produce of what he has cleared is about the same as that on the estate at Geneseo. A swing plough, with cast iron fittings, costs about seven dollars; a threshing machine from one to two hundred dollars. A barrel of pork, of 200 pounds, costs

fourteen dollars. Farm horses, eighty to one hundred dollars each. A yoke of oxen, fifty to ninety. A very fine one I saw at Geneseo cost sixty; while the keep of each yoke averaged half a dollar per week. A milch cow cost sixteen dollars. Mr. Kemp and his family, consisting of his wife and six children, had enjoyed excellent health. Speaking of his native and his adopted country, he thought the rural part of the community, as far as he could judge from what he had observed in his own neighborhood, superior, in point of integrity and morality, to the corresponding classes in England. The population of the cities he considered nearly the same in both respects on each side of the Atlantic. He complained, as most Europeans do, (rather unjustly, for the new world was made for man as well as master,) of the great difficulty he had experienced in finding, and still more in keeping, good servants. A servant, he said, if industrious and saving, can lay by, in the course of two years, sufficient to purchase eighty acres (half a quarter-section of land) in Michigan:—the “el dorado” of agricultural emigrants from both sides of the Atlantic. He was of opinion that the part of the Union he had selected for his residence offers, upon the whole, the greatest advantages, from the excellence of the soil and the easy access to a market for its produce, to the investment of a small capital in land. The Erie canal is but thirty miles from Geneseo and

accessible by the river. Cash may at any time be obtained for grain from the agents in the villages, who are employed by the Rochester millers. While I was there, flour from wheat ground but five days before at that city, was on sale at New York, from which it is distant upwards of 400 miles by the canal.

Mr. Kemp spoke in very high terms of his neighbors, who had been uniformly kind, conciliatory, and respectful in their intercourse with him. He had been occupied exclusively in agricultural pursuits, and was satisfied with the success that had attended them. To a question, whether he ever felt any anxiety with respect to a future provision for his family, his answer was—"none whatever."

The mode of living in this part of a country, till within a few years an inaccessible forest, is extremely sociable and friendly; and, if Groveland resembles Geneseo in hospitality and kindness, Mr. Kemp will find every day less reason to regret his removal from Poole in Dorsetshire to the "wilds of America." Such a man, however, would be an acquisition to any society:—obliging, intelligent, industrious and unassuming.

After a "visitation" of three weeks, during which the attentions I received from all were such as could be expected from none but friends of old standing, attentions that were given with a delicacy that would be hurt by an adequate acknowledgment, I



took leave of Mr. Wadsworth and his family on the 12th of September; and, having been driven to Avon by his eldest son, continued my route the next morning to Buffalo (sixty-four miles), through a monotonous country.

Among the passengers in the stage was a farmer from the eastern part of the State, on his way to Illinois, whither he was emigrating with his four brothers, their families, and their household gods. The rest of the party were a little in advance in covered waggons, travelling about twenty-five miles a day, and passing the night in tents, under which they had their usual meals, with as much comfort and security as if at home; having brought carpets and bedding with them. They were to embark, with their carriages and baggage, at Buffalo, and proceed by a steam-boat to the nearest spot that would lead to the place of their destination. This nomadic tribe consisted of twelve or fourteen families, most of them neighbors. In the spring they expected a reinforcement to their projected colony of fifty more families, chiefly from Vermont; and as they had their spiritual guide with them, and were not unprovided with medical assistance in case of need, the wants of man's double nature would be amply supplied.

The old man, whose conversation was remarkably sensible and entertaining, expatiated fully and frequently on the rich harvest that the inexhaustible

prairies, to which his clan were hastening, presented to his view. He had been on the spot the year before ; and, on his return, had prevailed upon his friends to sell their lands, and set out on a pilgrimage of 1000 miles to the "far West." He had no fear, he said, that the sanguine expectations his description of the "promised land" had excited, would be disappointed. We passed several parties journeying in the same direction, and with similar views. They reminded me of Horace's "*campestres Scythæ, quorum plaustra vagos rite trahunt domos.*" The picture, indeed, he draws of the ancient "squatters", whom the great *officina gentium* sent forth into the adjoining countries, is not inapplicable to a class of emigrants that are driven by the same hopes and fears to seek a subsistence in other lands, to clear the way for their successors, and to dispose of the ground they have brought into cultivation to some new comer, who shall again push them forward in their turn, when the advancing wave from behind shall have reached himself. "*Defunctumque laboribus æquali recreat sorte vicarius.*"

It was quite dark before we entered Buffalo ; and one of the passengers, who sat at the back part of the stage, was busily employed in looking out, from time to time, to see that no marauder had carried off his luggage from the boot. His brother-in-law, he informed us, had had his trunk, a few days before, cut off, and "gutted" of its contents at that very

spot. I had heard of such occurrences before ; but should not have expected to meet with this sort of highwaymen at such a distance from the great cities, where there are never wanting hands to strip the stages, on a fair opportunity, of a trunk or two from the cargo that is most unaccountably exposed behind, or slightly secured by a chain. Buffalo, however, contains above 12,000 inhabitants, and is much frequented by travellers and men of business, few of whom have leisure to stop and hunt after any one who may have taken a fancy to their wardrobe.

The progress of Buffalo has been very rapid, and is likely to continue, as its situation on the great road to the West, and the Erie canal, give it advantages which no rival can hope to wrest from it. In three years, the tonnage on Lake Erie increased from 6,000 to 18,000 tons. Upwards of 200,000 entered the port of Buffalo the year before ; and half that number of passengers, it is supposed, passed through the place on their way to the New States. There were 20 steam-boats and 128 sloops and schooners on the lake in 1833.

The value of property, and the amount of profits which trade offers at this place, may be estimated from the circumstance of a broker proposing to give 25 per cent. for money on good security ; his object being, as he informed the person from whom I had the account, to lend it at an interest of 50 per cent. Making every allowance for exaggeration, the or-

dinary value of money must be great to admit of such a statement. A transaction of this kind is of course managed indirectly; as the law, which, in this State, limits the rate of interest, must be evaded. The policy of usury laws, as they are called, was discussed by the company in the stage between Avon and Buffalo. The emigrant defended them, while the rest of the party were strongly opposed to him. When he is settled in Illinois, the government of which he praised for promising to "protect" him against usurious bargains, by fixing the price he is to pay for the capital he may want, he will find himself a loser, and the lender a gainer, by all the difference between the demands of an open market and the indemnity that must be given, not only for the usual risks, but the chances of loss for infringing the enactment he approves of.

If these laws could be strictly enforced, the spirit of improvement would be checked, the uncleared land must remain a barren waste, and the price of grain would rise as the supply diminished. The greater part of that industry and enterprise by which such astonishing results have been obtained, has been put in motion by borrowed capital, much of which would certainly be withdrawn if its profits were not commensurate with the risk it incurs, and the return it contributes to make. What would remain would be of still higher value, and less likely to continue without an increased remuneration. In

Canada, the legal restriction upon interest is evaded in exact proportion to its severity; the borrower being punished by the hand held out to protect him.

I remained but one day at Buffalo, and spent part of it in a visit to a settlement of Seneca Indians, between three or four miles from the city. I was accompanied by an Englishman, who is resident at the latter. The colony contains about 300, a large proportion of whom are converted to the Christian faith. The latter have a small and neat church, near which is the residence of a Presbyterian missionary, who has the spiritual care of the congregation. Their cottages and farm-houses are some of them in good order; and the land, of which but a small portion is as yet cleared, is tolerably well cultivated. We called on the widow of Red Jacket,—a celebrated chief of the tribe,—she was living in a log-hut, where her husband had resided, and was in a very destitute state, happy to receive the donations of casual visitors. She was unable to speak English; and the little girl who waited upon her, and was busy preparing some Indian corn for her supper, was not inclined to make use of the little knowledge she had of our language. The inside of the cottage, though rudely and imperfectly furnished, was not without the appearance of comfort. We afterwards went into the farm-house of a very respectable good-looking Indian, who had just before passed us on

horseback. His dwelling-house was in excellent condition, and his children, of whom, he told us in the little English he knew, he had six, looked healthy and cheerful. To judge from the fields about his house, he was in a prosperous state. It was unfortunate that he was not better acquainted with the only language by which we could communicate together; as from the expression of his countenance, and the quickness with which he comprehended what we said, he seemed to possess a good understanding, and a communicative disposition. These people are fast melting away,—not so much by the pressure of a more civilized community, as by the influence of an unaccommodating and cruel prejudice, which forbids a closer intercourse, and drives its victims into habits of intemperance and idleness, as a refuge from despondency and discouragement.

The vicinity of such a city as Buffalo is peculiarly unfavorable to these people, as it holds out irresistible temptations to drinking, and while it gives the citizens an interest in getting rid of a troublesome neighbor, deprives the latter of that stimulus to exertion and forethought he might find, if surrounded by people whose feelings and occupations were less uncongenial to his own.

The following morning I left Buffalo for the Falls of Niagara; and, after crossing, at Black-rock, the river that joins the lakes Erie and Ontario, continued

the journey on the Canada side, having the Niagara on the right all the way to the Falls, at which the stage arrived about the middle of the day, the distance being twenty-two miles.

The difference, on passing the frontier between the two countries as they appear on each side of the river, is very perceptible; great part of the land in Canada having been under cultivation for thirty or forty years; whereas on the American side, the forest still presents an unbroken surface for a considerable distance.

On our road we passed by Grand Island, which contains about 20,000 acres, and is still uncleared. It is here that it was intended—if such intention ever really existed—to build an asylum for the Jews from different parts of the world. It was to be called the city of Ararat. The projector (Noah, the editor of the New York Evening Star,—a man “bene notus” throughout the Union) who, it is said, was to have five dollars a head from the dispersed members of his race, memorialized the legislature of New York upon the subject in 1820; but the historical reminiscences of the Israelites were not in favor of the American wilderness; and the zeal of their disinterested brother was lost upon them. The wild scheme has long since been abandoned.

The Pavilion hotel, at which the stage stopped, was nearly deserted, as the arrival of the autumn,

though the finest season of the year, from the state of the atmosphere and the changing tints of the foliage, for visiting the Falls, appeared to have driven away or deterred the migratory flocks of tourists from the place. Two or three of my fellow-passengers just took a peep at them from the bank, and proceeded on their way back to New York. Having seen my things safe in the house, I hurried down to have a nearer view, and feasted my eyes with a spectacle which far exceeded, in magnificence and sublimity, every picture which my imagination had ever formed of this matchless prodigy. No description, whether addressed to the eye or the ear, can ever convey to the mind, any conception approaching to that which the spectator receives through the different senses to which it addresses itself. Nothing can give one so high an idea of power:—sound, velocity, and magnitude, being each in the highest degree and in everlasting combination. To witness this astonishing sight, forms in the existence of every one a new æra, to which his imagination will refer in its attempts to grasp the forms of grandeur and sublimity.

The first view I had was downward; the rock on which I stood being on a level with the precipice over which this enormous mass of waters is projected; I then descended, and proceeded through the spray within a few yards of the fall, between



which and the rock is a sufficient interval for any one to walk under who wishes to undertake what I was told would hardly repay the trouble, as nothing is to be seen. The view from this spot is not, I think, equal to that from above, as the latter presents the rapids, the fall, and the whirlpool at once before you. The sense of security too detracts something from the effect, as the torrent has spent its rage ; and after a few eddies, proceeds on its way in comparative tranquillity ; whereas the waves, as they roll and roar down the declining channel of the river, seem, with accumulated and accelerated force, to threaten the very ground on which you are standing.

Wishing to have a view from the American side, I crossed the ferry ; and, ascending a wooden staircase, from the top of which is perhaps as fine a prospect as from any other point on that side, I passed, by means of a wooden bridge, over to Goat Island ; the length of which divides the current, as its lower end divides the fall, into two portions—(there are in fact three of the latter)—the widest of which is on the Canada side. Having traversed the island, I availed myself of a sort of wooden jetty, which has been erected near the precipice, and posted myself over the gulph. I was peculiarly fortunate both in the day and the hour. It was nearly five o'clock in the afternoon ; and, as the sun's rays fell directly, from the opposite side, through the purest atmosphere, upon "the horned flood," the

effect was most beautiful. The torrent, as it hurried onward to the fall, formed itself into the most splendid crystals; and meeting the foam as it rose from the bottom and the sides, was precipitated with it into the gulph below; where it was lost in a vast bason, that rivalled the mountain snow in whiteness. Turning round, I perceived the rival falls connected, as it were, by the most brilliant rainbow imaginable, the outline and tints of which presented ever-varying diversities, as the breeze agitated the refracting spray.

On my return through the island, I stepped into a log-hut, belonging to the man who collects the toll at the bridge, and sat for some time chatting with his wife and children. The old lady was at supper; and very hospitably invited me to partake of it. Most willingly would I have accepted the offer, had my appetite corresponded with her kindness. She did not press me; for there was too much sincerity on both sides, to repeat the invitation or to reverse the refusal. She was very communicative, and related to me several anecdotes of an unfortunate Englishman, who was drowned two or three years before in the river below. From the account she gave of him, he was evidently insane: he would often wander about, night and day, over the island; upon which he had hired a small cottage, where he cooked his own food, and lay wrapped up in his blanket on the floor. Sometimes he would be well-dressed and

talk rationally; at others he would let his beard grow, avoid every one, and put on the most miserable and dirty garments. Though wayward and eccentric, he was harmless and inoffensive. In his most melancholy and dejected mood, he would take notice of the old woman's little girl; to whom, in spite of her repugnance, he had evinced a very singular attachment. Her presence appeared to soothe his unquiet spirit; and he would talk to her and shew her little attentions, when no other person could obtain an answer or a remark from him. His age was between thirty and forty; and, from his language and deportment, he must have received a good education. He could speak five or six languages, and played on several musical instruments. Having been obliged to quit his hermit's cell, as the owner fancied his uncouth appearance might frighten visitors from the island, he was much chagrined, and betook himself to a little cot provided for him near the ferry. Here he was accustomed to bathe in the Niagara; and, having, as it was supposed, got one day out of his depth (for he was unable to swim) he was swept away by the current; and his clothes, that were found on the shore, alone remained to tell his unhappy fate. His body was carried by the stream into lake Ontario, where it was afterwards discovered. Such was the history (I need not add the name) of my countryman, which the mistress of this sequestered cottage gave me; concluding her narrative with a

warm eulogy upon his gentle and kind disposition, and an expression of unaffected compassion for his untimely end. There was something both interesting and picturesque about the cabin and its inmates. It was built near the torrent, the thunder of which was the "lullaby" of its cheerful and contented family. I asked one of the daughters whether her rest was not interrupted at night, when absent from home; she replied that she had been out on a visit, not long before, for the first time; and had not been able to sleep for nearly a fortnight—deprived of those soothing sounds to which her ear had been so long habituated. The worthy dame expatiated much in praise of an English lady, who had been at the falls during a whole winter. To use her expression she was so "enamoured" of the place that she could not quit it. She too was one of Nature's favorite children—with a romantic imagination and a benevolent heart. The sympathies of the one, however, had checked the aberrations of the other. Her mind had found a healthful occupation in instructing the children of the neighbouring settlers. She would come on to the island in the coldest weather, when few would venture out into the open air, and would gaze for hours on the falling waters.

It was getting late, or I should have remained longer in the cottage. I shall not readily forget it, nor the affectionate manner in which the kind-hearted matron bade me farewell;—repeating the

words, "my dear child"—an expression she had often used during our conversation.

I could not, on recrossing the ferry, but lament, as I had done before, that a barbarous and sacrilegious hand had been permitted to outrage every feeling of taste, congruities or common sense, by placing a wooden bridge and a circular building, like a shot-tower, directly over one of the falls. Every person who has the slightest pretension to any thing like susceptibility of tender or lofty emotions from the view of external objects, should have protested against the wild schemes of a "money-changer," that have marred the simplicity and purity of this "solemn temple"—interrupting the devotion of the worshipper, and mingling with his admiration of the Divine architect disgust at the arts and contrivances of unfeeling trade and avaricious speculation. The name of this Vandal is, I believe, Porter. It is to him that the island, with its appurtenances, belongs; and it is for the sake of extracting a few additional dollars from the pockets of the curious, that this vile sacrilege has been committed.

Having taken another view, the next morning, of the rapids, from a spot where the waters are seen to the greatest advantage, rushing towards the fall, from the level of which they are elevated fifty feet, at the distance of half a mile, I walked on with a young Englishman, whom I had met at the hotel, to the "whirlpool," about four miles below—having

directed my luggage to be sent on to the tavern at Stamford, where the stage to Niagara was to take me up. Before we arrived at the whirlpool, we could hear its roar, which, though not so loud as to be distinguished on a clear and calm night, at a distance of twenty or thirty miles, as is said to be the case with that of the falls, is still very great. The scenery on the lofty and precipitous banks of the river at this place is much finer than what I saw above; and the Maelstrom below, as it whirled about in the enormous basin which it had worked out to take its pastime in, affords a magnificent object to the spectator, as he stands about 200 feet above it, and takes a bird's-eye view of rocks and woods and waters in their most beautiful forms and combinations.

My companion left me at the tavern, which is about three miles from the falls, and one and a half from the whirlpool; and I sought a resting place in a farm-house opposite, the owner of which very politely begged me to walk in, and gave me a glass of home-made cherry brandy, which diluted with water made a very refreshing beverage. I sat talking with him for upwards of an hour, till the stage arrived. I found he was anxious to dispose of his farm. On inquiring the price, he said he expected fifty dollars an acre—the house, barns, and other buildings to be included in the purchase. He had a good garden and an excellent orchard, from the produce of which,

in addition to what was reserved for the use of the family, he generally made 100 barrels of cider. He had resided there thirty-four years; and the land, of which there were one hundred acres, appeared to be in good condition. Provisions in that part of the province are cheap; meat being about two-pence sterling a pound; butter, four to five; and eggs about the same price per dozen. The wages of farming men average ten dollars a month with board and lodging. The proprietor told me the only taxes he had to pay were three dollars for his farm, &c., and six days' labor on the roads, or a commutation of three dollars. Part of his land was under the plough, and the rest (nearly one half) in meadow. The price of land in the neighbourhood had risen thirty or forty per cent., in consequence of an estate (Forsyth's) having been purchased by a company as the site of a city—to be called the City of the Falls. Some houses were already erected. Had it been on the same side with Chippewa, which is three miles from the falls, it might have had some chance, from its greater vicinity to the Welland canal, of uniting the merchant with the man of pleasure in its favor. As it is, it would be as well for English capitalists to pause, when they arrive in New York, before they embark in a speculation, which is warmly recommended by those who would suffer from its failure. He informed me that the settlers were doing well, and the progress the colony had made

was likely to continue in an increasing ratio. Many English emigrants, who had passed his house in prosperous circumstances on their way to Michigan and Illinois, and other places in the United States, had returned disheartened and ruined; the titles to the lands they had bought not having proved to be good, or the accounts they had received having misled them. What estimate may be formed from this representation of the relative advantages held out by the two countries to emigrants, it would not be easy to say. Allowance must be made for the disposition to make the best of every thing connected with what we want to dispose of. An Englishman, however, who intends to settle in the New World, would do well to remember, that the cheapness of land is not its only recommendation; and that difference of manners may add no small item to the sum total of his privations and inconveniences.

As there is but a very small duty in Canada on English manufactures, clothing is cheaper there by one-third, if not by one half, than it is in the United States. It is a common thing for the citizens of the latter, who reside near the frontier, to cross over for the purpose of purchasing whatever they can take back with them as articles of personal consumption. I was told at New York of a person going into Canada to furnish his winter wardrobe, and finding, on his return to that city, that the difference of prices between the two countries just



covered his travelling expenses going and returning. The same complaints are made about servants on both sides of the frontier. It seems, however, both useless and foolish to grumble at the inevitable consequence of the peculiar state of things in a new country. The master and the servant perform everywhere the same quantity of work. It is but a division of labor. The share of each varies with the circumstances of the society in which they are placed. In some, none of the drudgery is done by the master; in others it is equally divided between them. In England, the servant stands submissively below, and has all the hard work to do. In America, he is frequently the "top-sawyer." I had an amusing illustration of this simple truism from the young Englishman who had just left me. He had called a few days before on an old acquaintance of his family, who was living in the interior of the Upper province; when an apology was made for not asking him to dinner, as there was neither meat nor cook in the house. The master was without a servant; and his wife confined to her bed by sickness. His domestics had all left him; and no one would take their places. The cause of this desertion was, that he had told the females they should no longer sit in the same room with their mistress. This resolution so exasperated them that, in resentment for what they viewed as an unjustifiable infringement of their privileges, they left the house immediately. The

neighbors took up the matter very warmly, and entered into a sort of combination to alter the domestic arrangements of the country, and draw a stronger line of distinction between the parlor and the kitchen. It is a hazardous experiment; and they will probably pay dearly for it, whether the result be victory or defeat. A circumstance that occurred not long ago at a sequestered village in Massachusetts affords a fair commentary upon this anecdote, with an useful hint for some of the actors. A woman who had been hired as a servant, insisted upon taking her meals with the family. The lady of the house, finding her bent upon carrying her point, agreed that they should exchange places, and that they should sit by turns above and below stairs. When Betty's turn came to preside at the dinner, she was placed, with due form, in the post of honor;—to partake of the good things she had just dressed, and exhibit her skill in carving, after having exercised it in cooking. There happened to be a large party at table; and the instructions they had received, when invited, prepared them for the scene, and enabled them to preserve their gravity. The poor girl maintained her ground for some time, till her situation became so extremely painful, that she burst into tears, and left the room. The next day she requested that she might be allowed in future to confine her person, as well as her labors, to the culinary department.

On our way to Niagara, about fifteen miles from the Falls, the passengers alighted to view the monument which was erected to the memory of Sir I. Brock, by the legislature of the Upper Province, on an eminence overhanging Queenstown. Sir Isaac, who was the Lieutenant-governor, and commanded the British forces, fell near this spot in the action which took place on the 13th Oct. 1812, with the Americans. On approaching the column, the most splendid prospect burst upon our view. Before and below us was the Niagara, expanded into a noble river, majestically moving onwards, to be lost in Lake Ontario; the opposite shores of which were plainly visible, with their outlines terminated by the horizon. This was one of the most noble views I saw in America.

## CHAPTER X.

Pride of Skin.—Toronto.—Canadian Methodists.—Indian Preacher and his English Bride.—Latter insulted.—Improvement of Upper Province.—Fugitive Slaves protected.—Lewiston.—Smugglers.—Custom-house Anecdotes.—Tuscorora Indians.—Curious Incuriosity of Scotchman.—Rochester Polemics.—Morgan's Abduction.—Masonic Oaths.—Anti-masons.—Mormonites.

I WAS now on British ground; and I felt that I was breathing the pure air of liberty, after having so long inhaled the fœtid atmosphere of mock equality;—that I was treading upon soil, which no slave could pollute with his presence\*;—and that I was among men who would not insult any one for the color of his skin, or the form of his hair. Some of the waiters in the hotel at Niagara were colored. I asked one

\* A slave could not breathe the free air of France, long before we had any right to make that boast. “*Toutes personnes sont franches en ce royaume; et, sitôt qu'un esclave a atteint les marches diceluy se faisant baptizer, il est affranchi.*” *Institutes Coustumières*, p. 2. Paris, 1679.

of them, whether the same prejudice prevailed in that place as on the other side of the river. "No!" he replied, "we receive the same treatment as the whites:—we eat at the same table together, and associate as equals. I know what you allude to: I have been into the States; and the only feeling I had on seeing so much pride was that of pity for the white man's folly." I was assured by a person well acquainted with both the Canadas, that the colored servants are considered the most industrious and trustworthy of any.

It is really painful to the friends of America to see her disgrace herself in the eyes of common sense and common justice, by her petty paltry persecutions of her most valuable citizens. It would be endless as well as tedious to relate all I heard upon this subject. Some of the "fantastic tricks" of this childish spirit, that pouts its lip and knits its baby brow at the approach of a fellow mortal, are highly ludicrous, and would afford an amusing subject for the comic pencil of H. B. A young Frenchman, who is settled in the State of Massachusetts, told me, that he once unintentionally and unconsciously "frighted" the "propriety" of a whole steam-boat load of white "China," by lighting his cigar at the mouth of a piece of black "earthenware". As he was walking on deck, he observed a man of color smoking near him; when he borrowed a light from him. "As soon as I had done so,"

said he, "I remarked that every person's eyes were fixed upon me, and followed my steps whichever way I went. At last a young man stepped forward and informed me 'that I had committed an act which all present were shocked at, as it was contrary to the usages of the country.'" The matter was easily explained. Monsieur was a stranger just arrived from a country where such refinements are unknown; and where every man is allowed to do as he likes. He assured the young gentleman that he had not the slightest intention to offend any one; and resolved, in his own mind, not again to risk his reputation and his reception by committing such an unpardonable crime.

Another Frenchman (the French, be it observed, are honorably distinguished for their liberal and generous feelings on this point) was pelted with brickbats in the streets of New York, for merely speaking civilly to a woman of color belonging to the house in which he lodged. But the most laughable circumstance connected with this subject, was told me by an American—an intelligent, and in other respects, an estimable man. Some years ago he was in London, where he became intimate with a young Oxonian, with whom he one day made an appointment to visit some place. On proceeding to the spot, he met his friend arm-in-arm with—a colored man! Horror-struck at the sight, he turned away abruptly, and went off in another direction. When

next they met, the Englishman asked why he had "cut" him so pointedly. "Cut you!" replied he; "how could I do otherwise? Why, I had made up my mind never to speak again to a man who could associate with such people as I saw you in company with." "What!" said the other, "do you mean that young man who was with me when we met each other? Why, he is an old college acquaintance:—one of my most intimate friends." This contemptible folly reminds one of Horace's bombastic poet, who tumbled into the gutter while he was star-gazing. It calls itself Pride; but it is no more connected with that feeling, than Prudery with Modesty, or Bigotry with Religion. Some years ago, one of those whom it delights to mortify and insult, was living at Hartford, possessed of a handsome competency, and respected as far as his external appearance would admit. This man was frequently heard to say, in the most solemn and emphatic manner, that he would joyfully submit to be flayed alive, if he could rise from the operation with a white skin. The very same expression was used by a black woman who lived as a servant with a person from whom I had the anecdote. Though treated with great kindness in the family, (her master, indeed, is incapable of unkindness to any human being,) she felt she was a Pariah, and could not be happy.

On the sixteenth I left Niagara for York—now

Toronto—the capital of Upper Canada; at which place I arrived about six in the afternoon, by the Canada steam-boat. The distance across this part of the lake Ontario is about thirty-four miles. Among the passengers were some delegates from the Wesleyan Methodists in England to their brethren in Canada; who, it was said, had formed a closer connexion with the branches in the neighbouring States, than with the parent stem at home. Whether the object was to recall the straggling fold, or prevent its uniting with other sects in the province against a common opponent, is doubtful. It is certain, however, that the Canadian Methodists had partaken largely in the spirit of opposition to the Church grant of lands; and a singular coincidence of facts that I observed, induced me to think that the mission might be political as well as religious. I met one of the missionaries coming out of the Lieutenant-Governor's house, where he told me he had been for some time; and soon after I saw it reported in the English papers that the Government at home had made some pecuniary provision for the Methodist preachers in Upper Canada.

The missionaries were accompanied by a half-caste Indian on his return from England. The tribe, of which he has the spiritual charge, are settled on the Credit river, about twenty-five miles from the capital. I had a good deal of conversation with



him, and was much pleased with the sensible manner in which he expressed himself. While at New York, he had married an Englishwoman, who had formed an attachment to him, and had just arrived in that city from London. This event, which would have excited neither surprise nor displeasure in a good or pure mind, was seized hold of by the press as a fit occasion to exhibit its subserviency to the base passions of "the great vulgar and the small." A long article appeared in a paper conducted by a Mr. or a Colonel Stone—Secretary to the New York Colonization Society, and one of the bitterest revilers of Miss Crandall and her friends. The writer, by his own account, was present at the marriage ceremony, and described most minutely what passed on the occasion. The whole paragraph, the substance, if not the words, of which, was inserted in the other journals and found its way into every part of the Union, was written with the express object of insulting both the bride and the bridegroom; accusing the former of infatuation, and the latter of fraud, and holding up to ridicule and contempt two strangers who were passing through the country, and had done nothing, that might exclude them from those courtesies which every community, that has the slightest pretension to civilization, is accustomed to shew to foreigners.

No one who had any acquaintance with Peter Jones,

while he was in London, would think even an American female could be disgraced by becoming his wife. This intrusion upon the sanctities of domestic life, in a land, too, where women are always treated with respect, ought to be reprobated by every generous and manly mind. One would have thought that an Englishwoman, who had just quitted her own country, and needed support under the pressure of those painful feelings that the abruption of family ties and the most endearing connections leaves, would have met with forbearance, if not with kindness, from strangers, of whom she asked nothing but an unmolested passage to an unknown home. Talk of our Halls—our Hamiltons—and our Fidlers, indeed! When did they ever, in any instance, single out an innocent female as a mark for ribaldry and raillery? When did they treat it as a crime, to have been taught by religion and nature, that character not complexion is to be the test of worth and the measure of respect? With what face can these people complain that English travellers judge of American manners by an European standard, while they condemn European feelings because they are not modified and moulded by American prejudices: absurdities which the philosopher would be contented to laugh at, if he could forget the pride they foster and the pain they inflict.

As for the bugbear of “amalgamation,” about which so much is said as to sicken every European

who visits the country, the only question he will ask himself, when he sees its effects every where, from Maine to Mexico, is—will it be brought about by marriage or concubinage? Shall the future occupants of the New World owe their existence to virtue or to vice? That the majority will, in the course of time, be of mixed blood, is by no means impossible,—long, however, before that period, the Haytian government will have had a resident ambassador at Washington; and a more liberal spirit will animate both nations\*.

The capital of Upper Canada, though it does not

\* “ Are we yet prepared to send and receive ministers to and from Hayti? Could the prejudices of some, and the, perhaps, just fears of others, be quieted? We think not: the time has not yet come for a surrender of our feelings about color; nor is it fitting, at any time, that the public safety should be endangered.”—Niles’s Reg. 1823.

This is fair and honest and consistent. But pseudo-republicanism has its esoteric and its exoteric doctrines. The reasons assigned for not acknowledging the independence of Hayti are so “ frivolous and vexatious”, that their allegation would not be credited, were not the documents in which they appear matter of history. The United States’ Envoy Extraordinary to Panama, was instructed, in 1826, to state to the South American Delegates that the President was not at that time prepared to say that Hayti ought to be recognized as a Sovereign Power, because, among other things, “ of the little respect which is there shewn to other races than the African.” It is laughable enough to see one nation blaming another for

perhaps exhibit so much bustle and outward appearance of enterprise as the towns along the road from Albany to Buffalo, is making very considerable progress: the population, indeed, increases in a greater ratio than probably in any of the former. It amounted to 9,000, having been but 3,300 three years and a half before. This calculation includes the military, the numbers of which were 600.

According to the Canadian "Literary Journal," there were in 1829, 15,945 emigrants from Great Britain; in 1830, 28,000; in 1831, 50,254; in 1832, 51,746. Of these last 35,000 settled in Upper Canada; 10,000 in Lower Canada; 2,000 died of the cholera, and 850 returned. The remainder are not accounted for.

During the four preceding years, emigration from Scotland to the Canadas had doubled itself; while it had trebled itself from Ireland, and quintupled itself from England. In the last case, the chief influx was from the southern counties. Thirty-eight thousand emigrants had arrived at this place during the course of the year—more than balancing in wealth what was wanting in numbers, as several had brought out a good deal of capital with them.

From all I could learn from those who had visited

pursuing the same conduct towards foreigners that has long disgraced herself, and making the natural consequences of her own folly the ground of continuing it.

the interior, the condition of the settlers, particularly in the western part of the upper province, is highly satisfactory. The soil is in many places extremely good; and the grain it produces of the best quality. The year before, 1500 bushels of wheat had been grown on forty acres in that district—in the township of Dover. Several tradesmen, whose shops I went into, expressed themselves fully contented with the success they had met with since their emigration from England. One of them, who a few years before had quitted Utica, where he had been disappointed, had been so far fortunate, as a store-keeper at Toronto, that his property was worth nearly 1000 pounds sterling; though when he first came to the place, he had but eleven sovereigns in his pocket, and was employed during the first year in keeping a school. I found the hotels extremely bad in every respect: and the many annoyances, to which a traveller from the other side is exposed, are felt the more not only from the contrast, but from the circumstance of some of them being kept by Americans. I could perceive no wish for separation from the mother country in any person with whom I conversed while in Canada. That there is much discontent with the local government is well known; and, till some method be found of bringing the two legislative bodies more into harmony with each other, than they are ever likely to be, while one is elective

and responsible to the community, and the other is dependent upon the very power that requires to be watched and checked, the republican spirit will gain greater strength and extension. But, even if this source of contention were dried up, another would be found in the bond that unites the ecclesiastical and the civil establishments. If the parent be distracted by the alliance, how can the child escape a reaction which will have neither prescriptive rights, nor time-honored recollections, nor fiscal difficulties to contend with? That which was once an auxiliary to the State tends ultimately to weaken it; and more is lost by the hostility of those who dissent than gained by the friendship of those who conform.

Our colonies benefit more by the connection than the mother country; and its dissolution is less to be dreaded by the latter. The Canadas, if separated from England, would not be able to maintain their independence against a powerful neighbor, who would soon find or seek cause of complaint against them on the subject of the asylum afforded, more particularly by the Upper Province, to runaway slaves from the Southern States\*. This was one of

\* A report having been spread that the Canada Land Company intended to introduce large bodies of negro settlers into the Upper Province, and the inhabitants of Gosfield and Colchester having petitioned the legislature against the admission of such a population, the House of Assembly passed certain

the secret causes of the last war, which was as popular in the slave section as it was odious in the other. Our government, when applied to, refused to give up the fugitives; but the reply, which was accepted, however unwillingly, from England, would hardly meet with the same acquiescence, when given by a young and weak State. It was with great reluctance that the Tory ministry, compelled by public opinion, rejected a request, with which some

resolutions on the subject in 1830. They stated, in the fifth, that this class of people had proved "highly inconvenient and dangerous" to the neighbouring States; thus giving implicit credit to the falsehoods and calumnies of their oppressors: and, in the sixth, recommended the adoption, if practicable, of a Bill for preventing "the introduction of blacks and mulattoes, as settlers, participating in all the civil rights of the people" of the province. If they *were* admitted on these terms, they would prove not only a source of wealth but an arm of defence to the colony. They would have something to fight for, and something to fight against. On the one side high wages, on the other the whip; they would be animated by all the gratitude that kindness can inspire, and all the desperation that the dread of a baffled master's revenge can instil into the human breast.

It is worthy of remark, that the majority in Congress who voted for the war was chiefly of members from the south. Of all those who came from the States north of the Delaware, amounting to 68, 21 only were in favor of that measure. In a house that contained 128 members, 79 were for the war; and 62 of these were from the south. Of the 32 senators, 19 were on the same side; and of these 14 were southerners.

of its members would doubtless have been happy to find some good reason for complying.

Mr. Barbour, the American Minister at the Court of St. James's, said, in a letter to Mr. Clay, dated Oct. 2, 1828, "Lord Aberdeen remarked that similar complaints had been preferred by other Powers, having West Indian possessions; that whilst he would be happy to grant the most substantial remedy, yet, in the present state of public feeling on this subject, which he said might properly be called a mania, the application of the remedy was an affair of some delicacy and difficulty; that the law of parliament gave freedom to every slave who effected his landing on British ground."

Not long before I was in Canada, an application that had been made to the government for the delivery of some slaves who had escaped from Detroit in Michigan, across the border, was rejected, on the ground that "the laws of the province do not recognize the giving up of persons guilty of such an offence as that said to have been committed by the fugitives." It does not appear that the legislature has been yet called upon to create a new offence. Kentucky cannot make the inhospitable soil of Canada a bugbear to her slaves, as Martinique would point to Antigua.

I returned across the lake on the 19th by the same vessel; and, having passed over the Niagara by a



ferry at Queenstown, got to Lewiston, on the New York side, about two o'clock in the day. As the coach for Rochester was to start at three or four o'clock in the morning, I accepted the offer of a lad, who had brought my luggage from the water's side to the hotel in his waggon, to go on with him to Lockport, where I might have longer time for rest, as I should thus be twenty miles in advance of the stage.

The vehicle I had mounted was of the commonest description, without springs, and half filled with furniture. After waiting an hour in the village to get one of his horses shod, we proceeded, at a jog-trot, over an execrable road. I soon saw I was going "to be well shaken"; but I made up my mind to it, and consoled myself with the reflection that something would turn up to amuse me.

There was a man with us who had been to Stamford, four or five miles from Niagara, to fetch what remained of the goods and chattels of one of his countrymen. The latter had been some time in the province, pursuing the trade of those people who, in our honorable House of Commons have been designated as the "benefactors of mankind": in other words, he was a smuggler, as was also my companion, who described the other as a traitor for having accepted the appointment of collector, and betrayed his friends. For this offence he had been compelled to make a precipitate retreat; and his family were put under the care of this man, who

was now on his way back with the furniture. From the various histories he narrated of the exploits he had been engaged in, I was fully initiated into the mysteries of smuggling, as it is carried on along the boundary that divides the two countries. He was a carpenter, and had found many opportunities under pretence of following his occupation, to cross over, and share the harvest of a more profitable trade. If his estimate is to be trusted, this contraband traffic amounts to nearly a million dollars a year. He assured me he had once bought cloth at Niagara for three dollars and a half a yard, and sold it a few days after at Lockport for eight. Thanks to the tariff, this lucrative commerce bids fair to go on and prosper. The statement of the profits he had made must have been overcharged, unless he alluded to the period of the war, when there were fewer competitors and more risk. It is probable that the gains of honest industry are not much below what may be derived from this source; as those who embark in such speculations have to pay three or four times as much as the former for any labor they may hire, and are obliged not only to bribe whatever persons may be inclined to denounce, or share in, the expedition, but are under the necessity of paying tavern-keepers and others, with whom they have dealings on the road, much more than is charged to common travellers. Every meal they order at the taverns costs them a dollar. There is no doubt, however, that

this business is carried on, particularly at Rochester, to a great extent.

The custom-house officer at Lewiston is by no means strict in the discharge of his duties. My trunk was allowed to pass unopened, on my declaration that it contained nothing contraband. I met with the same civility when I landed at New York; and it rarely happens that any one has reason to complain of different treatment from this class of public functionaries. This is far from being the case in Canada. There was a good deal of conversation in the boat that brought me back from Toronto, about an occurrence that had lately taken place at Niagara, at which town the trunks of an English officer, who had come up from New York, where he had landed, on his way to an estate he had in Upper Canada, had been opened at the Custom House, and a duty levied on his wardrobe and other goods; though the whole had passed free and unexamined at the former city, the inspecting officer having been satisfied with the assurance he gave, that what he had with him was for his own use. Something of the same kind not long before was referred to, in support of the censure this account produced from all present. Two settlers, brother-officers, left England about the same time for Canada. One went by New York, with a large quantity of goods, (including some wine,) all of which were suffered to proceed without any search or inspection, and passed the Canada frontier in the

same way. The other came up the St. Lawrence, where he was detained till he had paid the duties upon everything except his wine, which he left at the Custom House.

We went to Lockport by the upper road, and passed through a settlement of Indians of the Tuscorora tribe. The cottages inhabited by them were well built, and presented an appearance of comfort; while the land was in as good condition as if it had been cultivated by whites under similar circumstances:—a good deal of it was still uncleared. Both the man, and the lad who drove us, gave a high character of the colonists; some of whom have farms of two or three hundred acres. So great is the confidence reposed in their honesty, that their word is sufficient security for the payment of a debt or the performance of a promise; no written agreement being ever required of them. As they discharge their engagements to others with the strictest punctuality, they expect the same good faith in return, and will have no further dealings with any one who has once cheated or deceived them. It is very seldom, if ever, that they are seen as criminals in a court of justice. They are converts to Christianity, and have a small church by the road-side, and a minister who resides near it. They sell their grain by measure, and will not allow the bushel to be weighed;—filling it up to the brim, so that it runs over, and is, in fact, greater in

quantity, than if submitted to the ordinary regulations of the country.

It was ten o'clock before we reached Lockport, where I found a clean and comfortable bed, after a tedious journey, the fatigues of which were scarcely indemnified by the novelty of the adventure.

At nine the next morning the stage arrived from Lewiston, and I left the rising town of Lockport without viewing its wonders, beyond what could be seen through the windows of the coach, as it passed by many substantial well-built houses; the recent birth of which was attested by the stumps of trees about them. In the stage was a young Scotchman, who had been residing in Upper Canada for three years, and was returning to his native land by way of New York. Though he had been, to use his own expression, "a thousand times" near the Falls of Niagara, he had never seen them. "What," said I, "will you say to your friends at home when they ask you about the Falls?" "Oh!" he replied, "I trouble myself very little about that:—I have something of more importance to attend to than to visit a water-fall". Finding my companions rather dull and heavy, (there were, besides this "man of feeling," a "silent woman" and two girls,) I got upon the box, but was soon driven in again by the rain. A few miles further, the ladies took their departure, and a farmer-like-looking man got in. The new-comer had plenty to say for himself. He

had been one of the first settlers at Rochester, and described the infant colony as existing in a state of perfect harmony and good-will. It was like one family; all the members of the little community assisting each other in pecuniary matters, and interchanging civilities and good offices, till some of them took it into their heads to build a handsomer church, and engage a preacher at a higher salary. From that moment religious discord found its way into the society; and the chronicler of its early feuds was the first to suffer under the infliction. He had been the proprietor of a line of stages for some years; and having entered into a contract with the government for the mails, had run them every day of the week. This proceeding was viewed by the zealots of the place as an unpardonable desecration of the sabbath; and one of them waited upon him to intimate that an opposition would be set up against him, unless he would discontinue the Sunday travelling. To this application he replied, that he would willingly comply with their request, if they would release him from his obligations by taking upon themselves the securities into which he had entered for the fulfilment of his contract. If they refused his offer, and persisted in their resolution, his property, he told them, would be ruined. "We want you, not your property,"—was the answer he received. "I never was, and I never will be a hypocrite,"—these were

his words :—“ I cannot agree with you that I am committing a sin, I shall therefore continue running my stages.”—He *did* continue;—the threatened opposition was started;—and he gave up the contest, after he had lost 12,000 dollars, because he would not allow his neighbors to regulate his conscience.

The result of thus setting religion against the man, was to set the man against religion; and, because his spiritual well-wishers had tried his actions by *their* opinions, he condemned their principles for the bigotry which accompanied them. He became an infidel. I met with several persons who had thus confounded the disbelief of religion with a dislike for its professors, and become hostile to the faith because they had suffered from the works to which it had led. The whole country was not long ago much agitated by the discussion of this question. Many efforts had been made to put a stop to the Sunday mails; and petitions were presented to Congress for their prohibition. The result was a report from the legislature, against the proposed measure; one of the objections alleged against it, being its supposed tendency to a connexion between the Church and the State!

Speaking of the harvest, the ex-postmaster, who was now a tiller of the soil, observed that there never had been finer crops in that part of the

country. He pointed out, as we stopped at a small village (Clarkson) about eighteen miles from Rochester, a farm of 300 acres, that had been under cultivation for twenty years, and had never had any manure upon it. It belonged to a man, who had practised, for the first two or three years of his residence, as a physician. He commenced his career in life with only 300 dollars, purchased the farm in question, has now 600 acres, and is worth, as he told my informant, 120,000 dollars. The price of labor had been very high during the last harvest. My fellow-traveller had paid his men a dollar and a half a-day each, besides board and lodging. It was through this district that William Morgan, who had divulged the secrets of Free-masonry, was dragged from his residence at Batavia in Genesee county, by some of the honorable fraternity, as far as fort Niagara, where he was confined and afterwards murdered or disposed of in some way still unknown. Eight or ten men from the county we were passing through, joined the kidnapping party, and the expenses of the prosecution that ensued fell upon the inhabitants, who were still taxed for the purpose. None of those who were concerned in this infamous transaction were adequately punished.

As this was a very remarkable event, a few details may be excused. In September, 1826, W. Morgan was taken by force from the gaol of Ca-



nandaigua, where he had been confined for a fictitious debt, and carried into Canada. There were various rumors with respect to his fate. No doubt, however, was entertained, that he had fallen a victim to his own imprudence and the resentment of the Freemasons, who were incensed against a brother of the craft for publishing its mysteries. As the sheriffs were Freemasons, every bill preferred against the perpetrators of this barbarous outrage was, though they were well known, ignored by the grand juries that were packed for the occasion. True bills, however, having been subsequently found against some of them in Ontario county, where the sense of justice prevailed over the influence of the order, legal proceedings were instituted in the other counties, through which this unfortunate man had been dragged; and the conspirators who were convicted were sentenced to different terms of imprisonment:—the maximum being under three years. The sheriff of Niagara county, Eli Bruce, was condemned to imprisonment for two years and four months in the common gaol of Ontario county, and removed from his office by the Governor of the State. The chief actors escaped; and the odium of the crime, they had thus openly and deliberately committed, fell most justly on a society of which some of the members were known to have screened them from justice, while the rest had taken no effectual measures to save their own honor by consigning the

guilty to punishment. The wickedness of the act was scarcely greater than its folly. The savage ferocity exhibited against Morgan for charges and assertions that would have been disbelieved while unnoticed, gave currency and confirmation to all that he had divulged. The whole proceedings connected with this extraordinary affair were highly disgraceful to those who were concerned in it. In spite of public opinion, which loudly reprobated the assassination, the efforts that were made to screen the principal parties to the crime, were but too successful. The counsel (John C. Spencer) who had been specially appointed by an act of the legislature to investigate what had been done, was so disheartened and disgusted with the obstacles he had to encounter during the inquiry, that, in a letter to Enos J. Throop, the Governor of the State, he expressed himself in the following words. "I have to complain that my communications to your Excellency have been divulged, so as to defeat my measures, and bring undeserved reproach upon me. Those communications related to the means of discovering evidence of the fact of William Morgan's death. They were not only in their nature strictly confidential, but the success of the measures suggested depended entirely on their being unknown to the parties and their friends; yet they became known to a counsel of persons implicated in the offences upon W. Morgan. I cannot com-

ment upon this fact in such a manner as to do justice to my feelings, and, at the same time, preserve the respect which is due to the chief magistrate of the State.”—Again: “The conviction is forced upon my mind, that, if the laws are to be vindicated in that transaction, it must be done by some one possessing more fully than myself the confidence of those administering the government, and who will be better sustained by them than I have been. Public duty does not require me to forfeit my own self-respect, and the esteem of others, by continuing in a situation where I should be exposed to treatment like that already received, and where I am practically disavowed and disowned by my employers.”

An anti-masonic society sprang out of the indignation which these enormities excited; and, if the object of its hostility be not most shamefully misrepresented, it was high time that a check should be laid upon the progress of secret societies, that are every where to be suspected, and cannot be necessary in a republic.

Mr. Wirt, a man highly respected during his life for honor and integrity, stated, in his reply to the National Anti-Masonic Convention, who had nominated him, in 1831, as candidate for the Presidency of the United States, some curious and appalling facts relative to the masonic obligations. Speaking of the oaths, which it was

proved on the trial for Morgan's abduction, were administered by the lodges in the State of New York, he said:—"I observed that in one of them (called the Royal Arch) the candidate swears, among other things, that he will aid and assist a companion royal-arch mason in distress and espouse his cause so far as to extricate him from the same, if in his power, whether he be right or wrong; and that he will conceal the secrets of a companion royal-arch mason given him in charge as such, murder and treason not excepted; and in other oaths, in still higher degrees, I also observe that the candidate binds himself to avenge the violated secrets of the lodge by the infliction of death on the offender, and to revenge the wrongs of a brother to the utmost extremity;—and the whole mixed up with the most horrible imprecations, and blasphemous mockeries of the rites and tenets of the Christian religion. In the details of the trials in the case of Morgan, it became manifest that these oaths are not considered mere idle and unmeaning words; there is too much reason to believe they were tragically enforced" on that occasion. There is probably a good deal of exaggeration in this picture; the freemasons in England, being bound, as I have been assured on the best authority, by no such oaths or obligations. The anti-masons are now a mere political party.

My communicative companion was well acquainted with the person of Smith—the founder of

the Mormon sect. He had often seen him, and described him as a man of mean and insignificant appearance, between forty and fifty years of age. He was one of those infatuated beings who are in the habit of searching for gold by means of divining rods. Such persons are not very uncommon. The farmer had once himself a workman in his service, who followed this unprofitable trade, and who would often return home from his nocturnal excursions covered with mud, and drenched with rain. I had an opportunity some time after of seeing a printed copy of the translation Smith pretended to have made of the "Shaster" he said he had found under a tree. I will give some account of it in another place.

## CHAPTER XI.

Rochester.—Rules and Remedy for bad Roads.—Fence Laws.—Trenton Falls.—Erie Canal.—Governor Clinton.—Fulton.—West Point Academy.—Kosciuszko's philanthropy.—Poor Laws.—Sermon on Wilberforce.—Colonization Society again.—Chancellor Walworth.—Antipathy.—Africo-American cranio-logy.—Young Lady's "Notions" upon Marriage.—Civilization of Africa.

I STAID but one night at Rochester, the rapid rise and increase of which has so often been described. Its appearance is superior to that of its rival, Buffalo; and should the lowering of the toll on the canal between those two places not divert that part of the produce of the Western States which now passes through the Welländ canal in Canada, into New York State, from this new route, it will gain what is lost to the city of the lakes.

The road between Rochester and Canandaigua was very bad, particularly in the township of Farmington, which is settled chiefly, if not entirely, by Quakers, who are said to be wealthy and to retain their old customs and manners. If the road were a turnpike road, the company to whom it belonged

might easily be compelled to repair it by a very simple expedient. A jury of the vicinage having pronounced a verdict against it, the gates are thrown open, and no tolls \* allowed to be taken till it is put into a fit state for travelling. The fences that border the roads afford convenient materials for filling up the ruts in case of an emergency. They are made in a singular way; and their zig-zag form strikes a stranger's eye by its novelty. They are common both in Canada and in the States, and are admirably adapted to a new country, where wood is cheap and labor dear; as they are easily constructed, and last, upon an average, fifteen or sixteen years. Like the stumps of the girdled trees, which are left standing among the corn, they shew that land is plentiful, and that its produce would not cover the expenses of a more costly cultivation. What is supposed to be lost between the angles, formed by the rails as they cross each other, is less than our hedges and ditches consume. How they are to be kept in repair, and who are to pay any damages that may arise from neglecting this duty, is decided by arbitrators, called fence-viewers, whose award is final, and whose expenses are defrayed according to a fixed per-centage,

\* Turnpike tolls are not payable by persons going to or from public worship, funeral, grist-mill, or blacksmith's shop—for physician or midwife, or passing on public business, as jurors, electors, or militia-men. There is an exemption for those who reside within a mile of the gate, except carriers, &c.

by the parties concerned. It thus becomes the interest of the farmers to put up such fences as shall be eventually the cheapest and the strongest that the nature of the case will admit of. It is provided by the Revised Statutes of New York, that: "whenever the electors of any town shall have made any rule or regulation, prescribing what shall be deemed a sufficient fence in such town, any person, who shall thereafter neglect to keep a fence according to such rule or regulation, shall be precluded from recovering compensation in any manner for damages done by any beast, lawfully going at large on the highways, that may enter on any lands of such person, not fenced in conformity to such rule or regulation, or for entering through any defective fence."

Had the legislature considered that it was as easy to remove the fences on to bad roads, as for cattle to pass from the roads over bad fences, it would perhaps have enacted that, when the landowners are bound to keep the highways in repair, the logs, of which their fences are made, may be used for the purpose of covering the ruts, and rendering the roads passable. The evil and the remedy would thus be found near each other; and agriculture would prove the best Macadamiser, as the pigs prove the best fence-menders.

When we arrived at Canandaigua, there was great confusion in consequence of four or five stages being at the door at the same time. As they were going



in different directions, the passengers were hunting for the agent, and the agent for the passengers. After the bustle had ceased and I had seen my luggage properly stowed away, I observed to the agent, that it would save much trouble and prevent mistakes, if the names of the places were put upon the coaches, as is done in France and England. His reply was the same as I uniformly received on similar occasions: "very likely, but we have different customs here," as if I wanted to be informed of the very thing my suggestion implied. Next day I went to Syracuse, and reached Utica on the 23rd of September. About twenty-two miles from the latter place, at one of the prettiest spots between Albany and Rochester, is an Indian reservation, on which a considerable number of the Oneida tribe are settled, and possess farms of some extent. The land is well cultivated and the houses substantially built. Some of the owners have accumulated wealth. They have a well built church, where a minister whom they support preaches. The character they bear for honesty and good conduct is as high as that of the Indians who are settled near Lockport.

The roads at this place were worse than any I had yet seen; the bad weather having damaged them since I passed over them on my way to the Falls. The driver placed a large piece of tarpaulin, by way of apron, over our knees, and fastened it on each side by means of hooks to the carriage, to save him-

self from being jolted off the box by the ruts and holes in the road. He had been thrown from his seat twice not long before, and the last time had narrowly escaped with his life ; as he was suddenly precipitated with great violence to the ground, and fell between the horses' feet. They fortunately stopped at his call, or he would most likely have been killed. At Little Falls, on the other side of Utica, a man was thrown from the box the year before, and killed on the spot.

On my former visit to Utica, I deferred visiting Trenton Falls till my return ; and, as the day after my second arrival proved fine, I hired a gig, "in that case made and provided," and the horse which drew it saved me the trouble of asking the way. The distance is fifteen or sixteen miles, through a very beautiful country. This place differs essentially from the Falls of Niagara, where the scenery possesses no remarkable beauty ; nor, if it did, could it add much, if anything, to the magnificence of the principal object : whereas here the Falls are but auxiliaries to the scenery. There are several of them in succession, and at irregular intervals ; each characterised by some peculiar feature, with which the surrounding landscape has impressed it. You have here the constituents of picturesque beauty in great perfection : rock, wood, and water in a pleasing variety of position and connection. The approach to the Falls is by a staircase to the ravine below,

which the torrent has worn in the limestone rock, and by which, at the depth of about 100 feet, you can ascend from the last to the first Fall,—a considerable distance. As you walk along the ravine, or climb the narrow pathway which has been made along the side of the river, you tread under your feet the fossilized remains of an antediluvian creation. Both sides to their summits are clothed with pines and other trees in such profusion as to cover the declivity, and conceal those projections and inequalities, which, if exposed here and there to the view, would add much to the effect of the whole. This lovely spot fully realized my expectations; and I should have much regretted returning to New York without an acquaintance, except by description, with one of the most interesting scenes in the State.

Sept. 25. I left Utica for Albany, and slept at Palatine, thirty-seven miles from the former. The road passes through a fine country, though somewhat monotonous, as there is but little variety in the scenery, the most picturesque part of which is at the Little Falls, about half way. On leaving this place, the valley of the Mohawk contracts to a narrow pass, leaving sufficient interval for the river, with the road on one side and the canal on the other. Some large masses of bare rock add much to the beauties of this spot; presenting a feature that is rarely seen along the whole route to the frontier.

It would be no easy matter to find, in any part of the world, more striking proofs of the encouragement given to human enterprize, by opening new channels of communication from the coast to the interior of a country, than are to be found between New York and Buffalo. The number of towns and villages to which the Erie canal has given existence or extension along the country through which it passes, is truly astonishing,—points of junction for agriculture and commerce, cementing their union, and stimulating the mutual influence by which they are enriched. The benefits derived to the State from this noble undertaking may be judged of from one simple fact. During the seven years that preceded the formation of the canal, there was, according to an assessment, a decrease in the value of real estate in the city of New York, to the amount of 5,779,705 dollars; while in the corresponding period that followed, the increased value of the same sort of property in that place was no less than 43,706,755 dollars.

It is chiefly, if not entirely, to De Witt Clinton, its Governor, that the “Empire State” owes the completion of a project that has placed it at the head of the Union, by developing its resources, exciting its energies, and augmenting its wealth and influence. He sacrificed his private fortune to the public welfare; and his personal property was actually sold by auction at the seat of government. The legislature

made a grant of 10,000 dollars to the minor children of their patriotic executive ; but nothing was done for the widow. It has often been said that republics are more ungrateful than monarchies ; but it should be remembered that kings give away other people's money, and republicans their own. The nature and extent of royal gratitude may be seen in the Stuart and Bourbon restorations.

Fulton, to whose inventions the State owes the floating palaces that embellish and enrich its waters, met with a still harder fate. The patent, by which he obtained, as a reward for his successful experiment with a steam-boat, a monopoly for its use within the limits of the State, was set aside by the Supreme Court of the Union as unconstitutional. The legislature ought to have known that to confer such a privilege was within the exclusive jurisdiction of the federal government, and should have granted a compensation for the injury its own ignorance had inflicted. The Court of Errors of New York State had declared that the different statutes, on which the grant to Livingston and Fulton was founded, were consistent with the federal constitution. Much capital had been embarked on the faith of this decision ; and the loss to individuals, which its unsoundness produced, was proportionately great. One family lost nearly 200,000 dollars by this event ; and the calamity was the more to be deplored as it fell where private worth and high public character

made it more known and more felt. Opinions were divided upon the principle that dictated the judgment; but no measures were taken to remedy the evil which all acknowledged had arisen from its application. Congress bestowed a patent upon Fulton; but it was so expressed as not to secure him against its infringement by evasions, that a mere change in the machinery described rendered easily practicable.

The next night I slept at Albany, and arrived at New York about seven in the afternoon of the following day, (27th September,) having left the former place by the steam-boat at seven in the morning. The distance is 151 miles. The splendid scenery with which the North river abounds, and sociable chat with some of my fellow-passengers, served to shorten the time that elapsed during the voyage.

West Point Academy, which we passed on our way, is very far from being popular. It is viewed by a large class of people as too aristocratical in its tendencies. The military education obtained there is certainly expensive for a frugal government; and it is a singular inconsistency in a nation to lay out more money in qualifying men to be soldiers than it pays to some of its highest civil functionaries for their actual services. Every graduate at this institution costs the country 3000 dollars; about forty annually graduate; and 120,000 dollars may be considered the aggregate of the annual expenditure, in-

cluding the salaries and maintenance of the officers and cadets, the expenses of the quarter-master's department, and the extras for compensation, board of visitors, &c. Not more than three-fourths of those who enter obtain their degrees. The age for admission is too early, and the requisite acquirements too limited. While boys are allowed to enter at fourteen, with no other qualification than a thorough knowledge of reading, writing, and the common rules of arithmetic, it can be no matter of surprise that so small a proportion succeed in passing the successive examinations. It is a pleasant life for those who fail; and many who have no taste for military duties would willingly submit, for a few years, to military discipline for the advantages that accompany it.

The cadets have raised at West Point a monument to the memory of Kosciuszko. It would have been more honorable both to themselves and the object of the national gratitude they felt, if they had exerted themselves to carry into effect the last wish of his benevolent heart towards a race with whose wrongs his own had taught him to sympathize. Niles mentions, in his register, that the Polish hero left 20,000 dollars to purchase and educate black female children. By the laws of Virginia, where the bequest was to be carried into effect, the object was defeated. The same writer says, under date August 1826: "an institution, under the title of the Kosciuszko school, is about to be established near Newark

(New Jersey). It has been organized at a recent meeting of the trustees of the African education society in that place. The intention is to appropriate the Kosciusko fund, and to raise a similar sum for its endowment."

The will, by which this illustrious exile thus manifested his love of liberty, was, on his last visit to the United States, put into the hands of Thomas Jefferson, whom he had appointed his executor. The money was to be employed in the purchase of slaves and giving them such an education as, in his own words, "would make them better sons and better daughters." Jefferson transferred to Benjamin L. Lear the office of carrying into effect the wishes of the testator; but nothing has yet been done towards their fulfilment. In 1830, the bequest, which amounted to the sum of 25,000 dollars, was claimed by the legal heirs of the donor; and is now *sub judice* in the supreme court of the United States. Mr. B. L. Lear, a few years ago, recommended that the fund, if recovered, should be employed by the trustees, in buying and educating slave children, with the view of sending them to Liberia:—an object so far from being in accordance with the wishes of the founder, that there can be little doubt such a cruel scheme of expatriation would never have been made a condition of receiving his bounty by so benevolent and patriotic a man.

During the whole of this excursion I met with no



beggars, except two or three children in Canada, who seemed to be Irish. In New York State, the same principle, according to the revised statutes, has been admitted as that in which our poor-laws originated. It is to be hoped the practice will not be assimilated in the two countries. "The electors of each town, bound to support its own poor, shall have power, at their annual town-meeting, to direct such sum to be raised in such town for the support of the poor for the ensuing year, as they may deem necessary: and every town may raise any money that may be necessary to defray any charges that may exist against the overseers of the poor of such town."—Rev. Stat. I. 341.

Any poor person, unable to maintain himself, is to be maintained by the father, or children, or mother, (in succession,) as the overseers of the poor of the town shall direct: on refusal, an order for that purpose may be obtained from the Court of General Sessions of the Peace of the county:—such relatives to pay in part, or proportionally, if need be. Goods of persons absconding to be seized for the support of the wife and children, who might become chargeable to the public. Every person, who is blind, lame, old, sick, impotent or decrepit, so as to be unable by his work to maintain himself, shall be maintained by the county or town in which he may be.—Rev. Stat. I. 20, 14.

The board of supervisors of any county are au-  
VOL. I. Q

thorised to erect county poor-houses and purchase land, not exceeding 200 acres, and to tax the inhabitants for their support, not exceeding 7000 dollars—and may abolish the distinction between town and country poor. Vagrancy is punished with hard labor (not exceeding six months) in the alms-house or poor-house of the respective town or city. Beggars and persons who have no visible means of support, are considered vagrants. No justice of peace, who shall have assisted in any judgment, or in making any order appealed from, may sit in the Court of General Sessions upon the hearing of any appeal made from such judgment or order. With regard to settlements, “ every person of full age, who shall be a resident and inhabitant of any town for one year, and the members of his family, who shall not have gained a separate settlement, shall be deemed settled in such town. A minor may be emancipated from his or her father, and may gain a settlement; 1. if a female, by being married and living for one year with her husband; in which case the husband’s settlement shall determine that of the wife: 2. if a male, by being married, and residing for one year separately from the family of his father: 3. by being bound as an apprentice, and serving one year, by virtue of such indentures: 4. by being hired and actually serving for one year for wages to be paid to such minor. Married women follow the settlement of their husbands; and children of their parents

if not otherwise entitled. But neither residence nor birth in a poor-house gives right of settlement to persons maintained there.”—Rev. Stat. of New York, Part I. sect. 20.

There is one part of the pauper code, the harshness of which must be acknowledged by those who would deny its demoralizing tendency. “The proper officers may apply to a justice of the peace, if they suspect any woman of being likely to burthen the public with a natural child, in order that security may be taken against such a contingency. If she refuse to disclose the name of its father, she may, when recovered from the effects of her delivery, be committed to the common jail of the county, till she shall disclose it.”

Not long after my return to my old quarters at New York, I attended, one Sunday, the “African” Episcopal Church, as it is absurdly called. The minister (Mr. Williams, of whom I have before spoken) is supported by his congregation, as his white brethren are by their respective flocks; that part of the stipend, however, which he receives out of the Trinity fund is less than what they are paid from the same source. Yet, when contributions are raised in the churches of this denomination for religious or charitable purposes, it sometimes happens that St. Philip gives more than the wealthier members of the white congregations.

American Episcopacy, like the tree from which it

sprang, is separated into two distinct branches; and the division embraces discipline as well as doctrine,—the one insisting on the necessity of distributing the Prayer-book with the Bible; the other as strongly denying it. The same terms, too, of “High-church” and “Low-church”, are used to designate the corresponding sections. Trinity Church possesses great wealth; the extent of which is less known than its origin. It is derived from lands granted by the crown, and was retained after it had lost in the colonies what was then considered its “brightest jewel.” Some of the most valuable portions of the city of New York are now included in the reservation. As the endowment was probably intended to pave the way for a permanent union between the State and a favored sect, it may admit of a doubt whether the independent legislature did wisely in confirming the appropriation, and thus conferring a mortmain upon a body corporate, the spiritual treasures of which have no necessary connexion with its secular riches.

There is a French Protestant Episcopalian Church at New York—the remnant of what was a Calvinistic congregation, that was driven, at the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, from Rochelle to Holland, and from thence to New York State. They had a church at the corner of Pine Street and Cedar Street—known at the time of its foundation, in 1704, as King Street and Little Queen Street. In 1800 their

exchequer was rather low, and they went over to the Episcopal Church. They had a grant of about 2000 dollars a-year from the Trinity fund, and are now comfortably provided for under Episcopal jurisdiction;—having recently built a place of worship that rivals its neighbor, the opera house, in splendor and magnificence. The service is regularly performed by the minister in the French language; and many attend for the sole purpose of studying the idiom of a fashionable tongue.

Before I relate what passed at the “African” church, I will mention a curious fact, which I had from the sexton. The skulls of those who have been buried many years in the grave-yard, belonging to the congregation, were, he said, both thicker and more depressed in the front than those of recent interment. This he had found to be invariably the case. As it may fairly be assumed that the former were the remains of native Africans, (he confined his remarks to adults, and those chiefly old persons,) and to men who had enjoyed few of the advantages of civilization, it would seem, that, as the intellectual faculties expand by cultivation, a commensurate change takes place in the external structure of the head\*.

\* When Dr. Spurzheim visited the Children’s Hospital in Edinburgh, in 1828, he “took occasion to remark the very great contrast exhibited by the heads of those children whose parents are in general of the very lowest ranks of life, as com-

The fact is certain, whatever inference may be drawn from it. My informant is a man of highly respectable character, and not likely to assert a falsehood for the sake of a favorite theory, as he believes that there is some difference between the European and African skulls. He once played off an amusing trick against the late Dr. Paschalis—a physician in the city. The doctor was pointing out to several persons the peculiarities of form which he said distinguished the two races, when the sexton, who had just brought a cranium from the cemetery under his care, placed it before the learned physiologist. It was immediately pronounced to have belonged to a white ; when the other, who had taken off some hair that happened to be sticking upon it when he took it up, produced the woolly locks, and turned the laugh against the phrenologist.

To return to the Africo-American church and its minister. The service was read by a white clergyman, (the pastor of Trinity Church,) and the sermon delivered by my excellent friend, Mr. Williams. The subject of the discourse was the death of Wilberforce. After a brief narrative of the philanthropist's early career, the preacher touched upon the difficul-

pared with the heads of the children of the higher classes. Though here and there was an exception, the heads were in general very low:—narrow in the frontal and sincipital regions.”—Phren. Journal.

ties which surrounded him in the pursuit of that humane object, to which he had devoted his life:—the prejudices of early education—the indifference of friends—the allurements of fortune—the world’s hostility and scorn. He surmounted all: and found in the triumph which ultimately crowned his exertions, the reward of his labors, and a reputation which has identified his name with all that is celebrated in eloquence and beloved in humanity. “To him,” exclaimed the preacher, “*our* gratitude will be for ever due. To his indefatigable zeal in our cause we owe the redress of our wrongs;—to his example shall we be indebted for the recovery of our rights; when the prejudice, which now separates us from our fellow-countrymen, shall yield to juster notions of religious duty and social obligations. Let all, who are now suffering under unmerited opprobrium or the lash of the task-master, be patient; for the day of redemption draweth nigh. The chains of the slave have been broken by that nation which first abolished the cruel traffic that had torn him from his native land; and this example of a generous policy will not be lost upon our country.” The congregation were exhorted by every consideration, which respect for their benefactors and friends—a deep sense of duty towards their Heavenly Father and themselves—and the laudable wish to throw off the stigma of undeserved humiliation, can inspire, to cultivate their minds and dispositions; and to think no effort too

great, no sacrifice too dear, by which they might be enabled to vindicate their claim to equal acceptance and estimation with their white brethren; and to devote themselves to the highest level of attainments, which honest industry can reach, and virtuous motives suggest. The sermon concluded with an application to the consciences of all present of those great and momentous truths, which were so strongly exemplified, by their influence upon his opinions and conduct, in the venerable subject of his eulogy.

This is but the substance of what was said. I cannot do justice to the simplicity of language, and propriety of illustration, which characterised the composition. I was with an English friend; and we both remarked, that all who were present were particularly attentive to their devotions, and respectable in their appearance. There was a good organ, and the singing was excellent. The women were generally as well-dressed as any I had seen in other places of worship. There was less display of finery, however, among them; a plain straw bonnet with ribands being the most prevalent "head-gear." Upon our entrance we had been invited to take seats in a pew, from which the occupant retired and placed himself in another behind us. I begged he would return, and he resumed his seat. If this was done from a feeling of courtesy, it was honorable to the young man: if from deference to the prejudices of his white brethren, it was anything but honorable to them.



How deeply, indeed, must he have felt the “proud man’s contumely”, when the simple circumstance of sitting in the house of God between two white men, should make him say, as he afterwards did to my companion: “My heart is full:—this is the happiest day of my life.” I can truly say that I never saw the Church service better performed; more devotion and regularity in the responses; or a purer spirit of Christian charity and concord. And these are the people who are described, by the Colonization Society, as the vilest and basest of mankind. At one of the public meetings, with which these hypocritical conspirators against human freedom are striving to delude the country, the Chancellor of the State (Walworth) asserted that the free blacks were “a wretched and degraded race with nothing of freedom but the name”\*;—thus committing the very offence, which had been imputed with so much bitterness, during the evening, to Garrison,—calumniating his own countrymen.

\* A magistrate of Port-au-Prince, in a printed declaration against the free blacks of St. Domingo, used the following expression, in 1770: “They will not behave well, unless their minds are broken down.” “Il existe parmi nous”—these are his words—“une classe naturellement notre ennemie, et qui porte encore sur son front l’empreinte de l’esclavage; ce n’est que par des lois de rigueur qu’elle doit être conduite. Il est nécessaire d’appesantir sur elle le mépris et l’opprobre qui lui est dévolu en naissant. Ce n’est qu’en brisant les ressorts de leur ame qu’on pourra les conduire au bien.”

The room was so crowded on this occasion, that I was driven away as much by the heat as the unchristian spirit of the speakers. In the same room, (the masonic hall,) there had been, in the summer, a similar assemblage, at which I was present; when a gentlemanly young man, with a slight tinge of African jet about him, came forward to answer the infamous charges that were, at that moment, resounding in the ears of a delighted auditory. He was not allowed to speak. "Off! off!" was the general cry. "Do us justice here," he exclaimed, "before you send us to Liberia." To condemn any one unheard has passed into a proverb for its injustice. Yet here is the decided and deliberate reply of an American judge, in the fifty-seventh year of his country's independence, to millions of his fellow-countrymen, who appeal to his "native justice and magnanimity," for that "equal station to which the laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them":—"you are a wretched and degraded race!"

In the course of his harangue, this keeper of the States' conscience professed his belief most strongly that there were not to be found, north of the Potomac, half a dozen virtuous women who would willingly allow their children to — marry colored persons!\*

\* In the *Courier and Inquirer*—the "Times" of New York—an attack was made in October, 1833, upon Mr. May of

“ *Dii meliora piis, erroremque hostibus illum !* ”

Thus the consequences of debasement are adduced as its justification. It would be strange, indeed, if any woman, between the Potomac and the Penobscot, would like to see her son-in-law or her daughter-in-law frowned upon by the Chancellor of New York ! Mark the chancellor's logic. “ My daughter will not marry you, because you are degraded : therefore, you deserve to be degraded, and if my voice has any weight, shall be degraded, because my daughter will not marry you.” Who would like to be tried

Brooklyn, (Connecticut,) a most amiable man, and one whose sole object seems to be “ to do justly and walk humbly.” The paragraph is headed, “ black and white,” and refers to a remark made by Mr. May, that he saw nothing in reason or in religion that could make it an impropriety for persons who differed from each other in color to intermarry. “ This man *May* marry a woolly head, or suffer his daughter to become the wife of a blackamoor, if his tastes run in that way ; but we have only to say to him, that, entertaining such notions of propriety, he is an exceedingly impudent member of a decent community, to remain among white folks. His appropriate position is somewhere in South Africa, where we have no doubt such sentiments will make him popular. He has no business to associate with American citizens as one of them. . . . The avowal of such feelings is disgusting in our society : and he, who does avow them, should be spurned from it. . . . The man capable of insulting the white citizens of the country in this way, has disintitiled himself to the common courtesies of life ; and, having identified himself with the Ethiopian, &c., should expect nothing better than Ethiopian treatment.”

for murder by this "second Daniel," if he could not get a wife, because he had been called a murderer? His honor must order him for execution, because his neighbors' daughters had all refused him. No one denies that our happiness depends upon the fair sex: but it is rather hard upon us that we are to incur a double risk; and lose our reputation if we lose the lady.

It is inexpressibly ridiculous to hear a few fastidious "pale-faces" expressing themselves in such contemptuous terms of the great majority of the human family: but what say the objects of their scorn on this delicate question? One of them, (Walker, of Boston, who three or four years ago, spread the utmost consternation among the planters of the south, by a little pamphlet this self-taught man wrote, and who there is too much reason to believe expiated the offence with his life;)—Walker thus expresses himself: "I would wish candidly, before the Lord, to be understood, that I would not give a pinch of snuff to be married to any white person I ever saw in all the days of my life. And I do say it, that the black man, or man of color who will leave his own color (provided he can get one who is good for any thing) and marry a white woman, to be a double slave to her, just because she is white, ought to be treated by her, as he surely will be, viz., as a niger."

The judges of this State vacate office when sixty

years of age—a regulation which its citizens had reason to lament when Chancellor Kent retired. Whatever may be thought of a man's mind when he has arrived at that period of his life, it is just possible that it may want both equity and common sense before he reaches it. The present chancellor's observations about marriage were equally illiberal, indelicate, and unphilosophical. Disguise it as you will, the love, which alone he would allow to be legitimate, is, however, "well refined through some certain strainers;" the very passion which Pope has spoken of in such plain terms. What is it, but the habitual association of a visible object with qualities which have engaged our affections, that produces attachment? The appearance of the one naturally recalls the other to the mind; and we transfer to the outward form,—whatever it may be,—all those agreeable feelings which the virtues of its possessor have excited in our bosoms. Our love and our hatred are equally affected by the same principle. His Honor, in denying its influence in the former, gives the strongest proof of its operation in the latter; and, while he cannot or will not see, in the case of other men, the connecting link that honors our nature, all men can see, in his own, that which degrades it. The pride, which carries itself so high, is like Virgil's oak. Its lofty head shews where it is *rooted*.

—“Quantum se vertice ad auras  
Ætherias, tantum radice ad Tartara, tendit.”

The more I saw and heard of this odious and disgusting antipathy, the more convinced I felt that a civilized nation, thus tattooed and crippled in mind, is, in point of moral dignity, below those savage tribes that merely paint the body or compress the skull; and I felt ashamed when I looked a black man in the face, lest he should despise me for the silly and childish superstition with which those around him who resembled me were infected.

On the evening of the day I had heard the sermon which was preached at St. Philip's, I was asked by a young lady what church I had attended, and the answer I gave brought on a general conversation about negro intellect and negro emancipation. In the course of the discussion, my fair neighbor, who was very animated upon the subject, quoted Scripture in support of her opinions, and asserted that the distinction, upon which the exclusion I objected to was founded, was intended as a mark of inferiority by the Creator. I did not stop her to ask on which side the inferiority lay. She declared, with equal delicacy and liberality, that it would be unnatural for the different colors to be mixed by matrimony. We are told upon pretty good authority, that “marriage is honorable in all men.” She would add a little to the text, and provide

for a contingency, which the sacred writer, who could not probably foresee the discovery of a new continent, never contemplated. I did not introduce the subject, because I consider it a nice ground to touch upon in the presence of young females;—ground where a man may stumble inadvertently and give offence unintentionally, and because it has nothing whatever to do with the merits of the question. Let men and women,—black, red, white, copper-colored, or whatever tint they may have on their skins, marry to please themselves; but I enter my solemn protest against a regulation which makes prohibition from marriage, and non-admittance to the family circle the same thing; and which might have cut off from my sojourn in America some of the most agreeable hours I spent there.

With regard to the intermixture of the two races, whether social, or of a closer nature, it is certain that there will be, at the end of half a century, nearly ten millions of colored persons, bond or free, in the United States—if the prolific power (and what can arrest its progress?) be as great in the future, as it has shewn itself during the past and the present time. No Liberia—no Wilberforce colony—no Haytian settlement can any more prevent or retard this consummation, than the influx of the Irish into the States has diminished the number of human beings in “old Erin”. To none but the perpetrators of

injustice, or the slaves of a silly superstition, can this addition to the population of those vast and fertile regions, occasion the slightest feeling of apprehension or regret. To the eye of humanity and common sense is presented the delightful prospect of pride subdued or softened into kindness;—mutual estrangement converted into mutual confidence;—resentment and despondency succeeded by gratitude and reliance upon an equitable appreciation:—and “all men” living together “equal” who are declared to have been “created” so.

It is in the highest degree ludicrous to witness the anxious interest expressed by the present generation of whites for the condition and complexion of their distant descendants. They deprecate amalgamation as something abhorrent to nature: an unheard-of and an unutterable monster;—as if the realization of their fears would not be the surest evidence of their absurdity; or as if they did not know that the half-castes and quadroons, and the diluted subdivisions of the intermixture in the South, are almost, if not quite, as numerous as the pure blacks. If the two races intermarry, there can be no natural repugnance between them. If there be a natural repugnance, they cannot intermarry.

Another cause of uneasiness to these timid “children of a larger growth,” arises from the dread they entertain that the species will be deteriorated



by "crossing the breed"; though every one knows, who is capable of comparing forms and figures, that the finest specimens of beauty and symmetry are to be found among those whose veins are filled with mixed blood. Posterity will have little reason to be thankful to those now in existence for this excess of solicitude for their welfare, if the feeling, from which it springs, is transmitted to them, with all the hostility and suspicion and resentment it will, in its descent, have engendered in the bosoms of a numerous and increasing race. "We should recollect," said the Rev. David Rice, more than thirty years ago, in a speech he delivered at Danville in Kentucky,— "We should recollect, that it is too late to prevent this great imaginary evil: the matter is already gone beyond recovery; for it may be proved, with mathematical certainty, that if things go on in the present channel, the future inhabitants of America will inevitably be Mulattoes."\* It is thus that the same people will have exterminated the American tribes, and merged in the African; and the black man will have avenged the wrongs of the red man.

As for the settlement of Liberia, it is as little likely to promote the ostensible, as the real, object of its

\* "In Maryland and N. Carolina the black population increases more than twice as fast as the white; and, in Virginia, more than one-third faster."—Raymond's Pol. Economy, II. 367.

founders, or to be more successful in improving the one country than in draining the other. The attempt to colonize Africa with people of the same race as the aborigines, is, indeed, a hazardous experiment. There is no small risk of bringing into more frequent and more powerful action the principles of repulsion between the two bodies than those of attraction and adhesion. Centuries of civilization have given to the Europeans an undisputed superiority over the barbarous tribes among which they have been settled in the darker quarters of the globe; yet how difficult they have found it to maintain their position against the natives, is too well known. To the various causes, however, which produce or prolong hostilities, is, in this case, to be added that tendency to jealousy on one side, and contempt on the other, which a common origin and a contrariety of habits are sure to create. Self-interest would probably for some time suspend or suppress these feelings; but, if once excited by any of those collisions of which the history of colonization presents so many deplorable examples, they would be exasperated by the defeat or victory of either party. From information supplied by the captain of a trading vessel, who had been for two or three years near that part of Africa, and had frequently visited Liberia, it appears that the colonists hold their barbarous neighbors in sovereign contempt. They carry on a lucrative trade of rum and

gunpowder with them ; and the terms and mode of barter serve to increase that feeling of scorn which opposes itself to a friendly intercourse.

What occurred in the case of those colored people who emigrated, some years back, from the United States to Hayti, strengthens, if it does not confirm, these doubts about the practicability of the colonization scheme. Many of them were much disappointed at the reception they met with\*. They had

\* There is too much reason to suspect that some of these emigrants were induced, by artful misrepresentations, to return, and were kidnapped into the Slave states. That many quitted Hayti may be proved by official documents. Inginac, the Secretary General of that republic, published a notice upon the subject in 1825, declaring that no further aid would be rendered to such emigrants than an allowance of four months' provision, and a lot of ground for cultivation, on paying its value. The Haytian government had hitherto defrayed the entire expenses, not only of the passage, but, in some instances, of their removal from the interior of the United States to the places of embarkment. "It cannot be denied," says the Secretary, "that captains, not satisfied with persuading emigrants, who had settled in the republic, to return to the United States, have even shared with them the profits of the speculation. How many persons have been known to demand the means of returning almost before they had debarked, and before the expiration of the four months for which rations had been granted by the State?" Several families, he declares, demanded permission to return three days after they had landed.

The best way of concealing these frauds, and securing future

been led to expect, from a fancied idea of their own superiority, that they would meet with the greatest respect and deference in their intercourse with the Haytians. The reverse was the case. Though well treated by the Government, many became a prey to cunning and unprincipled men, from whose arts it could afford them but slight protection; and all had to encounter difficulties and annoyances, for which they were unprepared, because they had not good sense enough to anticipate them. These facts I have from the best authority; and may therefore be excused, if I cannot see the wisdom or expediency of entrusting the arduous task of conciliating an untamed and jealous people to men who have had little or no opportunity, in their own country, of acquiring sufficient experience to govern others, or sufficient self-restraint to govern themselves. A few well-educated blacks from the south, where the climate has, in some measure, inured them to such sultry heats and unhealthy exhalations as prevail on the coast of Africa, would, if sent to that continent as missionaries, with a competent knowledge of medicine and the useful arts, have much greater effect in

victims, was to dispose of those who went back, so as to give the captains an additional profit on a new speculation. Slaves, like dead men, tell no tales. Persons have told me that they have seen among them the very men who had embarked some time before for Liberia.

advancing the civilization, while they increased our knowledge, of that mysterious and interesting portion of the globe, than a hundred Liberias, constructed of such materials, and exposed to such influences, as that nondescript offspring of the American Colonization Society.

## CHAPTER XII.

Free Blacks.—Abolition of Northern Slavery.—Discussion on Rights of Man.—Congress at Panama.—Too much Freedom in South American States.—Saint Domingo excluded from West India Trade.—Philosophy of the Skin.—Mulatto's Parental Feelings.—Chivalry of Slave-Owners and Cruelties of Slavery.—The Fanatics mobbed.—Abolitionists.—Non-intercourse and Non-consumption.

THERE is not, I believe, one trade in New York, in which its colored inhabitants are allowed to work with the whites. There are nearly 20,000 of them in the city, and more than twice that number in the State. It will hence be seen at once how closely the self-interest of the mechanics and other journeymen is connected with the continuance of a prejudice, which thus shuts the door against so many competitors. All classes would gladly get rid of them, if they could; for the same feeling prevails everywhere, though it may vary in degree, with that exhibited by the Kentuckians, when they formed their State Colonization Society in 1827, because, as they stated, the scheme

of the parent association was calculated, "to relieve the citizens of that commonwealth from the serious inconveniences, resulting from the existence among them of a rapidly increasing number of *free* persons of color, who are not subject to the restraints of slavery." It is seldom that a pleonasm is so full of meaning.

Apprenticeship was substituted for slavery in the year 1827, by an act which was passed by the legislature of the State of New York about ten years before; all above 27 years of age being declared free at that period, and all below to serve as apprentices till they arrived at the same time of life. No compensation was allowed to the owners; and no injury resulted to either party from this measure of justice. Though so many of these "scourges" were let loose upon the public,—(there were 10,000 in 1820,)—no throats were cut and no houses burnt down. Matters soon adjusted themselves to the new order of things; and the good effects arising from the natural stimulus thus applied to industry were visible in the improved condition of those who had been emancipated, and who may now be seen, in great numbers, in the streets of New York, and of other cities as decently dressed and as well behaved as their skin-proud countrymen.

The transition from slavery to freedom was simple and unimpeded; as the former had long been found to be unprofitable, and the latter was not retarded by

bounties to its rival or restrictions upon itself. Standing armies and stipendiary magistrates were not wanted to protect the few against the many, in the plunder they still retained, and provide employment for the friends of a distant government.

So completely was the system extinct, that many masters were willing to give away their slaves, and advertisements in the newspapers announced their intention. That the abolition of slavery in New England was attended with little or no loss to the owners of that species of property, is well known. "Negro children," says Dr. Belknap, "were reckoned (in Massachusetts) an incumbrance in a family; and, when weaned, were given away like puppies. They have been publicly advertised in the newspapers to be given away." "In the country, the negroes lived as well as their masters, and often sat down at the same table, in the true style of republican equality."—Hist. Coll. iv. 200.

There was little merit in relinquishing what it would have been bad policy to withhold; and no gratitude was due for a gift, which was clogged with conditions that robbed it of its justice while it left it none of the graciousness of a favor.

If to support and sanction by words and by actions those principles, on which alone the practices they have laid aside are founded, be criminal, the difference of guilt between the workers of iniquity and its abettors, is all that the citizens of the non-slavehold-



ing States can claim. Not a shadow of excuse, indeed, or palliation can they adduce for their conduct. When pressed by an appeal to their sense of religion and justice, they are utterly at a loss to explain their behavior by motives consistent with either. It was inexpressibly painful to my mind to witness the blindness and self-delusion under which these people labored. It was a psychological anomaly that I could not comprehend—an irreconcilable contradiction to every idea I had formed of intelligent and reasonable creatures—an afflicting picture of “a naked human heart,” with all its inconceivable incongruities. Night and day was I tormented by the most bitter reflections. I was living with men I could not esteem. I felt it was unmanly to be silent: and I knew it was vain to remonstrate.

Sometimes my zeal got the better of my prudence, and I fell into discussions which experience told me were useless. I had, one day, a long controversy with a young lawyer upon the subject, and was shocked at the arrogance with which he spoke of men whom I knew, from personal observation, to be fully equal to himself in every respect but that which mere circumstance of birth had produced. His arguments (if arguments they might be called, in which fact, hypothesis, and conclusion were equally remote from truth, and from each other) were of the usual preposterous kind. Some of his assertions were to the last degree absurd. The negro, he said,

must be inferior to the white, because his father, who was a physician (a Virginian) had once proved, in a public lecture, that the black had a long heel, and a short forehead\*. From this antithesis between the *sinciput* and the *os calcis* it followed, as a matter of course, that his intellect was inferior to that of a man whose extremities are contrasted in a reverse manner!—nothing could be plainer, except the inference, that he was a proper subject for coercion and contempt. On the score of conscience, my opponent felt perfectly at ease. The colored man had no sort of reason to complain of ill-usage. It was the custom of the country; and the whites were not in the least to be blamed, because they had determined to act as they did. The “African” was little better than an ourang-outang; and, as Nature did nothing in vain, the final cause for the peculiarity of structure was to be found in the profit and amusement of “Heaven’s last, best work”—the Caucasian. Having hinted, that complexion could afford no certain criterion of moral qualities, as its color might be changed by accident, (by the nitrate of silver, for

\* The same argument, drawn by the Anglo-Americans from an assumed physiological fact for enslaving the Africo-Americans, may be used by their dear and faithful ally, Russia, for her treatment of the Poles. According to a sketch given by Blumenbach of a Pole’s head, and that of a negro, the facial angle is precisely the same in both specimens. See Lord’s *Popular Physiology*, 469.

instance,) I was assured by this infallible disputant, that I must be in error, because his father was a physician; and, if such effects had ever been produced by the improper use of medicine, he would not have omitted to inform his son of such an extraordinary circumstance. This was unanswerable.

Such is the sort of logic used by those who suffer the understanding to be led by the feelings, without inquiring how they came by them. Talk to them upon common subjects, and they are as clear-headed and acute as other people; but touch upon this topic, and the best educated man amongst them will utter more nonsense in a given time than the most unlettered clown in the three kingdoms. How ridiculous to challenge the admiration of the world, when every philosopher that has enlightened it, every poet that has delighted it, every divine that has instructed it, cries "shame!" upon them for their want of wisdom, generosity, and religion!

It is curious to observe how the foreign policy of the nation is influenced by these feelings. Whether the Emperor Alexander\* be solicited to urge upon

\* "Early in 1825, the United States made overtures to Russia and France, having for their object to procure an acknowledgment of the independence of the American republics on the basis of guaranteeing to Spain the possession of Cuba and Puerto Rico."—American Annual Reg., 1825.

"You are authorized, in the spirit of the most perfect frankness and friendship, which have ever characterised all the

Ferdinand the recognition of South American independence;—whether fears be entertained that Cuba should fall into the hands of England or of Mexico;—whether Hayti is to take her place in the rank of Free States;—the actuating motive is an apprehension lest the black man should break his chains, and rise to a level with his oppressor. An amusing instance of this occurred at the Panama congress, the President of which had published a discourse that gave great offence to the people of the United States. It came out, however, that it had not been spoken on that occasion; and the members, when applied to by Mr. Poinsett, the American Minister, disavowed, in general terms, any participation in some of its sentiments.

Mr. Poinsett thus writes to Mr. Clay from Mexico, relations between Russia and the United States, to disclose, without reserve, the feelings and the wishes of the United States in respect to Cuba and Puerto Rico. They are satisfied with the present condition of those islands, now open to the commerce and enterprise of their citizens. They desire, for themselves, no political change in them. If Cuba were to declare itself independent, the amount and the character of its population render it improbable that it could maintain its independence.”—Extract of a letter from Mr. Clay to Mr. Middleton, 10 May, 1825.

The annals of human adulation cannot exhibit a more disgusting instance of fawning flattery than is to be found in the pages of the American Annual Register, in its eulogy upon the Emperor Alexander.

to which the Congress had adjourned—(Sept. 6, 1826) : —“ I adverted, in the course of conversation, to the very extraordinary sentiments contained in Vidaurre’s speech on the opening of the Congress. They assured me that Vidaurre never delivered that discourse, but published it without the knowledge of his colleagues ; that, on the following day, they, the Mexican plenipotentiaries, remonstrated verbally, both against the publication of the discourse, and against the sentiments it contained ; and the Columbian plenipotentiaries delivered in a written protest to the same effect. I suggested the propriety of publishing a notice of what took place on that occasion, as the whole tenor of Vidaurre’s discourse is calculated to produce an unfavorable impression. I believe this will be done. Might it not be as well to do so in our papers ? ”

There is nothing in the Peruvian minister’s address that would appear extraordinary to any but the “ free and enlightened ” citizens of the North American confederation. It was probably the following paragraph that gave rise to this dignified remonstrance. “ The basis of our confederation is firm ;—peace with the whole world ;—respect for European governments, even where their political principles are diametrically opposed to those acknowledged in America : free commerce with all nations, and a diminution of imposts on the trade of such as have acknowledged our independence ; re-

ligious toleration for such as observe different rites from those established by our constitution. How emphatically have we been taught by the blood which fanaticism has spilt, from the time of the Jews to the commencement of the present century, to be compassionate and tolerant to all who travel to the same point by different paths. Let the stranger, of whatever mode of faith, come hither; he shall be protected and respected, unless his morals, the true standard of religion, be opposed to the system given us by the Messiah. Let him come and instruct us in agriculture and the arts. Let the sad and abject countenance of the poor African, bending under the chains of rapacity and oppression, no longer be seen in these climes: let him be endowed with equal privileges with the white man, whose color he has been taught to regard as a badge of superiority: let him, in learning that he is not distinct from other men, learn to become a rational being. Immortal Pitt! eloquent Fox! interrupt for a moment your slumbers; and, raising yourselves from the tomb, behold that the regions, once emphatically the regions of slavery, are now those where your philanthropic precepts are most regarded."

The secretary of state of the Mexican Republic, says, in his report to the Senate:—"The assembly not only did not hear this harangue, nor approve this measure, but did not agree with the views it contained of the business that had been con-

cluded, nor in the designation of those objects which were intended to form the subject of their future sessions. The minister himself, who subscribed that paper, was satisfied of the propriety of this conduct." This meagre disavowal answered the purpose for which it was made. The new republics, menaced by European despotism, were not inclined to disoblige a powerful neighbor.

There is scarcely among the former possessions of Spain, a single nation with which the *liberal* statesmen at Washington might not find matter for a quarrel, if so inclined. The preamble to the decree of Central America, in declaring the abolition of slavery, must have been highly galling to their sensitive feelings. *Veritas odium parit*. "The General Assembly of the United Provinces of Central America, conceiving that the system of government adopted by this republic, would differ in nothing from that heretofore imposed by Spain, were not the principles of liberty, equality, and justice to be extended to every citizen of these States; and believing that it would be unjust in a free government to suffer a portion of our fellow men to remain in slavery, and not to restore them to their natural condition, the possession of liberty," &c.

Mr. Salazar, minister from Columbia, in a letter to Mr. Clay, (dated Washington, Nov. 2, 1825,) thus expresses himself:—"The descendants of this portion of the globe have succeeded in founding an in-

dependent republic, whose government is now recognized by its ancient metropolis. On what basis the relations of Hayti and of other parts of our hemisphere, that shall hereafter be in like circumstances, are to be placed, is a question simple at first sight, but attended with serious difficulties when closely examined. These arise from the different manner of regarding Africans, and from their different rights in Hayti, the United States, and in other American States. This question will be determined at the Isthmus; and, if possible, an uniform rule of conduct adopted in regard to it, or those modifications that may be demanded by circumstances."

Speaking of the new States in South America, the *North American Review* says, (April, 1821,) "The state of society and of life among them forbids our feeling a sympathy with them." "We hold it to be a maxim clearly established in the history of the world, that none but the temperate climates, and the climates which produce and retain the European complexion of skin in its various shades, admit of the highest degree of national character." "We believe the isothermal lines of character might be drawn with nearly as much precision as those of temperature." This is inimitable! The greater part of our species is to be disinherited of its hopes, that the scornful feelings of these pseudo-republicans towards their fellow-citizens, may find that palliation which the understanding



and the heart, in their natural state, would neither suggest nor accept. While the Caucasians of the New World despise the other races, into which it has pleased their high-mightinesses to separate the human race, they complain that the Caucasians of the Old World despise them for the same reason—a supposed inferiority of intellect. Both accusations were once believed; because the accused were not allowed a fair hearing. If we may credit a writer in the *New England Magazine* for 1831, the tables are turned with a vengeance in the one case; and who knows that they may not be so, one day, in the other too?

“The most grievous charge,” he says, speaking of English calumnies against America, “is to come. It was laid against our intellect;—that power which governs the whole being of man, gives effect to his exertions, and makes him what he is. It was confidently affirmed, not only by men of ordinary standing, but by those whom the world called philosophers, that in all its attributes, the American mind was of an inferior cast: in terms apparently coined for the occasion: ‘that the man of America was essentially belittled.’ No doubt, a belief to this effect, pronounced and supported by such high authority, had much influence in inducing the British Parliament to issue their resolve that they had ‘a right to bind us in all cases.’ In their pride, power, and rapacity, why should they not thus resolve and act, when they

had (in their own opinion) so much to gain by it and nothing to lose?" &c. A passage in a second article upon this important subject, settles the matter at once, by placing the sculptor's chisel in the lion's paw, to be transferred, we may hope, at no very distant day, to one from Juba's "*arida nutrix leonum.*" "Freedom of every kind is in greater perfection in the United States than in Great Britain or any other country. Its effects are seen, therefore, in the improvement of the whole man. Hence, instead of being deteriorated, the intellect of America is strengthened and ameliorated. We hazard nothing in asserting, that the Americans surpass the British in all things on which they have bestowed an equal share of attention and labor."

It is scarcely possible in the nature of things, that Mexico and the other new States will much longer submit to be insulted. Mr. Berrien, in allusion to the projected conquest of Cuba and Puerto Rico, by the South Americans, said openly in the Senate at Washington, in 1826:—"The question to be determined is this: with a due regard to the safety of the Southern States, can you suffer these islands to pass into the hands of bucaniers, drunk with their new-born liberty?" Mr. Hayne, of South Carolina, declared on that occasion, that the federal government had committed a great error in entering into treaties with Great Britain and Columbia for the suppression of

the slave-trade. "That error," he exclaimed, "has been happily corrected. The first treaty has failed; and the second was nearly unanimously rejected by this body. Our policy, then, is now firmly fixed: our course is marked out. With nothing connected with slavery can we consent to treat with other nations; and, least of all, ought we to touch the question of the independence of Hayti, in conjunction with revolutionary governments, whose own history affords an example scarcely less fatal to our repose. Those governments have proclaimed the principles of liberty and equality, and have marched to victory under the banners of 'universal emancipation.' You find men of color at the head of their armies, in their legislative halls, and in their executive departments. They are looking to Hayti \*, even now, with feelings of the strongest confraternity; and shew, by the very documents before us, that they acknowledge her to be independent, at the moment when it is manifest to all the world beside, that she has resumed her colonial subjection to France." Worse language than this was used by John Ran-

\* The government of the United States, as soon as "a decent regard" for the world's good opinion would admit, acknowledged Miguel de facto King of Portugal, while the Haytian is still in its eyes a rebel. Yet its import trade with the former amounts to no more than 123,816 dollars, and its export to 28,562; while the latter supplies it with goods to the value of 2,853,386 dollars, and takes from it 1,669,003.

dolph; and the senate exhibited, during the long and protracted discussion, the most rabid symptoms of the endemic monomania.

“The peace of eleven States in this Union,” said Mr. Benton of Missouri, “will not permit the fruits of a successful negro insurrection to be exhibited among them. It will not permit black consuls and ambassadors to establish themselves in our cities, and to parade through our country, and give their fellow blacks in the United States proof in hand of the honors which await them for a like successful effort on their part. It will not permit the fact to be seen and told, that, for the murder of their masters and mistresses, they are to find friends among the white people of these United States. No! Mr. President, this is a question which has been determined here for three and thirty years;—one which has never been open for discussion at home or abroad, either under the Presidency of General Washington, of the first Mr. Adams, of Mr. Jefferson, Mr. Madison, or Mr. Monroe. It is one which cannot be discussed in this chamber on this day:—and shall we go to Panama to discuss it? I take it in the mildest supposed character of this congress,—shall we go there to advise and consult about it? Who are to advise and sit in judgment upon it? Five nations, who have already put the black man upon an equality with the white,—not only in their constitutions, but in real life:—five nations, who have at this

moment (at least some of them) black generals in their armies, and mulatto senators in their congresses!"

I must not forget, while censuring another country, that my own has not only refused to acknowledge the independence of the black republic, but has interdicted all kinds of commerce between her colonies and Hayti, although provisions are five or six times as cheap in the latter. An Englishman, before he boasts of having done justice to the black man, would do well to read the following extract from a statute passed by his government in 1824, and still in force. "And be it further enacted, that no British merchant ship or vessel shall sail from any place in the island of Jamaica to any place in the island of Saint Domingo, nor from any place in the island of Saint Domingo to any place in the island of Jamaica, under the penalty of the forfeiture of such ship or vessel together with her cargo," &c. Intercourse by foreign vessels is prohibited by the same act. And yet we constantly hear surprise or exultation expressed that Hayti has not made greater progress, while her resources are thus crippled.

After what has been said of the low debasing standard, which has been set up in America to measure every one's eligibility to a respectable station in society, it would be doing no injustice to those who have adopted it, to designate them by the appellation of practical materialists; since they act

and judge upon the fixed belief that there is an indissoluble tie between the bodily structure of man and his moral endowments. Can a more grovelling superstition be found in "the rude Carinthian boor," or the dusky Hottentot? While the Anglo-American's mind is degraded by this infirmity, he must submit to be placed in the lowest scale of civilised beings. He may be admired for his commercial enterprise, his mechanical skill, his railroads, canals and steam-boats:—every thing that contributes to his physical well-being:—but he can never be respected for moral excellence, expansion of mind, or generous sympathies.

If I were to tell my friends in England that one of the most enlightened and estimable men with whom I became acquainted in America, declared to me that he really did not think he could eat his dinner were a colored man sitting at the same table with him, I should be accused of exceeding the limits of a traveller's privilege. To be the dupe of his own imagination, is the fate of almost every one who visits a foreign country: but the conviction of the truth which dissipated the dreams and illusions I had formed of a land so highly favored, brought with it no counterbalance to the painful disappointment it occasioned.

It surely was not unreasonable to expect some portion of Christian love and humility towards their

immediate neighbors, among those who were sending out missionaries to evangelize the remotest corners of the globe;—few would have been prepared to find an obstinate denial of justice and charity where Bible societies abounded: and something like liberality of mind and good sense might have been looked for in the home and sanctuary of schools. When a people make a profession of religion, we have a right to ask them why they set at nought the precepts it teaches and the duties it inculcates: and we cannot but be grieved when we see them lay aside its letter, as well as its spirit, like an old almanack, to make way for a code of ethics that has nothing to recommend it but the humiliation it inflicts upon those whom its framers have injured and oppressed.

It may well be doubted whether the priesthood in any country is ever in advance of the spirit of the times. But nowhere, whatever be the sect or denomination, have they so basely prostituted their sacred calling to the furtherance of the very vices they were ordained to correct and control. They have left a stain upon their character which can neither be removed nor palliated. The Quakers form no exception to this disgraceful servility. They are as contemptuous to their sable brethren as the strictest Episcopalian, or the most orthodox Presbyterian. It would seem as if the evil principle were permitted to assume the garb of sanctity, to shew that

religion must be true or it could not survive under the weight of such hypocrisy.

It is not to be supposed that she can escape unhurt and uncontaminated from such evil communication. Some observations made to me on this subject by a mulatto, left a strong impression on my mind. I had been surprised, on a former visit to his house, at what I thought his calm resignation under unmerited opprobrium. He was a man of a very powerful mind, and endowed by nature with a depth of reflection far above the average to be found among those who despised him. His son, as I can myself testify from an examination, was a lad of very promising talents and literary habits. The father was but the more distressed and embarrassed what to do with him. He had tried to get him into a theological seminary, that he might become a minister of religion; yet, though he was provided with the best recommendations, and unexceptionable testimonials of the boy's abilities and moral character, the poor lad's application, after a suspense of six months, with all its attendant anxieties and annoyances, was rejected for no other reason but that which was supplied by the outer garment he had received from Nature at his birth. "I strive," said the parent, "to suppress the indignation I feel at the cruelties to which every one of my race is exposed here:—but I candidly confess to you that I am driven almost to desperation. I love my boy:



and wish to fulfil my duty towards him by giving him a good education, and placing him where he may be usefully and respectably employed. But all my efforts are useless:—my hopes are blasted:—and I know not what is to become of him. My belief in religion is shaken, when I see its professors so little influenced by it. We have committed no crime:—yet we are condemned without a trial, and are allowed no defence. We are held up to the world as the very outcasts of society:—we are outraged and crushed to the earth with impunity. But, perhaps, the most galling of all the accusations brought against us is that of cowardice: happy should I be if I had an opportunity of shewing its falsity! Let us engage hand to hand in equal numbers;—and it will be seen whether courage has any thing to do with complexion.” I replied, that I trusted the contest would be decided by other weapons than those of force; and that I firmly believed the day was not far distant, when full justice would be done them.

A few days after this conversation, I was at a dinner party, where I met a planter from the South, who maintained, or rather asserted, that the negro was a species of ourang-outang, and ought not to be considered, and, consequently, not to be treated, as belonging to the human race. His slaves, he added, were his property—his cattle; and he spoke the sentiments of all in the South, when he declared he

would draw his sword against any one who should dare to interfere with his rights. This sort of language, though unusual in civilized society, is natural enough. What is gained or held by injustice, is generally defended by violence. In such a case, it would be want of reason to appeal to reason. There is a law of force, when there is no force of law. The employment of the one proves that the other is wanting. If we see a house barricaded in time of profound peace, we suspect that the owner *de facto* is not owner *de jure*. The bandit and the pirate are known by the cocked pistol and the grasped dagger. This gentleman felt, or affected to feel, great indifference to the dangers with which the increasing number of slaves menaces their masters; who, he said, could take care of themselves, and did not need any assistance from the free States. It may well be doubted whether this feeling of security be so general as he declared it to be. Cowardice and cruelty usually go together; and the absence of the one is not indicated by the blustering of the other. Well, indeed, may the heartless oppressor listen in the midnight breeze for the shouts of his infuriated victims, led on to vengeance by some sable Spartacus or some colored Kosciuszko. The same sort of language was used in Congress by Mr. Blair of South Carolina, in 1832. "He could tell gentlemen", he said, "that when they moved that question (slavery) seriously, they from the South would

meet it elsewhere. It would not be disputed in the house:—but in the open field, where powder and cannon would be their orators, and their arguments lead and steel.”

The slave-states should be the last to cry out against the interference of the general Government with matters within their exclusive jurisdiction. Does it not already interfere in protecting the master against the slave? Then why not interfere to protect the slave against the master? To grant liberty, it seems, is unconstitutional:—to keep up a standing army in time of peace is not so. If the north must not lighten the southern slave’s chain, why should the south be permitted to fasten it on the northern free-black? The free States are taxed to keep down the slaves by an armed force; are insulted by the expulsion or exclusion of their citizens from a large portion of the Union, and are then gravely told, that the constitution forbids their meddling with the question of slavery! This boasted constitution is a very convenient instrument for the south. It converts natives into foreigners, and foreigners into natives. It sends away the “Africans” lest they should become Americans\*, and refuses

\* Jefferson said, when objections, on constitutional grounds, were made to a grant from Congress to the Colonization Society, that “a liberal construction, justified by the object would go far, and an amendment to the constitution the whole length necessary.”

its promised protection to the Cherokees that they may remain Indians\*.

The abolitionists are told that they must not interfere with this "delicate question", because it is a matter of State regulation and out of the jurisdiction of Congress. But that is the very reason why they *should* interfere. It is well known that the slaves were worse treated in our chartered colonies than in those under the immediate control of the home government. It is precisely because the general legislature cannot check the local legislatures, that the

\* The poor Cherokees must be sadly puzzled to understand the logic of the white man. The Supreme Court of the United States refuses them protection because they are *not* foreigners; while the President of the United States refuses them protection because they *are* foreigners. "The Court," says the former, "has bestowed its best attention on this question; and, after mature deliberation, the majority is of opinion, that an Indian tribe or nation, within the United States is not a foreign State in the sense of the Constitution, and cannot maintain an action in the Courts of the United States." "The question presented," says the latter in his first message to Congress, "was whether the General Government had a right to sustain those people (the Cherokees) in their pretensions. The Constitution declares that no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State, without the consent of its legislature. If the General Government is not permitted to tolerate the erection of a confederate State within the territory of one of the members of this Union, against her consent, much less would it allow a foreign and independent government to establish itself there."

local legislatures ought to be checked by public opinion. Here, however, the planter takes his stand, and throws down the gauntlet of defiance to every intruder upon his domain.

The following toast, equally remarkable for the elegance of the language and the humanity of the sentiment, was given, in the autumn of 1833, at a public dinner in Georgia: "Southern liberty and southern slavery!—like the Siamese twins, inseparably united and mutually dependent on, and necessary to, the existence of each other." The *Columbia Telescope* (South Carolina) tells the "fanatics" plainly what they must expect if they do not mind their own business. "Let us," says this Cambyzes of the American press, "declare, through the public journals of our country, that the question of slavery is not, and shall not be, open to discussion:—that the system is deep-rooted amongst us, and must remain for ever;—that the very moment any private individual attempts to lecture us upon its evils and immorality, and the necessity of putting measures into operation to secure us from them:—in the same moment his tongue shall be cut out and cast upon the dunghill. We are freemen, sprung from a noble stock of freemen, able to boast as noble a line of ancestry as ever graced this earth. We have burning in our bosoms the spirit of free men,—live in an age of enlightened freedom, and in a country blessed with its privileges,—under a government that has pledged

itself to protect us in the enjoyment of our peculiar domestic institutions, in peace and undisturbed. We hope for a long continuance of these high privileges; and have now to love, cherish, and defend, property, liberty, wives and children—the right to manage our own matters in our own way; and, what is equally dear with all the rest, the inestimable right of dying upon our own soil, around our own friends, in struggling to put down all who may attempt to infringe, attack, or violate any of these sacred and inestimable privileges.”

Few would deny to this chivalrous descendant of a long line of ancestry, the inestimable privilege of dying, if he can do so, around his own friends in any struggle he may choose to shew his prowess in. And what is this system for which he would *wish* to die? It is one, rather than live under which, many *have* died. Of its horrors some faint idea may be formed, from the atrocities committed under the hope of escaping from them. In 1824, four negroes were executed at Greenupsburg in the State of Kentucky, for murdering their owner while he was transporting them down the Ohio to the New Orleans' market. “They died,” according to Niles's Register, “without shewing the least compunction for the crime committed; and one of them, the instant he was launched from the cart, exclaimed ‘Death! death at any time in preference to slavery!’” And what is this system for which the white man would wish to live? Let us

attend to what a writer in the same journal says of the condition of Maryland. "We think that we speak with an entire understanding of the facts, when we state, that the character of the white laboring population in Maryland, as well as their numbers and efficiency, is declining in all the chief slave-holding counties. Whole families (not one of whom can read or write) find an asylum in our factories. But the greater part, miserably equipped for the journey, desperately aim for Indiana and Ohio. The fee of Maryland (not estimating the counties in which there are few slaves) is hardly worth one-third of what it was; and hundreds of landholders, whose fathers lived in affluence, are reduced almost to poverty, without any personal act of indiscretion to cause it. This fact is feelingly felt by all those whose recollection serves them for thirty years past: and things are getting worse and worse every day."

A very affecting instance of the powerful impression made upon the mind by the cruelties, which every slave is made to feel or witness, took place a short time ago in the State of Kentucky. The Hopkinsville Advocate calls it "a curious case." "A negro woman," says that paper, "the property of Wilson Cooxy, was arraigned for killing her own child. She was seen to retire on a Sunday evening, apparently cheerful and contented, to the house in which she usually slept. The next morning the child was found dead, and laid out; having been killed by a blow upon

the head with an axe. The mother was missing, and could not be found for several days; and, when found, seemed in a state of stupid derangement, and almost famished with hunger. For some time, she refused to talk at all; but, at length voluntarily broke silence, and confessed that she had had it in contemplation, for several years, to kill her child and then to kill herself;—that she thought both she and her child would be happier in another world than in this;—that about three years ago, she set off to go to a very deep spring in the neighborhood, for the purpose of drowning herself; but that, on her way, she reflected that her child would be left behind, in this world, to suffer in slavery:—that she then determined to return and kill her child, and then to kill herself; but that she had not the firmness sooner to carry her resolution into effect. She had been observed to treat her child with more than ordinary tenderness. She was tried and found guilty of murder; sentence of death was passed upon her; but her execution was deferred, she being *enceinte*.”

The medical jurist would probably consider this a case of monomania, aggravated, if not brought on, by the peculiar circumstances in which the unfortunate patient was placed at the time of the infanticide. In most countries she would have been acquitted of the murder on this ground:—but here was a crime, by which property had been destroyed. If declared “not guilty,” she would have been no



longer of value to her master:—if condemned, the State would give him some compensation for the loss. The plea of pregnancy, as a reason for delaying the execution of a sentence, is generally granted from motives of justice and humanity. Here there was a more powerful advocate than either. The owner had a pecuniary interest in the birth of the child.

So much care is taken to conceal what is passing on the plantations in the South, that it is incidentally only, and when the liberal limit to cruelty is exceeded, that publicity is given to deeds of extraordinary atrocity. Enough, however, is on record, of what is daily practised without observation or animadversion, to stamp the whole system with the indelible marks of unmitigated and inevitable atrocity.

Two very shocking cases of brutality are mentioned by the American Annual Register, as having taken place in Virginia, in 1826. The one was that of a poor boy, whom his master (Captain Carter) ordered, for some offence he had committed, to be suspended by a rope from the ceiling of a smoke-house. There he was left;—and there he died. This occurred in Richmond. The other case was attended with circumstances, if possible, more horribly revolting. A negro, of the name of Isaac Reed, was flogged with a cow-hide by three men,—Grace, Whipple, and Henderson,—and then suspended from the beams of

a house with his toes just touching the ground. They left him in this state of torture ; and on their return, found him dead. They were, with much difficulty, secured by the proper officers, and sent to gaol. The most distressing part of the story remains to be told. The poor sufferer was wholly innocent of any offence towards these fiends. He had been pointed out by an old woman, who had the reputation of a witch, as the person who had robbed Grace of some money he had lost. The money was soon after discovered ; and it was proved that Reed could not possibly have taken it. It is not stated whether the perpetrators of these diabolical outrages were punished or not. There is nothing even said of Carter's arrest. The chances of impunity may be seen in the following case, which I have copied verbatim from the same publication :—premising that another of the same kind is recorded by it of a negro, named William, who was burnt alive, at Greenville, (South Carolina,) in August, 1825.

“ July (1827). Burning a negro.—In the early part of this month, in the Northern part of Perry county, (Alabama,) a Mr. M'Neily having lost some clothing, or other property of no great value, the slave of a neighboring planter was charged with the theft. M'Neily, in company with his brother, found the negro driving his master's wagon. They seized him ; and either did, or were about to, chastise him, when the negro stabbed M'Neily so that

he died in an hour afterwards. The negro was taken before a justice of the peace; who, after serious deliberation, waived his authority—perhaps through fear, as a crowd of persons had collected to the number of seventy or eighty near Mr. People's (the justice's) house. He acted as president of the mob, and put the vote; when it was decided he should be immediately executed by being burnt to death. The culprit was led to a tree, and tied to it, and a large quantity of pine-knots collected and placed around him, and the fatal torch applied to the pile,—even against the remonstrances of several gentlemen who were present,—and the miserable being was in a short time burnt to ashes. An inquest was held over the remains. This is the second negro who has been thus put to death without judge or jury in this county." One would hope that "thus" does not mean that the other suffered in the same way\*. The former case of burning alive was in another State. The repetition of this enormity, under the eyes and with the sanction of a magistrate, proclaims, in language that cannot be misunderstood,

\* Niles, after giving an account of an auto da fé in Spain, where a poor Jew was burnt alive for the good of his soul, exclaims with honest indignation, "What a pack of infernal scoundrels! may they be rewarded!—but can it be true?" This incredulity from the citizen of a country where human beings are publicly burnt alive without a trial, and in the presence of a magistrate, is highly complimentary to Spain.

the character of a system, to which West Indian barbarity is mercy and mildness.

The spirit that is now abroad has made it a matter of prudence with the editor of the American Annual Register, or rather Niles, from whom he gets the facts, not to hurt the feelings of his readers by narratives of this description.

It is to put an end to these and similar horrors that the abolitionists are making an appeal to the conscience and honor of their country. It is for their exertions in furtherance of this sacred duty, that they have been stigmatized as incendiaries, and pointed out to the lowest rabble as the proper objects of their blind and blood-thirsty violence. I was present at the formation of the New York anti-slavery society; and was an eye-witness of the dangerous risks to which humanity exposes herself, when she dares to tell a free people of their crimes and their faults.

It was about seven or eight in the evening, when thirty or forty persons, pursuant to an advertisement which had been previously published, assembled in a place of worship; the room that they had engaged at the Clinton Hall having been refused them by the trustees of that hotel. After they had formed themselves into an association for the abolition of slavery, they were about to disperse as quietly as they had met, when the doors were suddenly thrown open, and a mob of three or four hundred men, who

had given notice of their approach by a most tremendous shout, rushed in, uttering threats and execrations against the emancipationists, among whom Garrison, who had just arrived from England, and was supposed to be present, was particularly designated by name as the chief object of their fury. This gang was part of a body consisting, as the papers informed the public next morning, of seven or eight thousand men, who had met together with the avowed object of putting down the meeting; and finding their prey escaped from the Clinton, had retired to another inn, and passed their own resolutions unanimously. Many of them, if credit is to be given to their own party, were armed with dirks and daggers; and all were animated by a spirit from which neither freedom of discussion, nor personal safety to their opponents, could be expected. It was fortunate, however, for all parties that the adjourned meeting had been dissolved, as the projected meeting had been adjourned before the arrival of the enemy at the respective points of attack. Garrison, whom they sought, was incognito among the seekers; and it happened that there was, at the same moment, a school society assembled above. This piece of intelligence was communicated to the mob on their reaching the place; and the difficulty of distinguishing between the two meetings checked their career, and facilitated the escape of the company, among whom were two female

Quakers with fewer signs of alarm about them than the rest. I remained some time on the spot to see what was coming next, when a wretched looking old black was seized hold of by some one, who thought him, as he stood in the door-way, a good subject for ribaldry, and hurried him to a bench, upon which he was mounted and installed as chairman: mock resolutions were then passed, and the poor fellow, who had thus been elevated to be insulted, evinced his superiority to the "lords of misrule" by humoring the scene. The noise and laughter that prevailed, prevented my hearing the whole of what passed; and I left the church with no favorable impression of a people, who could thus outrage the feelings of a rational being in the very place dedicated to the service of their common Father.

It would be unjust to involve the inhabitants of New York in the disgrace and odium of these proceedings. The furious passions exhibited on this occasion had been excited by some Southerners, of whom there were a great number in the city at the time, and who had addressed the citizens through the columns of a morning paper,—remarkable for its low scurrility and vulgar brutality,—calling upon them to meet in such force at the Clinton, as should for ever silence the Garrisons and Tappans. It is due also to the respectable portion of the press to state, that, both before and after the riot, it reprobated the intention of employing intimidation, and

remonstrated most strongly against the introduction of a precedent, which would substitute physical force for argument, and subject freedom of debate to the will of a lawless mob.

It is in vain that the advocates of impartial justice are called upon by the timid and the time-serving to desist or delay. The cause in which they are, heart and hand, engaged, is every day gaining new converts. They are prepared for every sacrifice and every trial; and are resolved to persevere in the task they have chosen, till their country be for ever free from the disgrace and dangers of slavery.

America is deeply in debt to outraged humanity. She has enriched herself by plunder and oppression.—The day of settlement is at hand;—the creditors are clamorous and impatient:—there will be no peace for her till her *drafts* on Africa are paid. Not the least part of the debt is involved in the cruel indignities to which the free sons of those who were stolen from their native land are subjected by the descendants of the robbers. The heart sickens at the recital of their wrongs. I can say, with the utmost sincerity, that I left England with a wish to do justice to America. I thought her character had been misrepresented, and I was anxious to collect facts that I might adduce in her vindication on my return. I soon found, however, that I must throw up my

brief:—the libel had become a criminal indictment ; and the former plaintiff was the defendant. I am now in the witness-box ; and I trust the claims of justice will still be satisfied. Why should ridicule be prosecuted, if oppression is to go unpunished and unrebuked ? What are the insults the Americans complain of having received from strangers, compared with the injuries they have heaped upon their own countrymen ?

If the charge of vulgarity be so galling, though uttered in a distant land by a few narrow-minded men, what must be the cry of utter and hopeless debasement, raised and repeated by millions against those among whom they are doomed to live ? Is calumny detestable when it distorts or derides, and blameless when it plants a dagger in the heart ? If the whites had been slaves to a civilized community of blacks ; and had, when emancipated, been subjected to the same social excommunication to which they have condemned the free blacks, it may well be doubted whether they would not, at this moment, have been sunk to a level of civilization and respectability below that to which the latter have risen. For myself, I have no doubt upon the subject : and it gives me an exalted idea of human energy, when I thus see it surmounting difficulties and discouragements, which the pride and wickedness of the old world never, in its worst periods, employed, to



arrest the progress of human improvement. Will it be easier to resist the just claims, than it has been to check the career, of a people who possess the elastic force of Antæus? They well know that justice is not denied them in France or in England? Will the same man who is respected in London submit to be degraded in New York? Will he be contented to lay down or assume his "indefeasible rights" as he finds himself in Boston or in Paris? It cannot be: they are already more numerous than the whites were when they obtained their independence\*; and every day, while it adds to the strength of the one, diminishes the relative superiority of the other. It will not be long before they will be released from a yoke, compared with which the wrongs of the colonists were but an imaginary grievance. Rights of man, indeed!—the text of the declaration should be revised, and "white" inserted: wherever in that lying instrument, the words liberty—independence—honor—religion, occur, an enormous "caret" should mark the passage.

One of the expedients adopted by the American

* In 1790 there were	694,280 slaves.
1800 .....	889,118
1810 .....	1,191,364
1820 .....	1,538,178

There are at present considerably more than two millions, according to the census; exclusive of the free blacks.

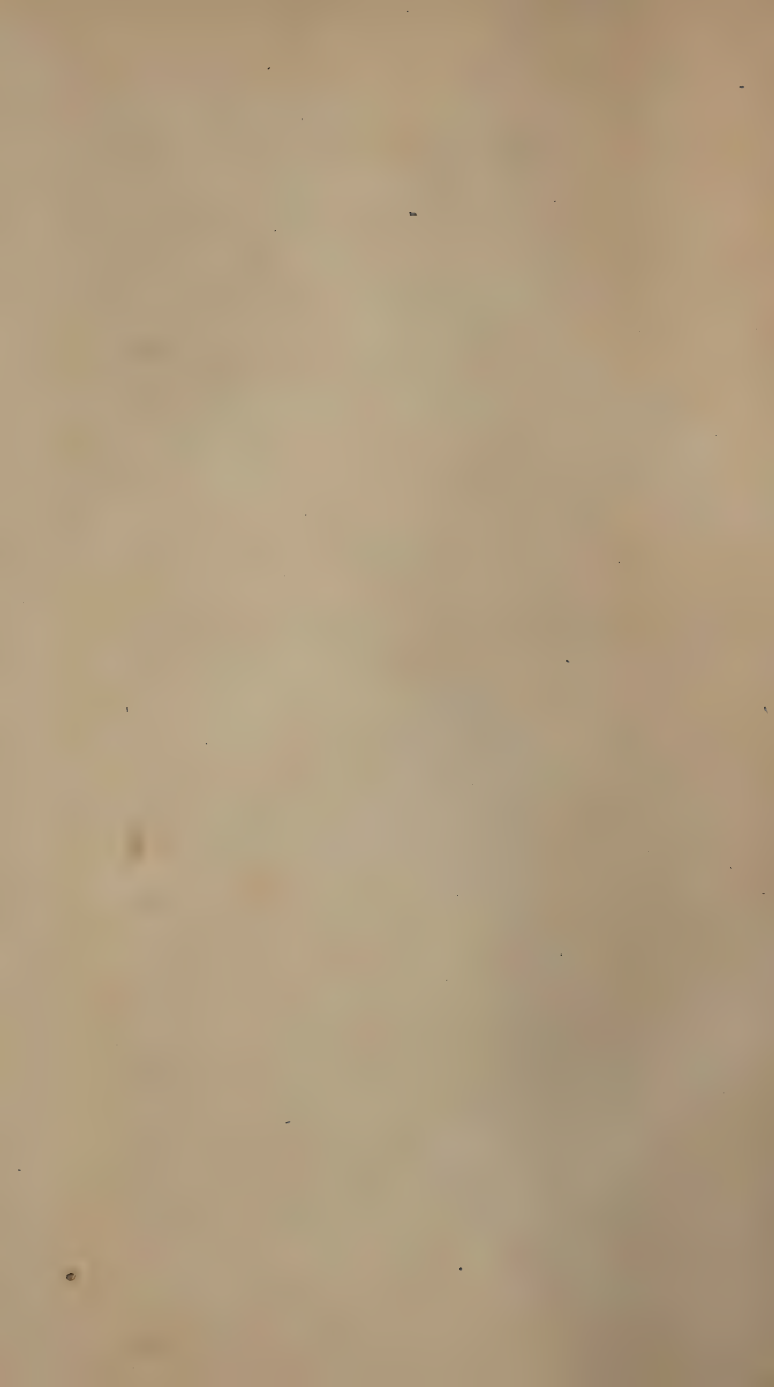
abolitionists to obtain their object is to abstain entirely from the use or purchase of every thing produced by slave-labor, and to encourage the introduction of free labor goods. This determination is but a retaliatory measure. Some years back, when the anti-tariff standard was hoisted in the South, John Randolph, of Roanoke, declared that "he had not purchased a dollar's worth from northern factories; and, so help him God! he never would; and, if southern gentlemen had one drop of the blood of their ancestors, they never would. He would neither eat, drink, nor wear anything from the north of the Patapsco. There were two remedies for the south; the first, a rigid non-consumption of American fabrics; and the second he would not indicate. It was not to be resorted to until the other had first been tried and failed." The cry of nullification arose from a deeper feeling than any the protecting policy could inflict. It was but an expression of that sensitiveness which the haughtiness of slave-holding and the jealousy of northern interference combined have engendered. A placard had been stuck up some years before in Philadelphia, defying the free States, and urging a separation. The words were: "The Potomac the boundary:—the negro States by themselves." Every man of discernment must see that there is a fatal want of cohesion and homogeneity between the two great sections of the Union; and that communities, in which

industry is either debased or discouraged, cannot be permanently incorporated with those that owe their prosperity and security to the wealth it creates and the respect it commands.

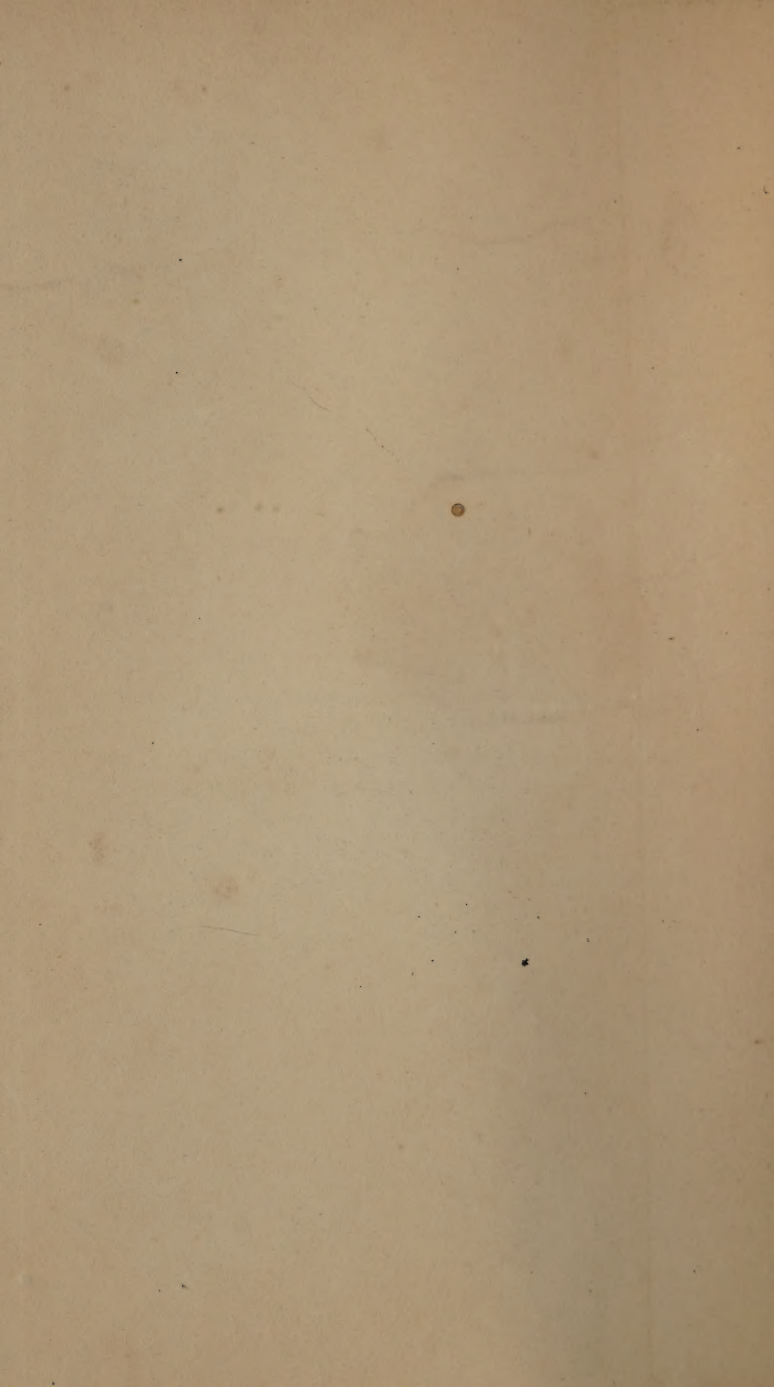
The federal form of government seems to be cherished by modern republicans because it is an instrument of domestic tyranny, as it was hated by their ancient prototypes because it was a shield against foreign oppression. But it was easier for the Romans to destroy it in Greece, than it will be for the Americans to preserve it at home\*.

\* “La République d’Achaïe, étoit formée par une association de villes libres ; le Sénat déclara que chaque ville se gouverneroit dorénavant par ses propres lois, sans dépendre d’une autorité commune. La République des Béotiens étoit pareillement une ligue de plusieurs villes ; mais, comme dans la guerre contre Persée, les unes servirent le parti de ce Prince, les autres celui des Romains, ceux-ci les reçurent en grace, moyennant la dissolution de l’alliance commune.”—Montesquieu—Grandeur et Decadence, &c. Chap. VI.

END OF VOL I.







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