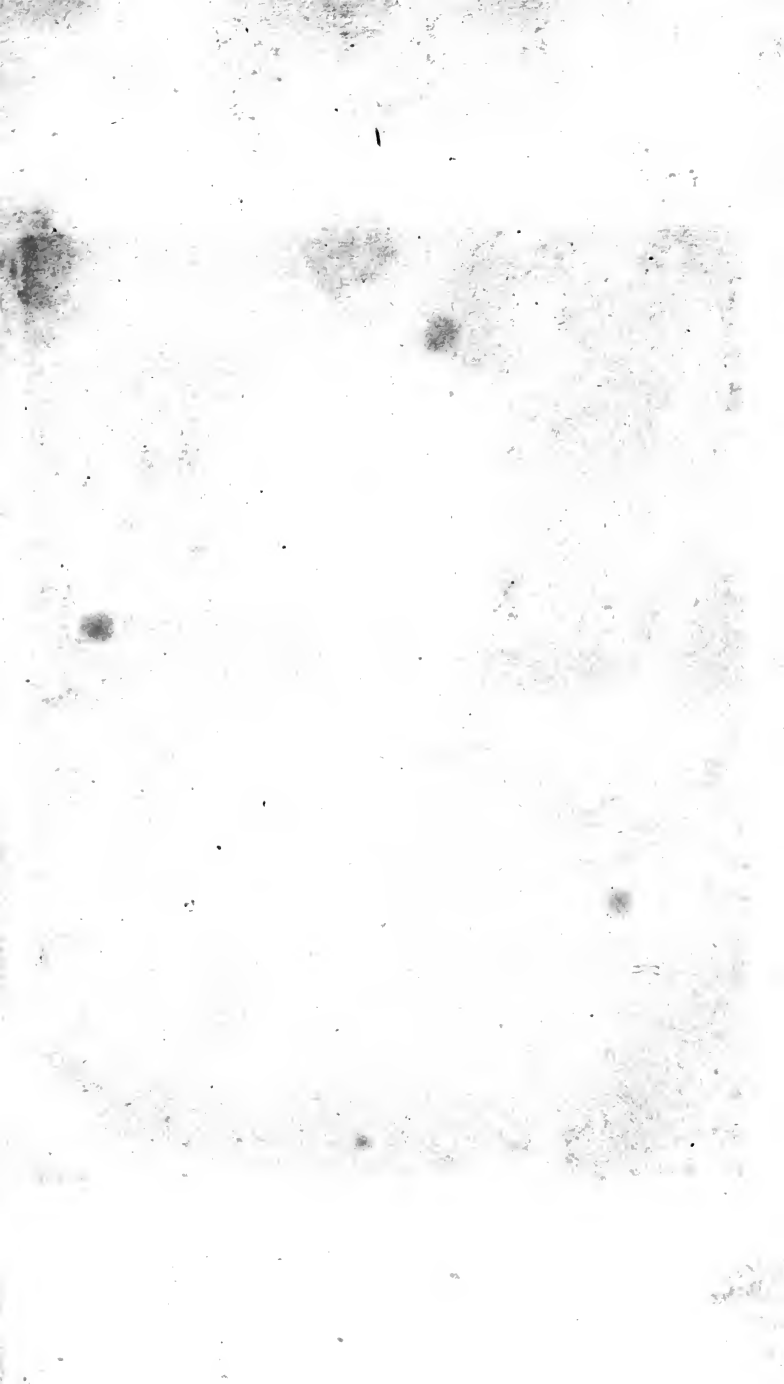


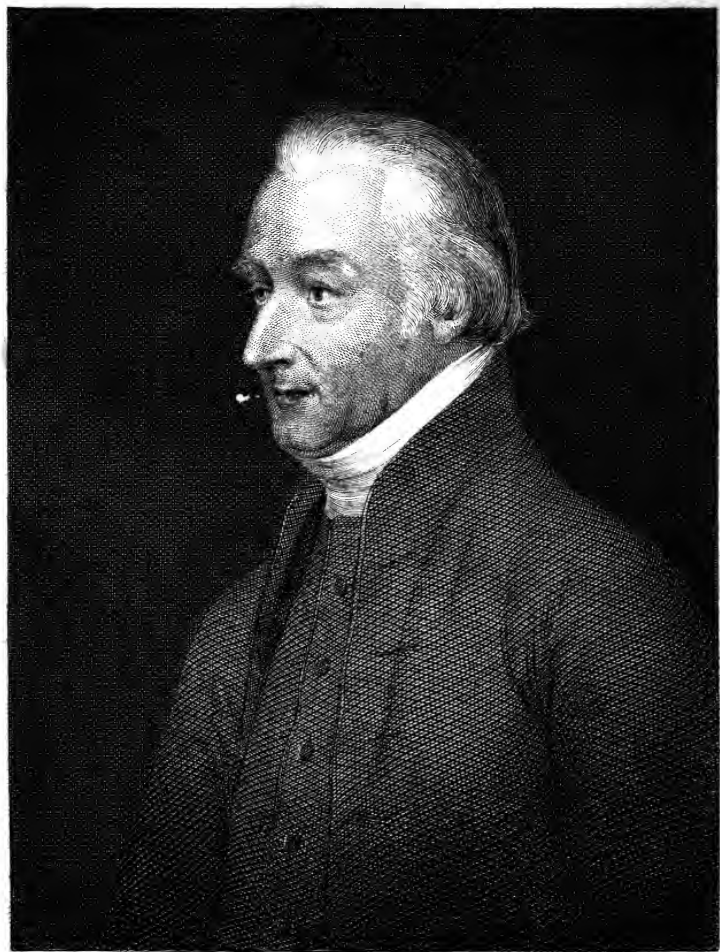




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le: a better portrait of Lindley Murray is to be found in
Burns's History of the Public School Society of New York, in
page 220.



M. G. W. H. W. C. C.

D. W. C. C. C.

Lindley Murray

MEMOIRS

OF

THE LIFE AND WRITINGS

OF

LINDLEY MURRAY:

IN A SERIES OF LETTERS,

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

WITH A PREFACE AND A CONTINUATION OF THE MEMOIRS,
BY ELIZABETH FRANK.

New York:

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P R E F A C E .



IN presenting this little volume to the public, I am solicitous to state the reasons which led to its publication ; and I flatter myself they will prove satisfactory.

The celebrity which the subject of these Memoirs had obtained, and the interest which he had excited, by his arduous and successful endeavours to promote the literary, moral, and religious improvement of youth, often induced me to think that, after his decease, a short and authentic account of his life and character, would be acceptable to the public. To that part of the public more immediately benefited by his labours, the work would, I apprehended, prove peculiarly pleasing.

Under these impressions, I made, at different periods, some notes and observations, preparatory to an undertaking of this nature. I was, however, sensible that, from various circumstances, particularly from my not having been acquainted with Mr. Murray till he was considerably advanced in life, I was not qualified to execute the task as I could wish. I was convinced too, that no person, except himself, possessed that accurate knowledge of the events of his life, and the formation of his character, which would render the work truly interesting and instructive. His friends in America had had but little intercourse with him, except by letter, since the fortieth year of his age : his friends in England had, of course, known him only since that period, when his character and principles were formed ; and from the ill state of his health, his subsequent life was spent in retirement. I had heard various reports respecting him, and I had also seen a printed account, which, though apparently not originating in any ill will, or in any ill design, were utterly void of foundation.* I was apprehensive,

* I do not, by any means, allude to a short biographical sketch, inserted in the *European Magazine*, 1803 ; and thence copied into various periodical publications : that account, as far as it goes, is perfectly authentic ; and, in every particular, strictly consistent with the tenour of these Memoirs.

that, after his death, some of these accounts, or others of a similar nature, might obtain currency, and even find their way into respectable publications, if not prevented by a true and well authenticated statement of facts.

These circumstances induced me earnestly to wish that he might become his own biographer. But I knew that the delicacy of his mind would, at least in the first instance, revolt at the proposal. I therefore contented myself with hinting to him my intention of writing, if I should survive him, a short account of his life; and I requested his assistance only in supplying me with a few materials, relative to the period preceding my acquaintance with him. It was not without many arguments, and much solicitation, that I could induce him to acknowledge the propriety of my proposal, and to promise compliance. The work, however, was not begun till long afterwards; and it was frequently suspended, on account of his numerous literary avocations, and the weak state of his health. At length, after many interruptions, and demurs respecting its propriety, it was completed in a series of letters addressed to myself. I was so well pleased with the performance; and I believed that it would be so much more agreeable and interesting in the author's own words and manner, than in any I could devise, that I relinquished my original idea. I could not be satisfied to receive what he had written, as materials only: but I strongly urged him to continue the work to the time of his writing; and to allow me, (if circumstances should seem to require the measure,) to publish it, after his decease, in the form in which he had written it. To this, after much consideration, he consented; continuing to express an apprehension, that neither the subject, nor the manner in which it is treated, is worthy of public notice and approbation: an opinion in which, I believe, few readers will concur.

As some persons may be inclined to think, that I acted improperly in inducing him to write these Memoirs, and afterwards to consent to their publication, I must, in justice to myself, be allowed to make a few observations on the subject. Many pious persons have written memoirs of their own lives,

and some even purposely for publication; and such works have been perused with much interest and edification by the most respectable part of the community. I should not have urged the proposal, had I not been persuaded that Mr. Murray's objections to it, had no other foundation than a humble sense of his own merit, and an unwillingness to intrude himself unnecessarily on the attention of the world; and that the removing of these objections, might, without doing him any injury, or exciting any improper sentiments in his mind, be the means of introducing to the public a pleasing and instructive little work. Without his consent, I should not have deemed myself authorized to publish it; fully concurring in sentiment with him, that the publishing of any letter, without permission from the writer, is, to say the least, a flagrant breach of decorum, of honour, and of that confidence which is the basis of all social and friendly intercourse.

If, notwithstanding this explanation, there should still, in the apprehension of any person, appear the slightest cause of censure, I trust that it will fall on the editor who first suggested the idea of the work, and strongly urged the execution of it; and not, in any degree, on the departed author. I can truly say, that every sentiment which he expressed, during the whole course of the discussion, was strictly consistent, on the one hand, with the integrity of his principles, and the delicacy of his feelings; and on the other, with the wish which he candidly avowed, of not unnecessarily withholding any thing, that might tend to the gratification of friendship, and of innocent or even laudable curiosity, if not to the promotion of higher objects.—The suggestion that the serious reflections with which this little work abounds, might be beneficial, especially to young persons, seemed much to reconcile him to the publication.

It may not be improper to state, that these Memoirs are published exactly as I received them from the author: I have neither added, nor diminished, any thing; not having thought myself at liberty, nor indeed having any wish, to make the slightest variation.

I have annexed to the *Memoirs*, a short account of the concluding years of the author's life, his character, and some remarks on his various publications : an addition that seemed necessary to complete the information, which this little volume is designed to convey. In what I have written, I am not sensible that I have, in any respect, departed from the exact truth. I can, on this occasion, fully adopt the sentiment which Dr. Beattie expresses with regard to his son: "In order to convey a favourable notion of the person of whom I speak, I have nothing to do but to tell the simple truth."

I had abundant opportunity of being acquainted with the life and character of the late much esteemed Lindley Murray. During many years, from motives of friendship to himself and his wife, I lived under his roof ; and afterwards, having removed into a house, which I had purchased in the suburbs of the city of York, about half a mile from his residence, I was in the habit of visiting them very frequently. Some readers may, indeed, think that I have given unnecessary proof of intimate acquaintance, by relating many particulars, which they may deem too minute. To them it may appear that I have, with an unhallowed or injudicious hand, removed the veil, which retirement had cast over my friend, and which shaded him from the glare of public observation. But it must be allowed, that in the representation which I have given of him, I have only exhibited him to the many as he appeared to the comparatively few, who were intimately acquainted with him ; and that the more he was known, the more he was loved and esteemed. In his character there was no affected singularity ; and in his habits, there were no peculiarities, except such as resulted from a judicious or necessary conformity to unavoidable circumstances. Nor was there any thing in his conduct, or even in the detail of his domestic arrangements, which required concealment ; or which could not bear the test of near approach, and close examination. I may further shield myself under the example and authority of Dr. Johnson. In his *Lives of the Poets*, he narrates, with evident satisfaction, what I am sure most persons will peruse with interest, many

particulars apparently more trivial than any which I have related: and in his *Rambler*, he judiciously observes; "The business of the biographer is to lead the thoughts into domestic privacies, and display the minute details of daily life."

I should with much pleasure, agreeably to my own wish, and to the suggestion of others, have enriched this work with a selection from Mr. Murray's letters, or with copious extracts from them: but I am not authorized to assume this privilege. On a particular occasion he received an application for leave to publish some of his letters; which, after mature deliberation, he declined giving. The subject was thus brought under his consideration; and in consequence he expressed, very strongly, both at that time and subsequently, his wish and request that after his decease, none of his letters should on any occasion, or in any manner, be published. And that this request might not be forgotten, nor his meaning misunderstood, he has left it in writing. He never, I am convinced, wrote a line of which he had cause to be ashamed: but his letters, though multifarious, were chiefly on subjects of private or family business, or on his literary concerns; or effusions written on the spur of the moment, relating to incidents or occasions of a local and temporary nature.—In objecting to the publication of his letters, he was influenced, not merely by modesty, but by various considerations.

Some years since, the proprietors of his works, with great liberality; requested him to allow them to have his portrait taken by an eminent artist; which I am sorry to say, he declined. Several little sketches were made, by various persons who occasionally visited him: but all of these had little if any resemblance of him, except a profile, which I have received through the kindness of Mr. Sansom of Philadelphia. It was taken by him, in 1799, when he was on a visit at Holdgate; but it has not yet been engraven. After Mr. Murray's decease, several persons went to view his remains: amongst others, Mr. Westoby, a miniature painter, who, for his own satisfaction, made a sketch of the features of the deceased;

from which he afterwards formed the portrait which is now annexed to this volume.

It is scarcely necessary to observe that, if any profit should arise to the editor, from the publication of Mr. Murray's Memoirs, it will, in conformity with his practice, be applied, like that on all his other works, to charitable and benevolent purposes.

I present to the public the Memoirs which my friend has written of his life, with a firm, but humble confidence, that they will meet a favourable reception; and that few readers will find any thing to regret in them but their brevity. They will perhaps not be unacceptable or uninteresting, as a correct and pleasing specimen of the epistolary style, and as the last composition that will be produced to the world, of an esteemed and highly useful writer; for with respect to the few manuscripts which he has left, none are prepared, or designed, for publication; and in regard to his letters, his request will, I doubt not, be held sacred. But this little volume possesses stronger and more important claims to favour and approbation than any I have yet mentioned. To the philosopher, it affords a striking instance of a character formed to a high degree of excellence, and rising into eminence, not by adventitious advantages, but chiefly by its own native energy and exertion; to the moralist, the virtuous principles which it recommends, and which, in some degree, it exemplifies from the earliest dawn of reason to the latest period of life, will doubtless be highly gratifying; to the young, it will, I trust, prove a stimulus to the due improvement of their intellectual and moral powers, and the dedication of them to the glory of their great Creator, and the benefit of their fellow-creatures: and on all, it will, I hope, forcibly inculcate the important lesson of pious acquiescence in the Divine Will, and the duty and happiness of cultivating, even under trying and discouraging circumstances, a contented, cheerful, and benevolent disposition.

The Mount, York,

August, 1826.



After a friendship of long continuance,
and now, at the age of Eighty years, I still
remain affectionately &c.

Lindley Murray

MEMOIRS,

&c.

LETTER I.

My dear Friend,

I HAVE not forgotten the repeated and urgent requests which have been made to me, to communicate some memoirs of my life, especially of its earlier periods, for the gratification of friendship. But a reluctance to write so particularly on the subject of myself, and my own concerns, has hitherto prevented me from engaging in a work of this nature. I can not, however, any longer refuse to comply with a proposal, which is supported by the soothing recommendations of esteem and regard, and by a friendship which has subsisted between us for

many years. But after all, I am doubtful whether any parts of such a life as mine has been, can afford much satisfaction, or answer the expectations which may have been formed on the subject. Perhaps, indeed, when I shall have bidden adieu to this transient scene, the events here recorded, may acquire an interest, which, at present, they do not possess. If this should be the case, and they should sometimes excite the recollection of our friendship, and produce reflections of a pleasing or useful nature, they will not have been wholly written in vain. With these views then, I enter on my little history. And as it will have some advantages, I shall form the narrative into a series of familiar letters.

It is always a delicate point to speak, or to write, properly, concerning one's self. But as I have been persuaded to undertake a work involving this difficulty, I must accommodate myself to it, as well as I am able. Being at once the subject and the narrator, it will not be possible to prevent a very frequent recurrence of the obnoxious pronoun. I will, however, study so to conduct this biographical sketch, as to avoid every species of undue self prominence, as well as to repress whatever may be considered as false delicacy. If I should sometimes err, in prosecuting these intentions, I have no doubt the veil

of indulgence and friendship will be thrown over my imperfections.

I was born in the year 1745, at Swetara, near Lancaster, in the state of Pennsylvania. My parents were of respectable characters, and in the middle station of life. My father possessed a good flour mill at Swetara: but being of an enterprising spirit, and anxious to provide handsomely for his family, he made several voyages to the West Indies, in the way of trade, by which he considerably augmented his property. Pursuing his inclinations, he, in time, acquired large possessions, and became one of the most respectable merchants in America.

In the pursuit of business, he was steady and indefatigable. During the middle period of his life, he had extensive concerns in ships; and was engaged in a variety of other mercantile affairs. But this great and multifarious employment, never appeared to agitate or oppress his mind: he was distinguished for equanimity and composure. And I have often heard it remarked, that by his conversation and deportment, no person would have imagined, that he had such a weight of care upon him. When in the company of his friends, he was so thoroughly unbent, that persons unacquainted with the nature and variety of his business, might naturally suppose that he had very little employment. This trait may be

justly considered as an evidence of strong powers of mind. These had been cultivated by attention to business, and by much intercourse with the world. But my father did not possess the advantages of a liberal education; by which his talents and virtues might have been still more extensively useful.

My mother was a woman of an amiable disposition, and remarkable for mildness, humanity, and liberality of sentiment. She was indeed, a faithful and affectionate wife, a tender mother, and a kind mistress. I recollect with emotions of affection and gratitude, her unwearied solicitude for my health and happiness. This excellent mother died some years after I had been settled in life. And though I had cause to mourn for the loss of her, yet I had reason to be thankful to Divine Providence, that I had been blessed with her for so long a period, and particularly through the dangerous seasons of childhood and youth.

Both my parents, who belonged to the society of Friends, were concerned to promote the religious welfare of their children. They often gave us salutary admonition, and trained us up to attend the public worship of God. The Holy Scriptures were read in the family: a duty which, when regularly and devoutly performed, must be fraught with the most beneficial effects. I

recollect being, at one time, in a situation of the room, where I observed that my father, on reading these inspired volumes to us, was so much affected as to shed tears. This, which I suppose was frequently the case, made a pleasing and profitable impression on my young mind, which I have often remembered with peculiar satisfaction.—Our family was rather numerous. My parents had twelve children, of whom I was the eldest. But the course of time has reduced us to a small number. At the present period, (the summer of 1806,) only four of us remain.

That activity of body, for which I was remarkable in youth and mature life, commenced at an early age.* When I was only nine months

* The first months of the author's life afforded no promise either of bodily or mental vigour. Till he was about half a year old, he was almost perpetually crying. His countenance gave no indication of intelligence. His mother was little aware of the comfort which she should afterwards receive from him, and of the honourable distinction which awaited him. She often said, that if, at that time, Providence had been pleased to take away her first-born, she should have thought the dispensation merciful, both to the poor little infant and its parents. But after that period, his health gradually improved; and his strength, spirit, and activity, exceeded his age. From various accounts, and from many little anecdotes, which I have heard, I can not but conclude, that his childhood and youth were lovely; and formed a natural and beautiful prelude to the wisdom, piety, and benevolence, which his advanced years exhibited. Though

old, I frequently escaped, as I have been informed, from the care of the family; and, unnoticed by them, made my way from the house to the mill, which were more than a hundred yards distant from each other. As soon as I could run about, I proved to be, not only an active, but a mischievous child. I played many tricks, which did not denote the best disposition, and which gave a wrong bias to my vivacity. This perverse turn of mind might have been checked in the bud, if it had received suitable, early correction.

But I had a very fond grandmother, with whom I was a great favourite, and who often protected me from proper chastisement, when I richly deserved it. This indulgence gave full scope to my propensities; and prevented, for a time, that happy restraint, which is of so much importance to the disposition and habits of children, and which has so much influence on their happiness through life. The irregular vivacity

from his extraordinary vivacity, and exuberance of spirits, he was inclined to playfulness, and frolic, and, at times, to some degree of mischievousness; yet he possessed every quality that can adorn that period of life: activity of body and mind; an ardent desire for knowledge; docility in submitting to superior reason; a mild, obliging temper; a heart, grateful, affectionate, and highly susceptible of religious feelings.

EDITOR.

which I possessed, received, however, a very salutary control, by my being afterwards placed under the care of a discreet and sensible aunt, who was determined to bring me into some degree of order and submission. The great indulgence with which I had been treated, must have rendered the contest rather severe: for, on a particular occasion, I embraced the opportunity of getting out of a window, and running about on the roof of a small tenement; which was, however, so high, that a fall would have endangered my life. My aunt was in great distress; and I believe endeavoured, but in vain, to influence my fears, and, by this means, induce me to return. I moved about for a while, in this perilous situation, and probably enjoyed my temporary independence. She, at last, with great prudence, entreated me very tenderly to come to her. But though this affected me, I did not comply till I had obtained her promise, that I should not be corrected. She kept her word; but I think she did not relax, in any degree, the general rigour of her discipline towards me. I was at length completely subdued, and brought into regular obedience: and this event proved comfortable to myself, as well as relieving to every one that had any care of me. To this good aunt I am under particular obligations. Her wise and salutary management, may have

prepared me for many enjoyments, and prevented many miseries of life.

At an early period, about my sixth or seventh year, I was sent to the city of Philadelphia, that I might have the advantage of a better school than the country afforded. I well remember being some time at the academy of Philadelphia; the English department of which was then conducted by the truly respectable Ebenezer Kinnersley. He exercised great care over his pupils, and from what I recollect of this instructor of youth, and what I have read of him, I have reason to regret, that my continuance in that seminary was of short duration. I remember to have read there with pleasure, even at that age, some passages in "The Travels of Cyrus;" and to have been agreeably exercised in the business of parsing sentences.

From this academy I was taken, to accompany my parents to North Carolina. My father conceived, that some commercial advantages would attend a temporary residence in that province. When I first landed there, I was much delighted with roving about, after a long confinement on ship board. In one of these little excursions, I found a few shillings; which were readily expended in some loaves of bread, for the refreshment of the sailors. These people had been kind to me, during the voyage; and I

could not, therefore, think of any more pleasing application of my treasure, than in treating them with some excellent fresh bread. Their grateful acceptance, and enjoyment, of this little gift, was doubtless a rich reward for my attention to them.

In the year 1753, my father left Carolina; and, with his family, settled at New-York. In this city, I was placed at a good school, in which I made the usual progress of young learners. Being extremely fond of play, I believe I rarely neglected any opportunity of indulging this propensity. At the times of vacation, I generally enjoyed myself with diversions, till the period for returning to school approached. I then applied myself vigorously to the task that had been previously assigned me; and I do not recollect that I ever failed to perform it, to the satisfaction of my teacher. A heedless boy, I was far from reflecting, how much more prudent it would have been, if I had, in the first place, secured the lesson, and afterwards indulged myself in my playful pursuits. These would not then have been interrupted, by uneasy reflections on the subject of my task, or by a consciousness of unwarrantable negligence.—Sometimes I absented myself from school, to enjoy a greater degree of play and amusement. During these pleasures, the idea of impending correction, would occa-

sionally come across my mind : but I resolutely repelled it, as an intruder which would unnecessarily imbitter my present enjoyment. I concluded that if I must be corrected, I would not lose the pleasure I then had : and I gave full scope to my diversions. Had I allowed myself proper time to consider consequences, I might have prevented both the disgrace and the pain of punishment, as well as that degree of insensibility to dishonourable action, which such fearless irregularities are apt to produce.

About this period, a very happy impression was made upon my mind, by a piece which was given me to write, and in the performance of which I had to exhibit a specimen of my best hand writing. The sheet was decorated round its edges with a number of pleasing figures, displayed with taste and simplicity. In the centre, my performance was to be contained. This was a transcript of the visit and salutation of the angels to the shepherds, near Bethlehem, who were tending their flocks by night. The beauty of the sheet ; the property I was to have in it ; and the distinction which I expected from performing the work in a handsome manner ; prepared my mind for relishing the solemn narrative and the interesting language of the angels to the shepherds. I was highly pleased with the whole. The impression was so strong and de-

lightful, that it has often occurred to me, through life, with great satisfaction; and, at this hour, it is remembered with pleasure. The passage has scarcely ever been read by me, without emotions of an interesting nature. Independently of the attractive circumstances which I have depicted, the narrative and message are, indeed, most important and affecting to every serious mind.— If parents and others who have the care of young persons, would be studious to seize occasions of presenting the Holy Scriptures to them, under favourable and inviting points of view, it would probably be attended with the happiest effects. A veneration for these sacred volumes, and a pleasure in perusing them, may be excited by agreeable and interesting associations; and these impressions, thus early made, there is reason to believe, would accompany the mind through the whole of life: a consideration which is of the utmost importance.

But though I might sometimes be disposed, at this period of life, to think and to act properly, I was often impelled by inclinations of a very different nature. I had a curious propensity to discover and observe the natural dispositions of animals. And this curiosity was, in some instances, so strong as to make me overlook the uneasiness which, by teasing them, was occasioned to the animals themselves. I was not

naturally of a cruel disposition; but was rather pleased to see the animal creation about me, enjoy themselves. The propensity I have mentioned was, however, sometimes unwarrantably indulged: so much so, as to mark a depraved turn of mind, which, even now, gives me pain to recollect.—I ought to have reflected, that all animals have assigned to them by the Author of nature, a pleasurable existence; and that it is our duty to second his intention, as we have opportunity; and especially to avoid all occasions of inflicting upon them unnecessary pain. An additional excitement to this duty, is, that whilst we encourage a disposition to promote the pleasures, or increase the pains, of the animals which surround us, we are cherishing the general spirit of benevolence, or its contrary; which will naturally be extended towards our fellow-creatures. In this point of view, it is of very great importance to cultivate, in young persons especially, proper dispositions and conduct towards the creatures endued with animal life.

The unwarrantable curiosity which I have just mentioned, continued to operate, in some degree, for many years; and, occasionally, showed itself long after I was grown up. I recollect a particular instance of it, which was very near proving fatal to me; and which, though a little out of the course of my narrative, may not

improperly be related in this place. As nearly as I can recollect, the incident was as follows.

When I was in England, in the year 1771, I went to see the elephants, which were kept at the Queen's stables, Buckingham-house. Whilst I was gratifying myself with observing the huge creatures, and their various actions and peculiarities, I took occasion to withdraw from one of them a part of the hay, which he was collecting on the floor with his proboscis. I did this with my cane; and watched the animal very narrowly, to prevent a stroke from him, which I had reason to expect. The keeper said that I had greatly displeased the elephant, and that he would never forget the injury. I thought but little of this admonition, at the time. But about six weeks afterwards, when I accompanied some other persons, on a visit to the elephants, I found that, though probably several hundred people had been there since my preceding visit, the animal soon recognised me. I did not attempt to molest or tease him at all; and I had no conception of any concealed resentment. On a sudden, however, when I was supposed to be within the reach of his proboscis, he threw it towards me with such violence, that if it had struck me, I should probably have been killed, or have received some material injury. Happily for me, I perceived his intention, and being very active, I

sprung out of his reach. To every other person present, he was gentle and good-tempered; and his enmity to me arose, as the keeper declared, solely from the circumstance of the little affront which I had formerly put upon him.—This incident made some impression upon me; and perhaps contributed to subdue a curiosity, which could not be gratified but at the expense of the feelings of others.

It is now time to make a pause in the narrative. My next letter will pursue it, from the period of my leaving school, and being trained to business.

I am affectionately, &c.

LETTER II.

My dear Friend,

It is doubtless of great importance to the interest and happiness of young persons, as well as of some consequence to their friends and the public, that their inclinations, genius, and bodily constitutions, should be consulted, when they are to be entered on an employment, which will probably continue for life. If the bent of their mind and other qualifications, are duly regarded, success may reasonably be expected: if they are opposed, the progress must be slow, and the ultimate attainments very limited.

At an early age, I was placed in the counting house of my father, who was desirous of training me to the mercantile profession. I did not, however, relish this employ, and the confinement to which it subjected me. I wished to be any thing rather than a merchant. And this perhaps may be accounted for, by the strictness with which I was kept to business, and the undue restraints as I conceived, which were put,

at that early period, on my lively spirits and allowable indulgences. My father kept steady to his purpose. He probably thought that my dislike to the business would, in time, abate. He sent me to Philadelphia, influenced, perhaps, by a hope, that a residence with a merchant at a distance from home, would better reconcile me to the employment. But this expedient did not answer his expectations; and, after some time, he consented to my return to New-York.

About this period, I contracted a taste for reading, and a desire for a greater degree of literary improvement. The pleasures of study, and the advantages and distinctions, which learning and knowledge had conferred on individuals who fell under my observation, augmented my wishes for the acquisition of science and literature.—Another experiment was, however, made to reconcile me to a mercantile life. My father presented me with a considerable number of silver watches, which he designed as a little trading stock; and which he had just imported, with many other articles, from England. By having the property of these watches, and by the prospect of increasing that property on the sale of them, and thus extending my concerns, in fresh purchases with the product, I began to relish the occupation. The spirit of trading took hold of me; and I contemplated with pleasure, the

future enlargement of my funds. In short, I entered into the business with ardour and satisfaction. At the same time I continued in my father's counting house; and occasionally assisted in the routine of his commercial affairs.—I doubt not, that he surveyed this success of his schemes for my advantage, with peculiar complacency. But not long after the commencement of my trading engagements, an incident occurred, which seemed to blast all his expectations, and to threaten the most serious consequences to myself.

I have sometimes hesitated, respecting the propriety of communicating this little piece of my history. But as it is intimately connected with events of this period, and contains some traits of disposition and character in early life, I have at length concluded to relinquish my scruples on this subject. The following is the occurrence to which I allude.

Though my father, as the events already mentioned demonstrate, had an earnest desire to promote my interest and happiness, yet he appeared to me, in some respects, and on some occasions, rather too rigorous. Among other regulations, he had, with true parental prudence, given me general directions not to leave the house, in an evening, without previously obtaining his approbation. I believe that his permission was generally and readily pro-

cured. But a particular instance occurred, in which, on account of his absence, I could not apply to him. I was invited by an uncle to spend the evening with him; and trusting to this circumstance, and to the respectability of my company, I ventured to break the letter, though I thought not the spirit, of the injunction which had been laid upon me. The next morning, I was taken by my father, into a private apartment, and remonstrated with for my disobedience. In vain were my apologies. Nothing that I could offer, was considered as an extenuation of my having broken a plain and positive command. In short, I received a very severe chastisement; and was threatened with a repetition of it, for every similar offence. Being a lad of some spirit, I felt very indignant at such treatment, under circumstances which, as I conceived, admitted of so much alleviation. I could not bear it; and I resolved to leave my father's house, and seek in a distant country, what I conceived to be an asylum, or a better fortune. Young and ardent, I did not want confidence in my own powers; and I presumed that, with health and strength which I possessed in a superior degree, I could support myself, and make my way happily through life. I meditated on my plan; and came to the resolution of taking my books and all my property with me, to a town in the in-

terior of the country; where I had understood there was an excellent seminary, kept by a man of distinguished talents and learning. Here I purposed to remain, till I had learned the French language, which I thought would be of great use to me; and till I had acquired as much other improvement as my funds would admit. With this stock of knowledge, I presumed that I should set out in life under much greater advantages, than I should possess by entering immediately into business, with my small portion of property, and great inexperience. I was then about fourteen years of age. My views being thus arranged, I procured a new suit of clothes, entirely different from those which I had been accustomed to wear, packed up my little all and left the city, without exciting any suspicion of my design, till it was too late to prevent its accomplishment.

In a short time I arrived at the place of destination. I settled myself immediately as a boarder in the seminary, and commenced my studies. The prospect which I entertained was so luminous and cheering, that, on the whole, I did not regret the part I had acted. Past recollections and future hopes combined to animate me. The chief uneasiness which I felt in my present situation, must have arisen from the reflection of having lost the society and attentions

of a most affectionate mother, and of having occasioned sorrow to her feeling mind. But as I had passed the Rubicon, and believed I could not be comfortable at home, I contented myself with the thought, that the pursuit of the objects before me, was better calculated than any other, to produce my happiness. In this quiet retreat, I had as much enjoyment as my circumstances were adapted to convey. The pleasure of study, and the glow of a fond imagination, brightened the scenes around me. And the consciousness of a state of freedom and independence, undoubtedly contributed to augment my gratifications, and to animate my youthful heart. But my continuance in this delightful situation, was not of long duration. Circumstances of an apparently trivial nature, concurred to overturn the visionary fabric I had formed, and to bring me again to the paternal roof.

I had a particular friend, a youth about my own age, who resided at Philadelphia. I wished to pay him a short visit, and then resume my studies. We met according to appointment, at an inn on the road. I enjoyed his society, and communicated to him my situation and views. But before I returned to my retreat, an occurrence took place which occasioned me to go to Philadelphia. When I was about to leave that city, as I passed through one of the streets, I

met a gentleman who had some time before dined at my father's house. He expressed great pleasure on seeing me; and inquired when I expected to leave the city. I told him I was then on the point of setting off. He thought the occasion very fortunate for him. He had just been with a letter to the post-office; but found that he was too late. The letter, he said, was of importance; and he begged that I would deliver it with my own hand, and as soon as I arrived at New-York, to the person for whom it was directed. Surprised by the request, and unwilling to state to him my situation, I engaged to take good care of the letter.

My new residence was at Burlington, about twenty miles from Philadelphia. I travelled towards it rather pensive, and uncertain what plan to adopt respecting the letter. I believe that I sometimes thought of putting it into the post-office; sometimes, of hiring a person to deliver it. But the confidence which had been reposed in me; the importance of the trust; and my tacit engagement to deliver it personally; operated so powerfully on my mind, that after I had rode a few miles, I determined, whatever risk and expense I might incur, to hire a carriage for the purpose, to go to New-York as speedily as possible, deliver the letter, and return immediately. My design, so far as it respected the

charge of the letter, was completely accomplished. I delivered it, according to the direction, and my own engagement. I was, however, obliged to remain in New-York that night, as the packet boat, in which I had crossed the bay, could not sail till the next morning. This was a mortifying circumstance, as I wished to return very expeditiously. The delay was, however, unavoidable. I put up at an inn, near the wharf from which the packet was to sail in the morning, and waited for that period with some anxiety.

I thought I had conducted my business with so much caution, that no one acquainted with me, had known of my being in the city. I had, however, been noticed by some person who knew me; and, in the evening, to my great surprise, my uncle, whom I have mentioned before, paid me a visit. He treated me affectionately, and with much prudent attention; and, after some time, strenuously urged me to go with him to my father's house: but I firmly refused to comply with his request. At length he told me, that my mother was greatly distressed on account of my absence; and that I should be unkind and undutiful, if I did not see her. This made a strong impression upon me. I resolved, therefore, to spend a short time with her, and then return to my lodgings. The meeting which I had with my dear and tender parent was truly

affecting to me. Every thing that passed, evinced the great affection she had for me, and the sorrow into which my departure from home had plunged her. After I had been some time in the house, my father unexpectedly came in: and my embarrassment, under these circumstances, may easily be conceived. It was, however, instantly removed, by his approaching me in the most affectionate manner. He saluted me very tenderly; and expressed great satisfaction on seeing me again. Every degree of resentment was immediately dissipated. I felt myself happy, in perceiving the pleasure which my society could afford to persons so intimately connected with me, and to whom I was so much indebted. We spent the evening together in love and harmony: and I abandoned entirely, without a moment's hesitation, the idea of leaving a house and family, which were now dearer to me than ever.

The next day, a person was sent to the place of my retreat, to settle all accounts, and to bring back my property. I was taken into still greater favour than formerly; and was never reproached by my parents, for the trouble and anxiety which I had brought upon them. My father probably perceived that I felt sufficiently on the occasion; and he was, perhaps, conscious, that the discipline he had exerted, was not altogether justifi-

fiable.—When I reflect on this rash and imprudent adventure; on the miseries in which it might have involved me; and on the singular manner in which I was restored to the bosom of my family; I cannot avoid seeing the hand of Divine Providence in my preservation; and feeling that I ought to be humbly and deeply thankful for the gracious interposition.

Before I quit this subject, I must observe, that soon after I had left home, inquiries were made to discover the place to which I had retreated. I knew that this was the case: but I had made up my mind not to return, and subject myself again to a treatment which I had felt to be improper and unmerited. I therefore declined all the proposals and entreaties of individuals who were friends to the family, and who endeavoured to shake the resolutions I had formed. And I am persuaded that, at this period, nothing would have induced me to relinquish them, but a security against the repetition of the harsh discipline which I had experienced. I rejoice, however, that a train of events so unexpected, and so contrary to my fixed purposes, happily brought me again to the paternal mansion, and settled me safely under its protection.

A short time after I had returned to my father's family, I solicited the privilege of having a private tutor, to instruct me in classical knowl-

edge and liberal studies. With this request, my father very generously complied. A tutor of talents and learning, was procured for me: and I pursued this new career with great alacrity of mind. I sat up late, and rose early, in the prosecution of my studies. In the cold season of the year, I had fuel brought at night into my study, that I might have it ready for kindling a fire at the time of rising, which was frequently before daylight. My tutor was very attentive, and gave me great encouragement to persevere. He stimulated my application, by portraying the advantages of science, and by the commendations which he bestowed on my progress. This close attention to study, and confinement to the house, did not, however, agree with my constitution. My sickly hue proclaimed the intenseness of my application. I found it necessary, therefore, to abate the ardency of my pursuit, and to intermix bodily exercise with my studies. This procedure had a happy effect. I continued regularly employed in my literary occupation, and could not but be pleased with the advancement I had made, with the augmentation of knowledge, and the improvement of my mental powers.

It is, however, proper to observe, that my attainments under this tutor, were very limited. They served indeed to improve my taste, and

increase my desire, for learning and knowledge. But this taste and desire, were not, at any future period of life, accompanied by that ardour and steadiness of pursuit, which often ensure great success: and my stock of knowledge and literary improvement has, consequently, been always far from extensive.

Though I was a youth of great vivacity, and, by my imprudence and love of pleasure, I had been led into many follies and transgressions; yet I always entertained a high opinion of the enjoyments which piety and virtue bestow; and I venerated the character of those whom I deemed to be truly religious. Such was my opinion of their attainments and happiness, that I probably conceived them to be more exempt from trouble, and more raised above the anxieties of life, than they really were. I knew not the trials of their virtue; the continual watchfulness necessary to resist temptations; their affliction on viewing the crimes and lapses of their fellow-creatures; their sorrowful recollection of their own past offences, joined to the sense of much remaining imperfection; and their solicitude, lest, amidst the changes of the human state, something might, at last, take place, that would prevent their entrance into the mansions of eternal peace. If, indeed, I could have estimated these deductions from the enjoyments of pious

and virtuous minds, I believe that I should still have pronounced them the happiest of their species, even in this life: because their satisfactions were of the purest and most elevated kind; and because their troubles arose from the most generous feelings, and were often mingled with the sweetest consolation, and the noblest hopes. This high opinion of the happiness of virtue, and the respectability of its possessors, (which I have never ceased to entertain,) made me listen, with reverence and affection, to their admonitions. Every thing of this nature, and the animated encouragements to a religious life, which I heard from these exemplary persons, whether in public or in private, made a good impression on my mind; and sometimes produced regret, to perceive how distant I was from that felicity, which I believed these good people possessed.

But whatever might be my follies and actual deviations from the line of rectitude, my principles were never disturbed by infidelity or scepticism. I always had the happiness, since I was capable of reflecting on the subject, of having my sentiments fixed in favour of the Christian religion; and no argument that I ever met with, in company or books, had any injurious effects upon me. Some of my acquaintance were either deists or sceptics: but I always found replies to

their reasonings, which perfectly satisfied my own mind. This happy persuasion I attribute, under Divine Providence, to my having occasionally looked into, early in life, Leland's View of the Deistical Writers; Butler's Analogy of Religion, Natural and Revealed, to the Constitution and Course of Nature; Sherlock on Providence; and Sherlock's Discourses. These books, with some others, were the means of communicating to my mind, such a survey of the Christian religion and the Divine economy, that I was never much, if at all, embarrassed, by the plausible schemes and objections, which men of prejudiced minds and short-sighted views of religion, had fabricated and produced.—I am firmly persuaded, that the perplexity and doubts, with regard to Christianity and its evidences, which many sensible and well-disposed minds have encountered, and the absolute infidelity of others, may be fairly attributed to the scanty information which they received, on these subjects, during the period of their education, or that by which it was immediately succeeded.

Not long after I had commenced my studies under a private tutor, I entered into a society of young persons, for the purpose of debating on subjects of importance and difficulty, and of exercising ourselves in the art of elocution. The society met weekly; and as the members knew

the subject that would be considered at their next meeting, they had opportunity of preparing themselves for the discussion. I generally employed a considerable portion of this preparatory time, in reading books on the question; in reflecting attentively upon it; in collecting the various arguments which bore upon the subject; in considering objections, with the answers to them; and in disposing the whole into some method and order. This institution enlarged my stock of knowledge, promoted the business of arranging my ideas, and probably produced a small degree of correctness and fluency of expression.—These are some of the benefits which result from societies of this nature. But they frequently produce, in young persons, a spirit of disputation and loquacity; and, at least, an inclination to scepticism, even on subjects of great importance. By discovering how much may be plausibly advanced against established truths, and by exerting its ingenuity in support of error, the youthful mind, attracted by the gloss of novelty, and unaccustomed to distinguish between the solid and the superficial, may lose, or abate, its veneration for truth, virtue, and religion.

I scarcely need say, that it is of great consequence to young persons, to have a number of important truths, with the arguments which support them, clearly settled in their minds.

These established principles, as far as they extend, not only satisfy the understanding, and direct, with confidence, the practice of life; but serve as foundations to support other truths, to the investigation of which the intercourse with men unavoidably leads. If the juvenile mind were duly impressed with truths thus evident and well supported, it would probably acquire such a degree of strength and perspicacity, such a taste for rectitude of sentiment, as would indispose it for the reception of erroneous and sophistical positions. It would, therefore, be highly desirable to cultivate, amongst young persons, such little societies as I have described, for the regular discussion of interesting topics, provided they could be so conducted as to avoid the evils, with which they are too often connected. If these conferences could be managed under the superintendence of respectable persons, whose sound judgment, and comprehensive minds replete with science and literature, would enable them to sum up the arguments advanced, with correctness and liberality; to give the side of truth the advantages of eloquence and dignity; and to detect the fallacy of error, and the subtleties of false reasoning; the benefit of such societies would certainly be obtained with the fewest possible disadvantages. But if this privilege cannot be procured, perhaps the next to it

would be, to select, from the members of the society, a few persons the most distinguished for talents, learning, and virtue; who should, by turns, officiate as presidents; and whose special business it should be, to support the cause of truth and reason, and to lay open distinctly every species of sophistry, which might occur in the course of the various discussions. The first of these plans would certainly, in a superior degree, promote order, and inspire a chastened emulation, amongst the members of these little societies. It would, in fact, confer upon them a decorum and respectability, which in many points of view, would prove highly and permanently advantageous to young persons.

As my mind improved, and my views enlarged, I became still more attached to literary pursuits. I wished for a profession connected with these pursuits; and the study of the law particularly attracted my attention. When I was about seventeen or eighteen years of age, I expressed this inclination to my father: but it met with his decided opposition; and he took great pains to divert my thoughts from the subject. He represented the temptations which I should have to encounter in the practice of the law; and which, he said, would probably lead me to deviate from the principles and conduct of that religious society of which I was a member. He

displayed the advantages I should possess, both in point of emolument and respectability, by the situation in which he was able to place me, as a merchant; and earnestly entreated me to relinquish all prospects of a mode of life, to which there were attached so many difficulties; and to bend my inclinations towards an employment which, I must know, promised almost certain success. I believe I was properly sensible of my father's wishes to establish me advantageously in the world; and of the concern it gave him, to perceive my rooted objection to an occupation, which he very justly considered as both lucrative and honourable. But I found that my inclination was not to be controlled by motives of interest; and though I did not then urge the point, I kept my object steadily in view. After some time had elapsed, I applied myself again vigorously to the subject: but I adopted a new mode of proceeding. I stated the case at large in writing. My dissatisfaction with the mercantile employment, however beneficial and respectable it might be, and my earnest desire for a literary profession, were fully set forth. All the arguments which I could muster in support of this propensity, and the benefits which it was likely to produce, were enumerated; and every objection which had been advanced against my views and wishes, was distinctly brought for-

ward; and such answers given to the whole, as I thought were satisfactory.

This little performance which contained several pages, was shown to my father; it was also occasionally shown to some of our friends, particularly to a gentleman of the law, Benjamin Kissam, Esq. who was my father's counsellor, and a man of eminence and integrity in his profession. The statement had a most favourable effect. The counsellor himself became my advocate: and, in a short time, my father consented to place me under his care and tuition. A considerable sum of money was advanced to him by my father as a fee for initiating me, in the business of my new and favourite occupation, and I entered into it with great alacrity. Time now rolled on very pleasantly; and the hope of being settled in a profession adapted to my wishes, gilded my future prospects. After some time, my father very generously presented me with an excellent library, which comprehended both books of law, and some parts of general literature; and which were well calculated to aid and invigorate my studies.—I cannot, however, say that I always found the study of the law to be pleasant. It contains many barren and uninviting tracts, and extensive fields of laborious employment. It abounds with discordant views, with intricate and perplexing discussions, and

requires much deep and patient investigation. But I was not discouraged with my occupation. It was the profession of my own choice : it was a respectable business : and it promised to afford me a competent support.

The celebrated John Jay, Esq. late governor of the state of New York, was my fellow student, in the office of our worthy patron, for about two years. His talents and virtues gave, at that period, pleasing indications of future eminence. He was remarkable for strong reasoning powers, comprehensive views, indefatigable application, and uncommon firmness of mind. With these qualifications, added to a just taste in literature, and ample stores of learning and knowledge, he was happily prepared to enter on that career of public virtue, by which he was afterwards honourably distinguished, and made instrumental in promoting the good of his country. This meritorious person, after having occupied some of the highest stations, which the United States could confer upon him, and having lived to see his country abounding in men of eminence and talents, conceived it to be allowable for him, perhaps his duty, to withdraw from the fatigues of office, the contests and anxieties of public life. As a private country gentleman, he has lived on his estate, not far from the city of New York, for many years. Here, in the bosom of an amiable

family, and in useful private occupations, he has, I trust, enjoyed that tranquillity which he sought. I hope that whilst the past affords him many pleasing recollections, and the future is contemplated with composure, the evening of his life will be brightened with the most cheering and animating prospects. This tribute to the merit of an old friend, will not, I believe, be deemed an impertinent digression from the work in which I am engaged.—To the regular progress of that work, I now return.

After four years from the commencement of my law studies, in the office of my truly respectable instructor, I was called to the bar; and received a license to practise, both as counsel and attorney, according to the custom of that time, in all the courts of the province of New-York. I soon commenced business, and prosecuted it with success. It answered the expectations I had formed; and I believe my family and friends were satisfied with the prospects which attended me.

Before I entered into business, and about the twentieth year of my age, I conceived a strong attachment and affection for a young woman of personal attractions, good sense, a most amiable disposition, and of a worthy and respectable family. It was not long, before I perceived that

my regard met with a favourable reception. Time, and opportunity of knowing each other, confirmed our attachment; and after two years' acquaintance, we had the satisfaction of being united in the tender bonds of marriage.

We have lived together more than forty years; and through the whole course of that period, she has been to me a truly affectionate and excellent wife. In all our varied conditions of life, I have received from her the most unequivocal proofs of attachment, and solicitude for my welfare. During my long confinement, on account of bodily infirmities, she has cheerfully met our privations; tenderly sympathized with me; and been cordially disposed to forego her own ease, to afford me assistance and comfort. She has, indeed, been a great blessing to me; and I have abundant cause to be deeply thankful to God, for this unmerited favour, and its continuance to the present time. It yields me great satisfaction, to perceive that our esteem and love for each other, have not diminished with advancing years. The evening of our day has, indeed, been illumined by brighter rays, than those which our morning or meridian light afforded. And I earnestly hope, that, whilst life remains, we shall be favoured, by Divine Grace, to cherish those sentiments and virtues,

which will exalt the happiness of our union; support us under every trial; and prepare our minds for the enjoyment of a better world.

I now finish this letter,

And remain,

With sincere regard, &c.

LETTER III.

My dear Friend,

THE two most important events of a man's life, are generally those of his entering into business for himself, and his forming the connexion of marriage. When these events are auspicious, and especially when interest is not too earnestly pursued, there is great reason to look for success, and a good portion of enjoyment through life, provided that correct principles and virtuous habits accompany them. I have already observed, that my marriage was happy, and my business promising: and as our connexions were respectable, and disposed to promote our welfare, I had much to make me thankful to Divine Providence, and to encourage me to persevere in a course of industry and usefulness. I was not influenced by the desire of acquiring great property, and was therefore not disturbed by the cares and anxieties which too often accompany that disposition.

Not long after I had commenced business, some circumstances rendered it proper for me to make a voyage to England; where my father had been about a year on commercial matters of importance, which made his presence there, at that time, very expedient. For many years previous to his leaving America, he had been considerably indisposed: at the best, his constitution was but delicate. The climate of England, however, proved very beneficial. I found him so much improved in his general health, that I could not but wish that he would continue in this country for a few years: and he was so strongly impressed with the hope of receiving benefit, by such a residence, as well as by the advantages which would result to his concerns in trade, that he communicated his views to my mother, and expressed his wish to see her and his children in England. They accordingly, in the course of a few months, came to him: and as I did not expect to return very soon, my wife was persuaded to accompany them across the Atlantic. I had therefore the comfort and satisfaction of meeting again my beloved wife, mother, brother, and sisters. The whole family, thus met together, in a country so distant from their native shores, could not but feel themselves highly gratified, and peculiarly attached to one another. My dear mother was sensible of the

improved state of my father's health; and cheerfully consented to reside a few years in England, for its complete establishment.

When I first came to this country, I had not fixed any time for my continuance in it: but soon after my arrival, it appeared probable that, in the course of a year, I should return to America. There was not, therefore, much opportunity for my dear partner and myself to gratify our curiosity, in surveying what was instructive and interesting in this highly cultivated and happy land. We, however, made a good use of our time; and were much pleased with the novelty and information, which, on every side, continually pressed for attention. It was a peculiar gratification to me that, in these excursions and surveys, I had the society of one, in whose entertainment and instruction I felt myself warmly interested. Every enjoyment was, I believe, heightened to both of us, by the consciousness of each other's participation.

In the latter part of the year 1771, we returned to New-York. My parents and the rest of the family remained in England several years. But after this period of trial, my father perceived, that the benefit which he derived from the change of climate, was only temporary. His former indisposition resumed its wonted strength. Having therefore arranged his mercantile affairs

entirely to his satisfaction, he, with his family, embarked for New York; and arrived safely there in the year 1775.

With regard to myself, I observe that, on my return to New York, I resumed the practice of the law. I had many friends and connexions; which renewed the pleasing hopes I had formerly possessed, of succeeding in business. Attention and industry were not wanting; and I enjoyed myself in again settling to my profession. An event, however, occurred at this time, which threatened a diminution of my business, particularly among the society of which I was a member. This society had lately purchased in the city, a valuable piece of ground, for the purpose of erecting upon it a large meeting house, for Divine worship. I was employed to prepare the deed of conveyance. I found every thing regular, drew up the instrument, and, when it was engrossed, delivered it to the trustees, for their inspection before it was executed. When I expected the completion of this business, one of the trustees called upon me, and delicately observed, that in consequence of some doubt as to the validity of the instrument, they had applied to a lawyer of distinction and long established practice, who declared that the conveyance was void, being liable to the statutes of mortmain. I was greatly surprised and hurt; and clearly

perceived, that if this opinion were not effectually counteracted, it would strike deeply at my reputation and practice as a lawyer. I therefore desired the person to leave the instrument with me, for a little time, when, I doubted not, I should be able to satisfy the trustees, that it was perfectly regular. I immediately laid the conveyance before the first counsellor in the province, and requested his opinion of it in writing. He gave it, in the most explicit language, and fully adapted to the case. It was, he said, in every respect, a good deed; and he observed, in particular, that none of the statutes of mortmain would affect it. My mind was completely relieved by this decision. I produced the opinion to the trustees, who were perfectly satisfied with it; and appeared to be much pleased, that I had so happily extricated myself from the difficulty. The result of this affair was exactly the reverse of what might at first have been expected. It established my reputation among the members of the society. My business increased; and they applied to me with confidence.

In the practice of the law, pecuniary interest was not my only rule of action. When circumstances would properly admit of it, I generally endeavoured to persuade the person who was threatened with a prosecution, to pay the debt, or make satisfaction, without the trouble

and expense of a suit. In doubtful cases, I frequently recommended a settlement of differences, by arbitration, as the mode which I conceived would ultimately prove most satisfactory to both parties: I do not recollect that I ever encouraged a client to proceed at law, when I thought his cause was unjust or indefensible: but, in such cases, I believe it was my invariable practice to discourage litigation, and to recommend a peaceable settlement of differences. In the retrospect of this mode of practice, I have always had great satisfaction; and I am persuaded that a different procedure, would have been the source of many painful recollections.

My business was very successful, and continued to increase till the troubles in America commenced. A general failure of proceedings in the courts of law, then took place. This circumstance, joined to a severe illness, which had left me in a feeble state of health, induced me to remove into the country. We chose for our retreat a situation on Long Island, in the district of Islip, about forty miles from the city of New York. Here we concluded to remain, till the political storm should blow over, and the horizon become again clear and settled. This we did not expect would be very soon; and therefore made our settlement accordingly. As our place of residence was on the borders of a large

bay near the ocean, I purchased a very convenient, little pleasure-boat; which I thought would not only amuse me, but contribute to the re-establishment of my health. In this situation, I became extremely attached to the pleasures of shooting, and fishing, and sailing on the bay. These exercises probably gained for me an accession of health and strength; and, on that ground, partly reconciled me to an occupation of my time, which was but little connected with mental improvement. I have, however, often regretted that so long a period should have elapsed, without any vigorous application to study; and without an improved preparation for the return of those settled times, when I should again derive my support from the funds of knowledge and judgment. The loss which I sustained, by not sufficiently attending, at this time, to literary pursuits and professional studies, can not easily be calculated. Every expansion of the mind, every useful habit, and portion of knowledge, at that age especially, is not only so much present gain, but serves as a principal to produce an ever growing and accumulating interest through life. If this advantage were duly appreciated by young persons, it would prove a most powerful stimulus to embrace every proper opportunity, to enlarge the understanding, and to store it with useful knowledge.

On this occasion, I must add, that the recollection of the time which I spent, in the pleasures of shooting, and idly sailing about the bay, affords me no solid satisfaction, in a moral and religious point of view. That time, or the greater part of it, might have been employed, in doing good to others, in the society and converse of pious and virtuous persons, and in the perusal of the sacred volume, and other religious books, tending to establish the heart and life, in the love and practice of goodness. I might have so occupied myself, as to have made my most important interests coincide with my health and bodily enjoyments, instead of indulging myself in that dissipation of mind, and those selfish, injurious habits, which the amusements I had adopted are too apt to produce. I do not, however, wish to censure the practice of other persons, in the pursuits and amusements with which they are well and conscientiously satisfied. My object is, to state my own feelings and regrets, on the retrospect of this part of my life.

But occupied as I was with amusement, my mind was not so much attached to it, as to be totally inattentive to every thing of a useful nature. About a year after my residence at Islip, the country became greatly distressed from the scarcity of salt. The British cruisers effectually prevented the introduction of that article

among the Americans. And the Congress found it necessary to recommend and encourage the making of it, in every place that was favourably situated for the manufacture. I conceived that salt works might be advantageously erected on an island in the bay near which I resided; and I communicated this idea to an ingenious and spirited young man who was my neighbour. He very readily came into the plan, and joined me in the execution of it. We embraced the scheme the more cordially, because we were attached to our country, and felt for the distresses in which it was involved. We procured materials at a considerable expense, employed artificers to construct the works, and were just ready to begin the manufacture, and reap the fruit of our labours, when the British forces took possession of New York, and consequently of Long Island. This event entirely superseded our operations; as the article of salt was then abundantly introduced into the country. Our loss was considerable: but we had no remedy; and the whole concern was, therefore, without hesitation abandoned.

The employment which I had, in devising and superintending these works, was not, however, wholly destitute of advantage to me. The motives which led to it would bear reflection; the occupation of mind and body to which it

contributed, was salutary; and the knowledge which I acquired of the business, made some addition to my little stock. I had occasion too, in this event, for the exercise of that virtue, which submits cheerfully to disappointments. This, indeed, was not, in the present instance, an exercise of much difficulty. I was not naturally disposed to brood over misfortunes: but possessed a facility, in turning from the view of them, and presenting to myself objects of a different complexion. This is a propensity which, under proper limitations and government, is doubtless a happy constitution. But, though generally beneficial, I have often indulged it beyond those limits which wisdom prescribes.—A habit of mind that is ever seeking for, and presenting, pleasant objects; and which refuses to contemplate occasionally the disasters and the troubles incident to humanity; nourishes a light and frivolous temper, and prevents the good effects of those salutary lessons, which the adverse occurrences of life, when properly considered, are calculated to produce.

After we had resided at Islip about four years, I became dissatisfied with a mode of life, which consisted chiefly in amusement and bodily exercise. I perceived the necessity of doing something that would provide permanent funds for the expenses of my family. The British power

was still maintained in New York, and appeared likely to be established there: and the practice of the law was completely superseded. I had, therefore, no prospect of any considerable employment, but by settling at New York, and entering into mercantile concerns. We removed accordingly to the city, and took a situation favourable for business. My father very generously gave me an unlimited credit, in the importation of merchandise from London: and after forming the best judgment I could of the articles likely to be in demand, I made out a large order. The goods arrived, and I found a ready sale for them. Thus encouraged, I continued to import more of them, and that extensively, every season; and soon perceived that I had engaged in a very lucrative occupation. Every year added to my capital, till, about the period of the establishment of American independence, I found myself able to gratify our favourite wishes, and retire from business.

I purchased a country seat on the banks of the river, about three miles from the city of New York. Here we promised ourselves every enjoyment that our hearts desired. Bellevue, for that was the name of our retreat, was most delightfully situated. A noble river, a mile in breadth, spread itself before us: a rich and pleasant country was on the opposite shore: and our

view extended several miles both up and down the river. On this grand expanse of water, vessels and boats of various descriptions, were almost continually sailing. The house was neat and commodious; and accommodated with a spacious and elegant piazza, shaded with Venetian blinds; which added to its coolness in summer, and produced a most soothing and grateful effect. At the back of the mansion, was a large garden, well supplied with fruit, flowers, and useful vegetables: and in other directions from the house, were rows of various kinds of fruit trees, distinguished by their beauty and utility. In the rear of the house and garden, was a pleasant and fertile field, which afforded pasturage for the cattle. This little paradisiacal spot was perfectly to our wishes. Here we fondly hoped often to see our dearest connexions, and to entertain our friends. Every comfort to be derived from useful and interesting society, would, we imagined, be heightened in this pleasing abode. I thought too, that this retreat would be friendly to study and mental acquisitions; that my health would be improved, by the exercise which I should have in rural occupations; and that the vicinity of the city and its various occupations, would afford me opportunities of being useful to my fellow-citizens. These hopes and views appeared to be rational and well founded; and I

felt no reluctance, or compunction, in indulging them. But the pleasant prospects were soon overcast: the cup of promised sweets was not allowed to approach our lips. Divine Providence had allotted for us a different situation: and I have no doubt that the allotment was both wise and good; and better for us than our own fond appointments.

Before we removed to Bellevue, I had a severe fit of illness, which left me in a very infirm and debilitated state of body. The tone of my muscles was so much impaired, that I could walk but little; and this relaxation continued to increase. I was besides, in the course of the day, frequently affected with singular sensations of chillness, succeeded by a degree of fever. My situation, at times, became very distressing. I was, however, encouraged by the hope, that a short residence at our delightful retreat, would restore me to my usual state of health and strength. But season succeeded season, without my receiving any salutary effect. I evidently grew worse: and my friends became alarmed at my situation. They generally recommended travelling. Additional exercise, new scenes, and drinking the waters of certain medicinal springs, were thought likely to afford me assistance. As my spirits were good, and life and health very desirable, I cordially entered into the views of

my friends, and, with my affectionate and sympathizing partner, I set off for Bristol in Pennsylvania. We remained in this rural and pleasant town a few weeks: during which time, I bathed, and drank the water; but without any good effect. The weather then growing extremely hot, Fahrenheit's thermometer being at ninety degrees, we proceeded to some celebrated springs in the mountains of New Jersey. Here, I seemed to grow better for a few weeks: but the water yielded no permanent benefit. From the very elevated situation of those mountains, the air was cool and refreshing: but as the roads were stony and broken, I could not have the advantage of regular exercise in a carriage. To remedy this inconvenience, I made some efforts on horseback, and some on foot: but these efforts fatigued me to a great degree, and increased the debility under which I laboured.

Perceiving that neither the springs, nor the situation produced any beneficial effects, and travelling being one of the means for the recovery of health, which had been recommended to me, we left the mountains, and bent our course towards Bethlehem, in Pennsylvania, a healthful and pleasant town about fifty miles from Philadelphia. This is a settlement of the Moravians. The situation of the place, its refreshing and salutary air, joined to the character

of its inhabitants, made a cheering impression upon us; and we took up our quarters at the inn with pleasure, and with the hope of advantage. A few days after we had settled here, we were most agreeably surprised, by the arrival of my father, and my sister Beulah. This affectionate parent had long been anxious about my health, and solicitous to promote it. And perceiving that we were not likely to return very soon, and that I had not received much benefit, he was desirous of spending a little time with us; which he naturally thought would have a cheering effect on his children, in their present solitary excursion. This visit was as grateful as it was unexpected. My sister was a sensible and amiable young woman, of a gentle nature and engaging manners, to whom we were both very nearly attached: we therefore formed a little band, closely united by the ties of affection and consanguinity. This pleasing association, joined to the beauty and retirement of the place, gave an animating impulse to my spirits; so that I was better at Bethlehem than I had been in any other part of the journey.

There was here much to occupy the mind, and to gratify curiosity. The different houses appropriated to the single brethren, the single sisters, and the widows, with the various economy of the society, were subjects of an interesting nature.

The spirit of moderation, the government of the passions, and the tranquillity and happiness, which appeared to pervade every part of this retired settlement, made on our minds a strong and pleasing impression. We several times visited the different departments; and, at our inn, received occasionally the visits of a number of their most respectable members. They were very communicative; and attended, with liberality and good humour, to the ideas which we suggested, for the improvement of particular parts of their economy. Among other observations, we took occasion to inquire, whether the practice of the elders and elderesses in selecting a partner for a young man who wished to marry, was not sometimes attended with serious inconveniences. But they seemed to have no doubt, that this regulation produced more happy marriages, than would be effected by leaving the parties to choose for themselves. A lively and sensible person, with whose conversation we were particularly pleased, took occasion to give us his own experience on the subject. He expressed himself to the following effect. "When I wished to change my situation in life, I applied to one of our elders, and communicated the matter to him. He asked me whether I had any particular young woman in view. I replied in the negative; and that I wished my superiors to choose for me. Pleased

with my answer, and the confidence reposed in them, he assured me that the greatest care should be taken, to select for me a partner, who would be, in every respect, proper for me. The elders and elderesses consulted together, and, after a suitable time, fixed on a young woman, whose disposition and qualifications were correspondent to my own, and which they thought were adapted to make me happy. We were introduced to each other, in the presence of our superiors. The interview was favourable: we became mutually attached; and, in a short time, we were married. The event has perfectly answered our most sanguine hopes. I probably should not have chosen so happily, if I had been left to decide for myself; but I am certain I could not have made a better choice." He concluded his observations with a degree of animation and satisfaction, which precluded all doubt of the truth of his assertions.

The roads and scenery about Bethlehem were very delightful. I frequently enjoyed the pleasure they afforded, by riding in a small open carriage, which gave me a good opportunity of surveying the beauties of the country. In one of these excursions, I observed a gate which opened into some grounds that were very picturesque. Without proper consideration, I desired the servant who accompanied me, to open

the gate. Almost immediately I observed a group of cheerful, neatly dressed young females approaching. They had been gathering blackberries, a rich fruit in that country; and each of them had a little basket in her hand filled with this sort of fruit. I soon perceived that I had committed a trespass, in offering to enter the grounds appropriated entirely to the walks of females. When they came near me, I apologized for the intrusion, by alleging that I did not know the peculiar use to which the enclosure was applied. With great good nature, and genuine politeness, some of them intimated that I was perfectly excusable. I believe the number of this cheerful group was about thirty, between the ages of fifteen and twenty-five. The sight of so much apparent innocence and happiness was extremely pleasing. And whilst they stood near the carriage, from which I could not conveniently alight, I thought it would be proper to express my respect and good wishes for them. I therefore took the liberty of addressing them in a short speech; which, as near as I can recollect, was to the following purport. I observed that it gave me particular pleasure, to see them all so happy: that their situation was, indeed, enviable, and singularly adapted to produce much real enjoyment, and to protect them from the follies, the vices, and the miseries, of the

world: that if they knew the troubles and exposures, which are to be met with in the general intercourse of life, they would doubly enjoy their safe and tranquil seclusion from those dangers, and be thankful for the privileges they possessed. My harangue seemed to have a good effect upon them. They smiled, and some of them said that they were indeed happy in their situation. A few of them then held up their little baskets, and desired I would help myself to some fruit. I thanked them; and took more than I wanted, that I might the better gratify their benevolence. I then parted with this pleasing company, and pursued an other road, well satisfied with a mistake and adventure which had yielded me so much heart-felt satisfaction.

I must not omit to mention, that these good young persons reported to their superiors the whole of this transaction, with what had been said on the occasion. But I found that, notwithstanding my intrusion, I had lost no credit with the elderesses. For they sent to inform the sick gentleman, (this was the term by which I was designated,) that he had full liberty, and was welcome, whenever he chose, to ride in the grounds appropriated to the walks of the females. I acknowledged the favour of so great a privilege; but as I could not think it en-

tirely warrantable and proper to make use of it, I never repeated my visit to this interesting place.

Of the various institutions at this settlement, we particularly admired that for the benefit of widows. This house met our entire approbation. An asylum for those who had lost their most valuable earthly treasures, and who could neither receive from the world, nor confer upon it, much, if any, important service, appeared to have a just foundation in wisdom and benevolence. But to detach from many of the advantages and duties of society, young persons in the full possession of health, strength, and spirits, seemed to us to be, on the whole view of the subject, a very questionable policy; though certainly some very important moral uses were derived from the institutions which respected the single brethren and the single sisters.—Having formed some acquaintance with several worthy persons in this happy town, and being much gratified with our visit, we took our leave with regret. I can not easily forget the pleasing impressions which this settlement left upon my mind. The grandeur of the neighbouring hills; the winding course of its adjacent beautiful river; and the serene, enlivening state of the atmosphere; joined to the modest and tranquil appearance of the inhabitants; their frequent and devout per-

formance of Divine worship; and their unaffected politeness and good humour; are sufficient to render Bethlehem a most interesting and delightful retreat. To the calm and soothing virtues of life, it is, certainly, a situation peculiarly favourable. But the moral excellences, connected with arduous and dignified exertion, meet, perhaps, with but few occasions here to call them forth.

After we left Bethlehem, where we had spent several weeks, it seemed expedient to bend our course towards home. My father was affected with fresh symptoms of a disorder to which he had been long subject; and he thought it would not be prudent to continue his visit any longer. Under these circumstances, we could not suffer him and my sister to proceed on their journey alone. Had he been as well as usual, it would have been very agreeable to us to have remained longer at Bethlehem; and particularly to have visited the place of my nativity, which was about fifty miles further in the interior of the country. This visit we had all contemplated; and purposed to set off for the place in a few days. But my father's sudden indisposition made it necessary to relinquish our views entirely. Had we executed our purpose, I have no doubt that the visit would have been to me peculiarly interesting, and attended with emo-

tions of a pleasing and serious nature; and I could not, indeed, avoid anticipating them in some degree. To have viewed the spot, where I first felt the blessings of existence; and where my dear parents had extended their early cares over me, and had commenced their settlement in life; must have excited in me sensations highly gratifying. To have reflected on the superintendence of Divine Providence, from the first hour of my existence, through a period of nearly forty years; on the numberless preservations from danger which, through that course of time, had threatened my life, or my happiness; and on the many positive blessings with which I had so long been favoured; could not, I believe, have failed to excite a lively and extraordinary sense of the unmerited goodness of God to me; and would probably have proved a peculiarly animating source of humble and grateful recollection.—But how pleasing and useful soever this visit to Swetara might have been, prudence required us to give it up; and we proceeded, by easy stages, towards New York. There we safely arrived, after an agreeable journey; in which my father's health had not materially suffered, by the fatigue and exposure which he encountered, and which to him were unusual.

This seems to be a proper stage for closing the present letter. My next will enter on a period, which was particularly interesting to me, and which was occupied in a manner very different from my expectations.

I am, with due respect, &c.

LETTER IV.

My dear Friend,

It is a common and just observation, that the blessings of this life, however numerous and important, lose their relish, when we are deprived of health. Many of them are then embittered, and others are totally disregarded. We are therefore naturally solicitous to recover a possession so pleasing in itself, and so necessary to the enjoyment of other pleasures. I was the more sensible of the value of this blessing, because I had lost it; and because I possessed many others, which I found were, in a great degree, dependent upon this. I thought, indeed, that nothing besides this desirable object, was wanting, to render me very happy. But, without doubt, I deceived myself, in the indulgence of this fond sentiment. Had I possessed health, joined to all the means of happiness with which I was surrounded, it is probable that some unforeseen event, something in myself, or in others with whom I was connected, would soon have overcast the pleasant scene; and convinced

me practically, that unmixed enjoyment does not belong to this state of existence.—There is, however, enough to be enjoyed; enough to make us truly thankful to Divine Providence. I was therefore anxious for my recovery, and omitted no promising means to obtain it, whilst life was yet in its prime, and the value of health was proportionably enhanced.

When we were again settled at Bellevue, we had rather mournfully to reflect on the little benefit, if any, which my health had derived from our summer excursion; and we naturally turned our attention to other means of relief that might promise success. During the course of my indisposition, I had found that I was generally better when the weather was cold: a temporary bracing was commonly the effect of the winter season. But we had observed that every succeeding summer took from me more than the winter had given. The prospect was therefore discouraging. Under these circumstances, I consulted one of the first physicians of the country, who happened at that time to be at New York. He paid a friendly attention to my situation: and after maturely considering the case, advised me to remove to a climate, where the summers are more temperate and less relaxing; and where, consequently, I might not lose, in warm weather, the bracing effects produced by the rigours of

winter. From what he knew of Yorkshire, in England, he thought some parts of it might prove a proper situation. On the whole, he recommended to me, in a sensible and affectionate letter which I received from him, to make the experiment; and he expressed an earnest hope, that it might be blessed with success. He thought that my disorder was of such a nature, that medicines would not be proper for me: "at any rate," he said, "I would advise you not to take much medicine." This advice was consonant with the views and practice which I had long adopted; and confirmed me in my determination. For more than twenty years, I have almost entirely declined the use of medicines: and to this I attribute, in a great measure, the good appetite, and unbroken rest at nights, which, during that period, I have generally enjoyed. The natural tone of my stomach has not been injured by the operation of drugs, nor any new disorder superinduced. I, however, think that medicines are sometimes of great use: the discovery and due application of them, are a blessing to mankind. In my particular case, they would, I believe, have been injurious.

After deliberately considering the advice of my physician, and the importance of the undertaking, we were fully convinced that it was expedient to try the effect of a more favourable

climate, and to make a short residence in England. Dear as were our relatives and friends, and our native land, we resolved to forego the enjoyment of them. But hope cheered us with the prospect, that the separation would not be long; and that we should return to them, with renewed health and spirits, and capacities of greater happiness in their society. My dear wife did not hesitate a moment, in resolving to accompany me to a distant country; and to render me every aid, which her affection, and solicitude for my happiness could suggest.

Soon after our determination was made, we prepared for the voyage. The trying scene now commenced of taking leave of our relations and friends. Many of them accompanied us to the ship, in the cabin of which we had a most solemn parting. An eminent minister was present at this time, for whom we had a particular esteem and regard, and who prayed fervently on the occasion. It was a deeply affecting time; and, I trust, produced salutary impressions on all our minds. Our feelings, at the moment of separation, may be more easily conceived than described. But satisfied with the propriety of our undertaking, and consoled by the hope of success, our minds gradually became tranquil and resigned. With many, if not with all, of those beloved connexions, we parted never to see

them again, in this life: for many of them have since been translated to the world of spirits. But we humbly trust, that the separation will not be perpetual; that, through redeeming mercy and love, we shall be again united to virtuous connexions, and happily join with them, and the blessed of all generations, in glorifying our heavenly Father, and joyfully serving him for ever, with enlarged minds and purified affections.

We embarked in a commodious ship, near the close of the year 1784; and, after a prosperous voyage of about five weeks, landed at Lymington. Near the conclusion of the voyage, we narrowly escaped some very dangerous rocks, which would, in all probability, have proved fatal to us, if we had struck upon them. Thus preserved by the care of a gracious Providence, we had fresh cause to be humbly thankful to God, and to be encouraged to trust in his goodness, for future preservation and direction.

In contemplating the place where we were to reside, during our continuance in England, it was our frequent and special desire, that our lot might be cast in the neighbourhood and society of religious and exemplary persons; from whom we might derive encouragement to the practice of virtue. We had lived long enough to perceive, how strongly the human mind is influenced, and how apt it is to be moulded, by the dis-

positions and pursuits of those with whom it is intimately connected. We had felt the danger of intercourse with persons, who seemed to make the pleasures of this life the great object of their attention; and we had derived comfort, and some degree of religious strength, from the society and example of good and pious persons. In this desire of being settled favourably for the cultivation of our best interests, we had the happiness of being gratified; and we consider this privilege, which we have now enjoyed for more than twenty years, as one of the greatest blessings of our lives.

It may not be improper to mention in this place, that when we left our native shores, we fondly supposed, that in the course of two years, my health might be so established, as to enable us to return to our friends and country. This term was the utmost boundary we had assigned for our absence from home. How short sighted is the mind of man! How little do we know of the future, and of the events which are to occupy it! Two and twenty years have passed away since we left our native land, and little hope remains of our ever being able to visit it again. But resignation is our duty. And this should be the more cheerful, as we have been so long preserved together by Divine Providence, in this happy country; where we have been

abundantly blessed, and for which we can never be sufficiently grateful.

Our attachment to England was founded on many pleasing associations. In particular, I had strong prepossessions in favour of a residence in this country; because I was ever partial to its political constitution, and the mildness and wisdom of its general system of laws. I knew that under this excellent government, life, property, reputation, civil and religious liberty, are happily protected; and that the general character and virtue of its inhabitants, take their complexion from the nature of their constitution and laws. On leaving my native country, there was not, therefore, any land, on which I could cast my eyes with so much pleasure; nor is there any, which could have afforded me so much real satisfaction, as I have found in Great Britain.—May its political fabric, which has stood the test of ages, and long attracted the admiration of the world, be supported and perpetuated by Divine Providence! And may the hearts of Britons be grateful for this blessing, and for many others by which they are eminently distinguished!

I now return to the narrative. In a few days after our landing, we reached London. Here we were cheered with the society of a number of our friends, whom we had known, in the visit which we made to this country in the year 1771.

We continued in and near London, about six weeks; and then proceeded for Yorkshire. Some of our friends advised us to fix our residence at Pontefract, others at Knaresborough, and others at Richmond, Settle, or upon the Wolds. We, however, thought it prudent to visit a number of places, before we concluded to fix upon any one. At length, we came to York: and whether we were influenced by the association of names, by the pleasantness of the surrounding country, or by other motives, we felt some partiality for the place. But it appeared to be difficult to procure a suitable residence in the vicinity: and we left York to visit Knaresborough, Harrogate, and the neighbourhood of Leeds. Soon after we had set off, we observed, about a mile from the city, in a small village called Holdgate, a house and garden very pleasantly and healthfully situated. The place struck our minds so agreeably, that we stopped the carriage, for a few minutes to survey it. The more we observed the house and its appendages, the more we liked them; and we concluded that if they could be obtained, they would suit us better than any other we had seen. With this reflection, we passed on, and continued our journey. At Knaresborough and Harrogate, we stayed a short time: but neither of these places appeared to coincide with our views, and we went forward

to Leeds. From this place I wrote to a friend at York, and requested him to inquire, whether the house near that city, which had so pleasantly impressed us, could be either hired or purchased, and on what terms. My friend informed me, that the owner of this estate resided upon it, that he had considerably improved it, and that it was perfectly to his mind; so that he intended to occupy it for the remainder of his life. All prospect of acquiring this situation being thus cut off, we employed ourselves in looking at several places near Leeds. But our attachment to York still continued, and after several weeks' absence from it, we returned, with the hope that some suitable place, in the neighbourhood of this city, would yet be found. That we might have the fairer opportunity for selecting such a residence, I hired for six months a house ready furnished, in York; and occasionally made inquiry for a situation in its vicinity. About five months of the time elapsed before any place occurred which was adapted to our wishes. At this period, the house and premises which had appeared to us so desirable, were advertised for sale. The owner, who was an officer in the navy, had unexpectedly an offer made to him of a ship on a remote station; and being pleased with the appointment, he concluded to take his family with him, and to dispose of his property at Holdgate. I

did not hesitate to apply as a purchaser; and, in a short time the contract was made, and the estate secured to me. We soon removed into our new residence; and found it to answer, in every respect, the expectations we had formed. It is healthy, pleasant, commodious, and unites the advantages of both town and country. This little pleasing settlement has lost none of its comforts in our view, though we have now enjoyed it two and twenty years. I hope that I have not dwelt too long on the circumstance of selecting a residence at Holdgate. This place has been our habitation, for so great a portion of our lives, and has contributed so much to our comfort and enjoyment, that I could not pass over the recital, without some marked attention. I can not but trace, and gratefully acknowledge, the goodness of Divine Providence, in the circumstances which led us to this auspicious residence.

Though I have described the house and garden at Holdgate, as a desirable possession, yet it is by no means a large or a showy one. It is, however, one that accords with our own taste, and desires. My views and wishes, with regard to property, were, in every period of life, contained within a very moderate compass. I was early persuaded that, though "a competence is vital to content," I ought not to annex to that term

the idea of much property. And I determined that when I should acquire enough to enable me to maintain and provide for my family, in a respectable and moderate manner, and this according to real and rational, not imaginary and fantastic wants, and a little to spare for the necessities of others; I would decline the pursuits of property, and devote a great part of my time, in some way or other, to the benefit of my fellow-creatures, within the sphere of my abilities to serve them. I perceived that the desire of great possessions, generally expands with the gradual acquisition, and the full attainment of them: and I imagined, that charity and a generous application, do not sufficiently correspond with the increase of property. I thought too, that procuring great wealth, has a tendency to produce an elated independence of mind, little connected with that humility which is the ground of all our virtues; that a busy and anxious pursuit of it, often excludes views and reflections of infinite importance, and leaves but little time to acquire that treasure, which would make us rich indeed. I was inclined to think, that a wish for personal distinction, a desire of providing too abundantly for their children, and a powerful habit of accumulation, are the motives which commonly actuate men, in the acquisition of great wealth. The strenuous endeavours of

many persons to vindicate this pursuit, on the ground, that the idea of a competency is indefinite, and that the more we gain, the more good we may do with it, did not make much impression upon me. I fancied that, in general, experience did not correspond with this plausible reasoning; and I was persuaded that a truly sincere mind could be at no loss to discern the just limits between a safe and competent portion, and a dangerous profusion, of the good things of life. These views of the subject, I reduced to practice; and terminated my mercantile concerns, when I had acquired a moderate competency.

By what I have said on this occasion, I do not mean to cast any reflection on the prudent efforts of persons, who have large families to support and provide for; or who, instead of adding to the superfluous heap, apply their gains to the relief of want, the instruction of ignorance, or, in any other way, to the substantial benefit of their fellow-creatures. I am, indeed, far from being disposed to censure or disapprove the exertions of such persons, in the steady pursuit of business, and the acquisition of property. My view, in the remarks which I have made on this topic, is, rather to justify my own determination to withdraw seasonably from the pursuit of property, than to reflect on the conduct of those

who, with proper inducements, think it their duty to endeavour to enlarge their possessions. This is a subject, on which it is certainly more charitable and becoming, to suggest hints, for the consideration of others, when we may have occasion, and think it prudent, so to do, than presumptuously to make decisions, respecting their motives and conduct.

When I first settled at Holdgate, my general health had been, in some degree, improved; and I was able to walk in the garden, without assistance, several times in the course of a day. This increase of strength, and ability to walk out in the open air, were highly pleasing; and gave a fresh spring to our hopes, that the period was not very far distant, when we might return to our native country and our friends, with the blessings of established health, and all the comforts which follow in its train. But these cheering prospects did not long continue. The exercise in my garden was so delightful, and appeared to be so beneficial to me, that I often indulged myself in it; till, at length, I found my little stock of newly acquired strength, began to decline, and that the former weakness of the muscles returned. This was not the effect of great and immoderate exertion; but proceeded from my not knowing how very limited my bodily powers were, and from not keeping within those

limits. I soon perceived that it was necessary to give up my little excursions in the garden; but I continued to walk occasionally about the room, as much as I was well able to bear, knowing the danger of resigning myself to a state of inactivity. This practice was kept up in a greater or less degree, till it became inconvenient and painful. A walk even from my seat to the window, at last overcame me, and produced a distressing weariness and fatigue, which pervaded the whole animal system. I occasionally made repeated efforts to overcome these effects: but all to no purpose; the more I persisted in my exertions, the more painful was my situation. I perceived that I was always better, and more at my ease, when I continued sitting. This induced me to try the experiment of relinquishing all attempts at walking, and to keep to my seat through the course of the day. The result was, in every respect, beneficial. The soreness of the muscles abated; the little tone which remained in them, was not disturbed or overstretched; and I enjoyed an easy and tolerable state of health.

I made it a point, however, to ride out daily in my carriage: and this, doubtless, contributed to counteract the injurious effects which would have resulted from constant inaction. The motion of the carriage, the change of scene, differ-

ence of air, and the busy or the cheerful faces of my fellow-creatures, produced a pleasing effect on my mind, and greatly tended to reconcile me to the privation of other exercises. Though I had not sufficient strength to get into a carriage by the usual method, I have always been able to effect it, by means of a board laid nearly level from the garden gate to the step of the carriage. But I have repeatedly found this exertion to be the full extent of my powers. I can, however, generally accomplish it, with little or no inconvenience. This mode of getting into the carriage, has often excited the curiosity of persons who were passing at the time, and given rise to strange surmises, and to some ridiculous stories. Inability to account for facts is an uneasy state of mind; to get rid of which many people are apt to suppose or admit causes, which, how imaginary soever they may be, are yet sufficient to prevent the trouble of further investigation. I must, however, allow, that, in my own case, the appearance of general health, and the ease with which I moved on the board, might very naturally induce a belief, that I was capable of greater exertions, and that the weakness existed more in the mind than in the body. If, under a change of circumstances, I had been the observer, instead of the person observed, I might very probably have formed a similar judgment.

The state of weakness and confinement to which I was now reduced, would, at some periods of my life, have been almost insupportable. But my infirmities had increased upon me gradually, and I had the happiness to perceive that they might be made to conduce to my future and immortal interests. I had many enjoyments and advantages yet left to me: I was, in general, free from pain; I could take a little daily exercise; my appetite was good; and my rest at nights commonly sound and uninterrupted. I had the society of worthy and intelligent friends, converse with books, and a regular correspondence with my distant connexions. I was able, too, to attend public religious worship, once or twice in the week, which I consider as an invaluable privilege. There still remained to me the great blessing of an affectionate, faithful friend, my beloved wife; whose solicitude to promote my comfort, in all respects, has been lively and uniform, through every period of our union. Thus surrounded with benefits so important, it would have been impious to complain, or to deplore my condition. It became me rather, to number my blessings: and I humbly trust that, through Divine grace, I have been enabled cheerfully to submit to my lot, and to be thankful for the mercies, the unmerited mercies, which have been bestowed upon me.

In the summer of 1786, I met with a great loss, in the decease of my father. He had been painfully affected, with a cough and weakness of the stomach, for more than thirty years; and the disorder at length increased so much, that nature could no longer support the conflict.—In a letter which I received from his brother, my worthy uncle John Murray, there are some circumstances of his death, which are so interesting to me, that they may not improperly be mentioned in this place. The circumstances alluded to, are contained in the following extracts from the letter. “Your much esteemed father departed this life the 22d of July, 1786, about five o’clock in the afternoon, with all his children in the house, yourself excepted. About four weeks ago, without any apparent cause, but the natural increase of the disorder which he had long had, he was confined to his room, and complained of pain in his head and breast, and that his cough grew more difficult and painful. Soon after, in conversing with him, he told me that his dissolution was near at hand; and he thanked his God, that, in the whole course of his life, he had never found himself so much resigned as at that time; and that it was not his wish to live longer. In this sincere composure of mind he continued, perfectly sensible till the moment of his death, which took place at my side, and without a groan.

About three days before his decease, your letter by the packet came to hand. It was read to him; and finding you were recovered, in some degree, from the relapse you had fallen into, it seemed to afford him real pleasure. He thanked God for all his mercies; and said: ‘This is the last time I shall hear from my dear son.’”

Thus peacefully left the world my dear and affectionate father, in the sixty-fifth year of his age; and, I trust, exchanged this life for one infinitely better.

After I left America, my father, during the remainder of his life, kindly transacted all my business; and obliged me with a regular correspondence, from which I derived much comfort and satisfaction. The religious state of mind which his letters demonstrated, under the pressure of years and infirmities, afforded me peculiar pleasure at the time; and continues to be a source of grateful recollection. The loss which I had sustained, in being deprived of my father’s kind offices, my truly valuable brother, John Murray, was studious to repair. For more than twenty years, he has attended to my concerns in America; and maintained a correspondence with me, in the most brotherly and affectionate manner. Sympathizing with us, in our long and distant separation from our near connexions and our native country, he has been kindly solicitous

to diminish our anxieties, by a great variety of communications. We owe much of our relief and consolation, to his unwearied attention, and to the proofs he has given us of his esteem and love during our long residence in England. We were affectionately attached to each other, in early life: this attachment has not only continued, but it has increased with time; and I firmly trust it will remain, and brighten to the latest period of our lives. From my dear sisters, I have also received, in this long absence, many testimonies of their sincere regard and solicitude for my welfare. These could not fail of being soothing to us; and they tended to cherish the feelings of mutual affection.

The relation which subsists between children of the same family, and between other persons very nearly connected, is of a peculiarly tender and endearing kind; and it should be cherished, not only as a duty, but as one of the most lively and interesting sources of our enjoyments. It produces and augments affections which may be continually exercised, because their objects are often before us: and, by perpetual offices of love, and solicitude for one another's welfare, it accustoms the heart to these emotions, and prepares it for extending its charities to all around. In this manner, some of the finest feelings of our nature, may be matured and disposed, on all

proper occasions, to expand themselves to objects, far and near, in substantial acts of kindness, compassion, and benevolence.—This expansive nature of the affections, is so aptly and beautifully illustrated by a celebrated poet, that it may not be improper to cite the illustration here.

“ God loves from whole to parts : but human soul
 Must rise from individual to the whole.
 Self-love but serves the virtuous mind to wake,
 As the small pebble stirs the peaceful lake :
 The centre mov'd, a circle straight succeeds,
 An other still, and still an other spreads.
 Friend, parent, neighbour, first it will embrace ;
 His country next ; and next all human race :
 Wide and more wide, th' o'erflowings of the mind
 Take ev'ry creature in, of ev'ry kind.
 Earth smiles around, with boundless bounty bless'd ;
 And Heav'n beholds its image in his breast.”

But how beneficial soever may be the tendency of this domestic and social intercourse, I am inclined to believe that its happy effects are often limited, and sometimes lost, for want of due reflection and encouragement. Enjoyments which are very familiar, and of daily or hourly occurrence, are apt to pass by us unnoticed : and frequently from this circumstance, they almost lose their nature, and become nearly, if not altogether, uninteresting. It is therefore of high importance to our virtue and happiness, that we should often call ourselves to account, for the estimate, and

the use, we make of the blessings with which we are surrounded. Our self examination, with regard to the subject under consideration, would perhaps be rendered more effectual, by an individual inquiry, how far we have attended to the means of augmenting our domestic and social enjoyments. Inquiries similar to those which follow, seriously put to ourselves, would present these enjoyments in lively and impressive points of view. Are we duly sensible how happy we really are, in the possession of affectionate relations, and in the constant interchange of kind offices? Do we consider properly, how much we depend on their attachment and love, for the numerous and the daily pleasures we enjoy? how often we have experienced their sympathy and aid, when we have had to encounter affliction or disappointments? and how ready they would be to fly to our assistance again, if we should need their consolation and support? Do we sometimes picture in our minds, the wants and distresses which we should feel, if we were deprived of these tender and faithful friends? and reflect, that when they are lost, they are lost forever to us in this world?—It is scarcely possible, that repeated examinations of this nature, should not be productive of the happiest effects, by teaching us continually to value and improve our present privileges. A similar process of reflection, with

respect to health of mind and body; a competence of property; fair reputation; civil and religious liberty; the light of Christianity; an exemption from numerous evils; and every other favour conferred upon us by Divine Providence; would not only refine and exalt these blessings in our estimation, but affect our hearts with more fervent gratitude to the Giver of all Good, for the continuance of his bounties, both temporal and spiritual. That I may be much more studious than I ever have been, to number and improve my blessings; and to avoid the reproaches of my own heart, for suffering them to pass by me unacknowledged; is my sincere and earnest desire.

I am affectionately, &c.

LETTER V.

My dear Friend,

I HAVE often considered it as a special privilege, demanding my grateful acknowledgments to Divine Providence, that my afflictions have admitted of great alleviation; and that they have been laid upon me, with a most lenient hand. When I became confined, and incapable of but very little bodily exercise, I was not wholly deprived of every species of exertion. I could still employ myself in reading, in writing, and in conversation. My mind was preserved free and active. I might therefore hope to be exercised in doing something that would be useful to myself and others: something that would agreeably employ my mental powers; and prevent that tedium and irritability, which bodily infirmities too often occasion. This might be accomplished in various ways; and I ventured to believe it might, in part, be effected by a publication which I had in view, and which I presumed would be interesting to many readers. In

the early part of my life, as well as in its succeeding periods, I had a lively pleasure and satisfaction, in perusing the sentiments of eminent and virtuous persons, on the subject of religion and futurity, when they approached the close of life. From men who had known the world, and who were qualified, and disposed, to give a true estimate of its nature and enjoyments, and whom we could not suspect of dissimulation at that awful period, much important instruction, I conceived, might be derived; and I trust I have been, in some degree, benefitted by studies of this kind. Reflecting on the pleasure, and the good effects, which this species of reading had produced on my own mind, I naturally supposed that it would be attended with similar effects on the minds of others. I thought too, that a collection of the testimonies of great and good persons, in favour of piety and virtue, would, if they were properly arranged, be more interesting, and more efficacious, than a perusal of them detached, as many of them are, in the pages of history and biography. Under these impressions, or views of the subject, I commenced my little work. As I wished to form it on liberal principles, and render it acceptable to readers in general, I was careful to introduce characters of various religious professions, and of different ages and countries. The concurrence of these, in the

recommendation of religion, as the great promoter of our happiness here and hereafter, would, I conceived, form a strong persuasive evidence, in the cause of piety and virtue. I flattered myself, that a body of testimonies, so striking and important, would exhibit religion in a most attractive form: and that it would be calculated to console and animate the well-disposed; to rouse the careless; and to convince, or, at least, to discountenance, the unbeliever. In the course of the work I annexed to many of the characters, such observations as appeared to me to rise out of the subject, and to be calculated to arrest the reader's attention, and promote the design which I had in view.

The first edition of this book, which was entitled, "The Power of Religion on the Mind, &c.," appeared in the year 1787. It consisted of only five hundred copies; all of which were neatly bound, and distributed at my own expense. I sent them to the principal inhabitants of York and its vicinity; and accompanied each book with an anonymous note requesting a favourable acceptance of it, and apologizing for the liberty I had taken. It was not without some hesitation, that I adopted so singular a mode of distribution. But, on mature reflection, I believed it to be more eligible than any other, for the purpose which I had in view. And as I

was but little known in the city, and the work was anonymous, I perhaps indulged a hope, that the author might not be recognised, and that the business would pass away, without much, if any, reflection upon me. At any rate, I flattered myself, that if the author should be discovered, the goodness of his intentions, would protect him from the severity of censure, even by those who might be disposed to consider his procedure as rather eccentric.

I soon found that my publication was well received: and it was not long before I was encouraged to print a new edition of the work, in London, which met with a good sale. Several other impressions appeared in different places. When, after some time, a sixth edition was called for, I was induced to enlarge the book, and to put my name to it. And as I afterwards found that it continued to make a favourable progress, I conceived that if the copyright were assigned to some booksellers of extensive business and influence, it would be circulated more diffusively, and my design in composing it be still more effectually answered. Under this idea, I extended the work considerably; made some improvements in the language; and then disposed of the copyright, without any pecuniary recompense. With this plan, I have every reason to be perfectly satisfied. The demand for the book has

far exceeded my utmost expectation: and the testimonies of approbation, and of its usefulness, which I have received, have been truly gratifying; and have given me cause to be thankful to the Author of my being, that I have been the instrument, even in a small degree, of disseminating excitements to a pious and virtuous course of life.

I am sensible it is difficult to write with proper delicacy, concerning publications which have been made by one's self; especially if they have been attended with any demonstrations of public favour and respect. I hope, however, that in the preceding account of the "Power of Religion on the Mind," I have not deviated from the dictates of propriety; and that, in the narrative and observations, which I may hereafter make, respecting my other literary productions, I shall be careful to offer nothing which may not be warranted by the occasion, and the nature of the subject. These productions have occupied so material a part of my life, and engaged so much of my study and attention, that I shall not, perhaps, be censured, for dwelling upon them with some degree of particularity.

At the close of the year 1794, I was seized with a severe illness, which continued for many weeks; and reduced me to so feeble a state, that my recovery was much doubted. During the

continuance of this affliction, I was often desirous, that, if it were the will of Divine Providence, I might be removed from this state of trouble, and landed safely, as I hoped through infinite mercy I should be, on those happy shores, where there is neither sickness nor sorrow. But I must acknowledge, that this desire of being released from life, and its attendant trials, was not consistent with that reverence and resignation to the will of God, which are due to him from all his rational creatures. He who notices the fall of every sparrow, sees us in all our afflictions; and knows how to support us under them, and the proper time to deliver us from their pressure; and he will assuredly do what he knows to be best for us. From the greatest distresses, good may proceed: our spirits may receive additional refinement; and our example of pious, humble submission, may be edifying and consoling to our friends and others.

I have, in the course of forty years, been visited with many illnesses, some of which have been very painful, and brought me near the gates of death. But I have always had the happiness to perceive, that they were a necessary and salutary discipline, replete with instruction of the most important nature, and better for me, than if I had enjoyed a uniform tenour of health and strength. In reflecting upon them, I have been

so fully convinced of their utility, that I view them as concealed blessings; and have reason to be very grateful to Divine Providence, for this mixture of bitters with the sweets of life.

There are many powerful reasons, for our bearing with patience, resignation, and even with cheerfulness, the bodily afflictions with which we are visited. It is the will of God that we should be subject to them. Pain and death are the appointment of Divine Providence, as the lot of man: and therefore, to endure them, with composure and reverence, is our duty. They are designed to let us see our weakness; the insufficiency of the things of time to make us happy; and the necessity of providing for a better state.—They tend to refine our minds, to exalt our views, and prepare us for future happiness. “These light afflictions, which are but for a moment, work for us a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory.”—They form a part of the punishment for sin in general, and often for particular sins. “Why doth a living man complain; a man for the punishment of his sin?” How light is this correction, when it is compared with what we deserve! If this, joined to the other sorrows of life, be all the chastisement we are to receive, for our ingratitude and numerous offences, how cheerfully should it be endured; especially when the great recompense,

at last, is contemplated!—Our afflictions, or our works, how grievous or how great soever they may be, can not, indeed, be a satisfaction for sin, and the ground of our acceptance by Heaven. These transcendent blessings are derived to us from an infinitely higher source, the sacrifice and merits of the Redeemer of the world, through the medium of our faith. But works that are truly good, are not to be undervalued. They are the genuine fruits and evidences of true faith; they are acceptable to the God of love and mercy; and they are required by him, as our indispensable duties.

These views of Divine Providence and Grace, if they were thoroughly impressed on our minds, would have a strong tendency to reconcile us, not only to bodily afflictions, but to all the distresses and trials, which the wisdom and goodness of our heavenly Father may be pleased to appoint for us.

I was often solicited to compose and publish a Grammar of the English language, for the use of some teachers, who were not perfectly satisfied with any of the existing grammars. I declined, for a considerable time, complying with this request, from a consciousness of my inability to do the subject that justice, which would be expected in a new publication of this nature. But being much pressed to undertake the work, I, at length,

turned my attention seriously to it. I conceived that a grammar containing a careful selection of the most useful matter, and an adaptation of it to the understanding, and the gradual progress of learners, with a special regard to the propriety and purity of all the examples and illustrations; would be some improvement on the English grammars which had fallen under my notice. With this impression, I ventured to produce the first edition of a work on this subject. It appeared in the spring of the year 1795. I will not assert, that I have accomplished all that I proposed. But the approbation and the sale which the book obtained, have given me some reason to believe, that I have not altogether failed in my endeavours to elucidate the subject, and to facilitate the labours of both teachers and learners of English grammar.

In a short time after the appearance of the work, a second edition was called for. This unexpected demand, induced me to revise and enlarge the book. It soon obtained an extensive circulation. And the repeated editions through which it passed in a few years, encouraged me, at length, to improve and extend it still further; and, in particular, to support, by some critical discussions, the principles upon which many of its positions are founded.

Soon after the Grammar had been published, I was persuaded to compose a volume of Exercises, calculated to correspond with, and illustrate, by copious examples, all the rules of the Grammar, both principal and subordinate. At the same time, I formed a Key to the Exercises, designed for the convenience of teachers, and for the use of young persons, who had left school, and who might be desirous, at their leisure, to improve themselves in grammatical studies and perspicuous composition. In forming these two latter volumes, my design was, not only to exercise the student's ingenuity, in correcting the sentences; and to excite him to the study of grammar, by the pleasure of feeling his own powers and progress: but to introduce, for his imitation, a great number of sentences, selected from the best writers, and distinguished by their perspicuity and elegance; and to imbue his mind with sentiments of the highest importance, by interweaving principles of piety and virtue with the study of language. The Exercises and Key were published in 1797; and met with a greater sale than I could have supposed. The approbation they received made ample amends to me, for the time and labour I had bestowed upon them. And I was encouraged, in the same year, to make an Abridgment of the Grammar, for the use of minor schools, and for those who were

beginning to study the language. The four volumes being intimately connected, mutually supported and recommended each other. And this circumstance, I believe, induced many teachers to adopt them in their seminaries of education.

As these books, except the Abridgment, were reprinted at York, I consented to correct the press; by which, I presume, they appeared with a greater degree of accuracy, (a point of considerable importance to books designed for schools,) than if they had not received the author's inspection. This circumstance contributed to occupy some of my leisure hours; and, for a time, afforded a little amusement. Inconvenient as the employment afterwards proved, when it increased much beyond my expectation, I still continued it, with a hope that it would be productive of good effects. My examination of the new editions, gave occasion to many corrections and considerable enlargements; which I flatter myself, have improved the books, and rendered them less unworthy of the extensive patronage which they have received.

In the course of my literary labours, I found that the mental exercise which accompanied them, was not a little beneficial to my health. The motives which excited me to write, and the objects which I hoped to accomplish, were of a

nature calculated to cheer the mind, and to give the animal spirits a salutary impulse. I am persuaded, that if I had suffered my time to pass away, with little or no employment, my health would have been still more impaired, my spirits depressed, and perhaps my life considerably shortened. I have therefore reason to deem it a happiness, and a source of gratitude to Divine Providence, that I was enabled, under my bodily weakness and confinement, to turn my attention to the subjects which have, for so many years, afforded me abundant occupation. I think it is incumbent upon us, whatever may be our privations, to cast our eyes around, and endeavour to discover, whether there are not some means yet left us, of doing good to ourselves and to others; that our lights may, in some degree, shine in every situation, and, if possible, be extinguished only with our lives. The quantum of good which, under such circumstances, we do, ought not to disturb or affect us. If we perform what we are able to perform, how little soever it may be, it is enough; it will be acceptable in the sight of Him, who knows how to estimate exactly all our actions, by comparing them with our disposition and ability.

These considerations, joined to the unexpected success which I had met with in my publications, encouraged me to persevere in my literary pur-

suits. I engaged in a work, which appeared to me likely to prove of peculiar advantage to the rising generation. This was a compilation containing some of the most esteemed pieces in the language, both in prose and poetry: which are at once calculated to promote correct reading; to give a taste for justness of thought, and elegance of composition; and to inculcate pious and virtuous sentiments. This work I entitled, "The English Reader:" and I was pleased to find that my hopes respecting it, were not disappointed. The book was introduced, as I wished it to be, into many schools and private families; and it has been often reprinted.

The approbation given to the English Reader, induced me to publish an "Introduction" and a "Sequel" to that book. These three volumes pursue the same subjects; they all aim at a chaste and guarded education of young persons. And I have great satisfaction in reflecting, that whilst they contain many selections which present the moral virtues, religion, and the Christian religion in particular, in very amiable points of view, not a sentiment has been admitted into any of them, which can pain the most virtuous mind, or give the least offence to the eye or ear of modesty.

The recommendations which these books received, for the chastity and correctness of senti-

ment, which distinguish the pieces they contain, persuaded me to believe, that a collection, in French, on similar principles, and made from some of the finest writers; would be received by the public, with some degree of approbation. Animated by this expectation, I produced in the year 1802, a compilation entitled, "Lecteur François;" and in 1807, another, with the title of "Introduction au Lecteur François." As the contents of both these volumes are extracted from authors of reputation, and are particularly guarded in point of sentiment and morality, I hoped that they would be acceptable to teachers of schools, and private instructors, as well as to the young persons who were under their care, and others who wished to improve themselves in the language. I have had no reason to regret the time and pains, which I employed, in preparing and producing these volumes. In foreign languages, not less than in English, it is of high importance, that youth should be presented with books inculcating sound morality, and purified from every thing, which might stain the delicacy of their minds. And I trust that, in these respects, as well as with regard to purity of style and justness of composition, these volumes will bear the strictest examination.

In the year 1804, I published a Spelling Book. When it first occurred to me to compose this

little book, and for some time afterwards, the work appeared to be of so very humble a nature, that I was not in much haste to set about it. On reflecting, however, that a Spelling book is commonly the threshold of learning; and that by introducing into it a number of easy reading lessons, calculated to attract attention, the infant mind might be imbued with the love of goodness, and led to approve and practise many duties connected with early life; my hesitation was removed, and, after a considerable time, the work was completed. But I found it much more difficult than I expected. The adaptation of lessons to the young capacity, and the exactness required in the gradations of instruction, appeared to demand all the judgment and attention of which I was master; and probably called for much more than I possessed. After many essays, I came at length to the end of my labour. I made it a point, in composing the Spelling book, to introduce no matter that is foreign to the objects which such a work ought to have in view; and I was studious to bring the latter reading lessons to such a state of advancement, as would form an easy and natural connexion between this book and the "Introduction to the English Reader."

From the friend whom I am now addressing, and at whose request these Memoirs are written, I certainly received much valuable, and very

material, assistance, in compiling the Spelling Book, The Introduction to the English Reader, and the two volumes in French; and I can not, with propriety, omit, on the present occasion, the acknowledgment of this co-operation. It is also proper to add, in this place, that I received from the same hand, and from a number of my literary correspondents, many very useful suggestions and criticisms, with respect to my English Grammar, and some of my other publications. Those hints and criticisms have undoubtedly contributed, in no small degree, to improve the books, and to render them less unworthy of the attention which they have received from the public.

As I was desirous that my publications should have a circulation as extensive as I could procure for them, I sold the copyrights to one of the first houses in London. These booksellers had it in their power to spread them very diffusively; and they have done it perfectly to my satisfaction. They gave a liberal price for the books: and I must say, that in all our transactions together, which have not been very limited, they have demonstrated great honour and uprightness, and entirely justified my confidence and expectations. I have great pleasure in knowing that the purchase of the copyrights has proved highly advantageous to them: and though it has turned

out much more lucrative, than was at first contemplated, they are fully entitled to the benefit. Such contracts always have in them some degree of hazard; and it was possible that these might have been attended with little or no profit.

But my views in writing and publishing were not of a pecuniary nature. My great objects were, as I before observed, to be instrumental in doing a little good to others, to youth in particular; and to give my mind a rational and salutary employment. It was, I believe, my early determination, that if any profits should arise from my literary labours, I would apply them, not to my own private use, but to charitable purposes, and for the benefit of others. My income was sufficient to support the expenses of my family, and to allow of a little to spare; and I had not any children to provide for. There was consequently no inducement to warrant me, in deviating from the determination I had made: and as I have hitherto adhered, I trust I shall continue faithfully to adhere, to my original views and intentions. By these observations, I do not design any censure on those writers, who apply the profits of their works, to increase the amount of their property. Many persons, from their situation, their connexions, and other considerations, find this application proper or necessary. Every case must be decided by its own peculiar

circumstances; and whilst we claim indulgence to our own sentiments and conduct, we should be liberally disposed to make every allowance for those who think and act differently.

After the Grammar and the books connected with it, had passed through many editions, the proprietors conceived that an edition of the whole, in two volumes octavo, on fine paper, and in a large letter, would be well received by the public; and I embraced the opportunity, to improve the work, by many additions which I conceived to be appropriate. These occupied about one hundred pages of the first volume. In its present form, the publication is designed for the use of persons who may think it merits a place in their libraries. To this privilege it may, perhaps, be allowed to aspire, as a work containing a pretty extensive exhibition of the principles of English grammar, and a copious illustration of those principles; with the addition of some positions and discussions, which I persuade myself are not destitute of originality. It will, therefore, I venture to hope, serve as a book of reference, to refresh the memory; and, in some degree, to employ the curiosity of persons who are skilled in grammar, as well as to extend the knowledge of those who wish to improve themselves in the art. This octavo edition of the Grammar appeared in 1808. It was fa-

vourably received; and a new edition of it was ordered in the course of a few months.

At this period, I had the satisfaction to perceive, that all my literary productions were approved; and that most of them were advancing in the public estimation. But I was fully persuaded that an author ought to terminate his labours, before the tide of favour begins to turn; and before he incurs the charge of being so infected with the morbid humour for writing, as not to have the discretion to know when to stop. I was so sensible of what was due to the public, for their favourable reception of my productions, that I was extremely unwilling to forfeit their approbation, by presuming too much on what I had experienced. It appears to be better to retire from the field of public labour, with some advantages, than to incur the risk of losing all, or of impairing what had been acquired, by feeble and unsuccessful efforts to obtain more. I may add to these observations, that I had, perhaps, pursued this mode of employment rather too closely; and that I wished for more leisure to prosecute other studies. Influenced by these various motives, I have closed my literary labours, for the present at least; and I shall not resume them, unless some special considerations should alter my views of the subject. There will, I trust, still remain for me, other sources of

employment, and some degree of usefulness, better adapted to circumstances, and to my growing infirmities of body.

It may not be improper for me on this occasion, to express the comfortable hope which I entertain, that, notwithstanding my infirmities and privations, I have been an instrument of some good to others, by my studies and publications. This is a source of grateful acknowledgment to the Giver of all good, and Disposer of all events. But I must not be misunderstood. I arrogate nothing to myself; I have nothing to boast of. If I have done any thing that is acceptable to God, it has been but little; and that little has been produced by his gracious assistance, and accepted for the sake of Jesus Christ. In reflecting on my errors and transgressions through life, my numberless omissions of what I ought to have done, and commissions of what I ought not to have done, I perceive abundant cause for deep humiliation; and for esteeming very lightly, and exceedingly defective, my endeavours to promote the interests of virtue, and to do the will of my heavenly Father.

I have occasionally, in these Memoirs, made some observations on the importance of learning and knowledge to the human mind: but it may not be improper to express my sentiments more explicitly, on this interesting subject.—I con-

sider these attainments, as of so great consequence to us, in civil, moral, and religious points of view, that it would be difficult to calculate the benefits which they produce. And yet, like most, if not all other, advantages, they may be overvalued, misapplied, or pursued to excess. This is unhappily the case, when they nourish pride and vanity; occupy too much of our time; or interfere with the great duties of loving and serving our Creator, and promoting the welfare, spiritual or temporal, of our fellow-creatures. All our duties of every kind, all the rational and allowable concerns of life, are perfectly consistent, and harmonize together, when they are pursued according to their respective importance, and in due subordination to one another. If, therefore, in the acquisition of learning and knowledge, and in the enjoyments which they afford us, we perceive that the supreme love of God prevails in our hearts; that the interests and happiness of others are warmly and properly felt; and that our own well-being hereafter, is the chief aim and concern of our lives; we may securely trust, that our studies and literary engagements, are not only innocent and allowable, but conducive to the great ends of our existence. These, indeed, appear to be the true tests, by which we may ascertain the rectitude of all our views and pursuits.

In the prosecution of classical learning, not only the limitations and tendencies just mentioned, are to be regarded, but peculiar caution and restraint are requisite, especially in the education of young persons. It will doubtless be admitted, that several of the ancient celebrated authors contain passages which, in point of religion, morality, and even decency, are very exceptionable; that they have a strong tendency to corrupt the tender minds of youth; and to leave impressions which, in mature years, may foster their depravities, or, at least, increase the conflicts of virtue.

There are, indeed, some editions of the classics, which have received a considerable degree of purgation; for which the world is not a little indebted to the worthy labourers in this department of literature.* But there is, perhaps, much yet remaining, in several of them, which calls for the purifying operations of some judicious, learned, and conscientious persons. And till this complete purification takes place, I conceive it is of high importance, that a scrupulously selected number of these ancient works should be adopted, not in a few only, but in all our classical seminaries.

* A purified edition of the British Poets, was also an object which Mr. Murray had much at heart. EDITOR.

This selection would doubtless exclude some books, which are distinguished by the simplicity and elegance of their style, and the correctness of their composition. But this sacrifice would be of little moment, compared with the great benefits which it would produce. Fine language and beautiful composition prove the more dangerous, when they are the vehicles of corrupt and pernicious sentiments. They certainly can never compensate for the wounds to virtue, which they serve so deeply, and so often permanently, to inflict. The exclusion of the objectionable books above alluded to, would be of less consequence, and the less to be regretted, because there would still remain a considerable number and variety of ancient authors, in prose and verse, abundantly sufficient for the classical education of young persons.

After all the care that can be taken, in selecting the best and most purified of those celebrated writers, there will still be found amongst them, great defects in the religion and morality which they inculcate. Much imperfection may remain even where positive vice is excluded. It would, therefore, be of singular advantage to the youthful mind, if teachers would, on all proper occasions, remark to their pupils these imperfections; and contrast them with the pure and perfect principles of the Christian religion. The ne-

cessity and importance of Christianity to mankind, and many of its distinguishing doctrines and precepts, would, by this means, be evinced and unfolded to young persons. And it may be reasonably presumed that, in numerous instances, this procedure would not only make the happiest impressions on their susceptible minds, but prepare them for an attachment to our holy religion, which no sophistry or scorn of the infidel, no intercourse with the world, would ever be able to destroy.—I have no doubt that the practice I am recommending, is approved and observed, by many instructors of youth. But it is highly desirable, that a practice so eminently useful, should be universally adopted by classical teachers, both public and private, as an indispensable part of education.

At the close of the year 1808, I met with a most affecting event, in the death of my youngest sister, the wife of Gilbert Colden Willett. She had been, for nearly a year, much indisposed; and the disorder made a gradual progress, till it put a period to her mortal existence, in the forty-fifth year of her age. From the letters of my relations, which mention her decease, and the circumstances attending it, I have derived great consolation. She was so patient, so fully resigned to the will of God, and so well prepared to leave the world, and enter into a state of

blessedness; that we have no cause to mourn on her account. She has, doubtless, commenced that life, which is free from temptation and sorrow; and in which she will be unspeakably happy for ever. I rejoice that I have had such a sister; and I trust that the recollection of her pious and bright example, will prove, through life, a source of thankfulness, and an additional incentive to virtue. As I feel so deeply interested in this event, I think that an account of some of her expressions, and her deportment, at and near the closing scene, will not be deemed unsuitable to a narrative which relates the chief occurrences of my life.—For several weeks before her death, she was at times affected with exquisite bodily pain, and was often nearly suffocated by the disorder of her lungs. But her own distresses, which were borne with great patience, did not prevent her from attending to the feelings and situation of her husband and children, her relations and friends. She was solicitous to diminish their care, and to relieve their anxiety about her, as much as possible.

Though her hope and trust in the mercy of God, through Jesus Christ, were strong and unshaken, yet she was very humble, and thought but little of her own attainments. To a person who expressed a desire to take pattern after her, she meekly replied: "I desire to take pattern



after the Lord Jesus Christ." In one of her intervals of relief from great pain, a person in the room calling her blessed, she answered; "Not yet blessed." And to her husband who said, he was sure she was going to be happy, she replied: "Not sure, my love; we can not be sure: but I trust in the mercy of the Almighty." At an other time, her husband speaking of her goodness, as the ground of a lively hope, she put her hand on his lips, as if to silence him on the subject of herself. On observing the grief of her sister, at a particular time, she said to her; "I hope there is no cause for grief:" and, on an other occasion, when her sister was much distressed with beholding her extreme agony of body, she lifted up her finger, with a view to recommend to her submission to the will of God.

Perceiving her husband to be in great affliction she said to him: "Remember who it is that inflicts the blow. It is intended for your good; and, I trust, for mine." At one time, just after she had recovered from great difficulty in breathing, she said to her friends who were near her: "Fix your heart upon God, and he will support you in an hour like this. Be good, and you will be happy." To one of her domestics, she addressed herself thus: "Farewell, my dear Jane. Remember my advice. If I am happy,

you may be so too. You have, I believe, a good heart. May God Almighty bless you!"

With great composure, she gave her husband particular directions respecting her funeral: and, at the same time, desired him to communicate her love to her absent relations, mentioning most of them by their names. She expressed a tender concern, that these observations might not afflict him; and said, that she should not be taken away the sooner, for having made them. It appeared, through the whole of her deportment, that though her heart and views were directed towards heaven, she did not forget the duties that remained to be performed upon earth. She thanked her husband, in the most affectionate manner, for his attentions to her; and expressed regret that he had suffered so much confinement. With a countenance unusually expressive, she said to him: "My beloved husband, I believe I have been favoured with the sweet spirit of my blessed Saviour. O, the comfort and consolation afforded to my soul! He will support me on this trying occasion. Look to him, my dear: he will sustain you; and enable you to be an example to our dear children. O, that you and they, and all my relations and friends, may feel that pleasing hope, which will support you during life! You must patiently acquiesce in the Divine will. I have,

for many years, been a poor, feeble woman : but now my strength and hope are great in Him who gave, and in Him who taketh away ; blessed be his holy name !”

The day preceding her death, she put up a prayer to her heavenly Father, beseeching him, in a sweet and melodious voice, that he would be pleased to bless her beloved husband, her dear sisters, and her lovely and loving children ; saying that he could take much better care of them than she was able to do.

The same day, whilst she was supported to sit up in bed, she expressed a desire to see her children, and to speak to them. They came to her ; and kneeled down at her bed side, that they might the more reverently attend to the expressions of their dying mother. This was a most affecting scene, which totally overcame her husband, who was taken out of the room. Her weakness of body was so great, that she was just able to give them her last blessing, and to take leave of them, individually, in these expressive words : “ Farewell, my beloved !” — To her other relations and friends who were present, she gave her hand with the utmost composure, as a token of her love, and final separation from them in this world.

The awful period was now approaching, in which her spirit was to sustain its last conflict.

When she was near her end, and in great distress of body, she still felt for the sorrows of her husband; and fearing that the scene would too much affect him, she waved her hand, as a signal for him to leave the room. In about half an hour after this, her pains abated; and she calmly breathed her last, without sigh or groan, uttering these consoling words, expressive of her piety and faith: "Sweet Jesus, take me to thyself!"

Thus terminated the life of this good and pious sister; who exchanged, I doubt not, the sorrows of time for the joys of eternity. Though her trials and afflictions were great, yet compared with the happiness she now enjoys, and which she will for endless ages enjoy, they are lighter than can be conceived; and deserve no consideration but that which is derived from their salutary effects. I have reason to believe, that she found the troubles and disappointments of this life, a great incitement to piety and virtue; a powerful motive to look for that felicity in a better world, which she perceived was not to be met with in this. One source of perpetual gratitude and praises to her gracious Benefactor, will doubtless be, the afflictions which his good Providence saw meet to dispense, in order to wean her from too great an attachment to the things of this life. When we view

afflictions in this light, they almost lose their nature ; and dispose us to receive them as friendly visitors, as blessings in disguise.

I have, at length, after many delays and interruptions, brought the Memoirs of my life to the present period, the spring of the year 1809 ; and I hope I shall be able to finish the work, in my next letter.

I am, with much respect and regard, &c.

LETTER VI.

My dear Friend,

I SHALL close the account which I had undertaken to give of the chief events of my life, with a few reflections and observations, which naturally arise on the review of scenes and transactions that so intimately concern me.

I have often deeply regretted, and, if memory lasts, I shall often regret through life, that a great part of my time has been spent in too earnest a pursuit of the enjoyments of this transient scene, and in little attention to the interests of a life that is infinitely better. I always approved of that wisdom, which provides for a distant and permanent happiness, especially an eternal happiness, though to obtain it many sacrifices of temporary pleasures are to be made; and I was fully persuaded, that a course of piety and virtue, notwithstanding the trials which attend it, is

productive of more solid satisfaction, than all the enjoyments with which the most prosperous worldly pursuits are accompanied. I knew that the consciousness of doing well, the approbation of Heaven, and the well grounded hope of future felicity, are sufficient to raise the mind above all the troubles of time, and to give it a dignity and peace, which nothing earthly can confer. But the busy scenes, and the allurements of the world, were before me, and attracting my attention. The animation produced by flattering prospects; an undue solicitude for the approbation of others; the example of numbers around me, in the earnest pursuit of honours, riches, or pleasures; and the expectation that a more convenient season would arrive, for a truly self-denying and serious course of life; all concurred to insnare my heart, and to induce me to postpone, or to pursue irresolutely, those objects which I hoped would, some time or other, form my greatest concern. I did not properly reflect, as I ought to have done, that, besides losing, through these unhappy delays, a great deal of true and solid enjoyment, I rendered the paths of religion more difficult, by strengthening the habits of folly and procrastination; and laid up for myself a store of afflictive recollections during life.

Time thus misemployed, could not, however, be recalled; and it was deeply incumbent upon me, to occupy that which remained, in a very different manner; in gratitude, love, and obedience, to my gracious Preserver and Benefactor.—How happy would it be for us, if we were accustomed, in early life especially, to reflect on the nature of sinful indulgences, and their bitter fruits! We should then be disposed, often and earnestly, to pray to God for preservation; and we should escape many gloomy and sorrowful retrospects. There are periods of our lives, when the sins of youth, as well as those of more advanced years, appear with all their peculiar aggravations, and sometimes occasion great dejection and perplexity of mind. Though they may seem to sleep for a while, they will assuredly, at some time or other, rise up, and trouble our repose. These are urgent motives to resist the temptations to evil, and to prevent the distressing reflections by which it is followed.

But though the violations of duty, and the sense of our demerits, are productive of such uneasy retrospects; and often induce us, emphatically to say, as the patriarch Jacob did, in a time of great perplexity and trouble; “I am not worthy of the least of all thy mercies;” yet we are not to despond, under this discouraging

view of our condition: a gracious remedy is provided, for all these regrets and distresses. To those who truly repent, and believe in Jesus Christ, the Redeemer of the world, a comfortable hope is afforded, that, through his atonement and intercession, their heavenly Father will pardon all their sins; prepare them, by the operations of his Holy Spirit, for an admittance into his blessed kingdom; and animate them with gratitude, love, and praises to him, both now and for ever.

It is scarcely necessary to observe, that whilst I condemn myself, for rating too highly, and pursuing too ardently, the good things of this life, I do not mean to insinuate, that they can not be innocently enjoyed, or that they are to be undervalued by those whose hearts are fixed on a better world. We sometimes, however, meet with persons of a serious and peculiar cast of mind, who declaim against the enjoyments of life, not only as things of short duration; but as vanities which are not worth our attention, and above which the pious man is so far elevated, as to look down upon them with contempt. This is a sentiment which, I think, ought not, on any occasion, to be indulged. The follies and vanities of life, are, indeed, to be despised; and they are despised, by those who are truly good. But

the provision which Divine Providence has graciously made, for our accommodation and comfort, as we pass through this world, demands the attention of a wise and religious man; and it should be received with gratitude to the Giver of every good gift. How elevated soever his mind may be above this transient scene, he contemplates its lawful enjoyments as happily suited to his present state of existence; and he partakes of them with a cheerful and thankful heart. On this subject the devout Addison has beautifully and gratefully expressed his sentiments.

Ten thousand thousand precious gifts,
 My daily thanks employ;
 Nor is the least a cheerful heart,
 That tastes those gifts with joy.

Through ev'ry period of my life,
 Thy goodness I'll pursue;
 And after death, in distant worlds,
 The glorious theme renew.

At the same time that the pious and grateful man perceives, that to him belongs "the promise of the life that now is," as well as "of that which is to come," he is deeply sensible of the danger and temptations to which he is exposed; and he feels it his duty to keep a perpetual watch, lest the continual and urgent solicitation

of the pleasant things around him, should draw away his heart from the love of God, and a proper concern for his future happiness. He is anxious to set a due and proportionate value on all the Divine gifts, spiritual and temporal. I can conceive of no higher wisdom, or greater enjoyment on earth, than this grateful sense of Divine bounty; this due subordination of earthly to heavenly blessings; joined to a steady reliance on the goodness and mercy of God, for his protection through this life, and an inheritance in his blessed kingdom for ever. Compared with these pious and rational enjoyments, all the vain pleasures of a worldly life, spent in forgetfulness of our great Benefactor, are, indeed, light as air, and empty as the bubbles of the deep.

With regard to the privations and trials, with which it has pleased Divine Providence to visit me, I hope I may say, without assuming too much to myself, that I have long acquiesced in my lot, with resignation and cheerfulness. Though I have had for more than twenty years, great debility of body, and almost constant confinement, proceeding from my inability to walk; I do not recollect that, in the course of this trying period, I ever repined at my situation, or expressed a dissatisfied sentiment respecting it, except on one occasion. This happened in the

first year of my indisposition, and was produced by the following circumstance. I had made considerable efforts to overcome the disorder with which I was affected. But perceiving no good effect from any of them, I began to be tolerably reconciled to my condition. At this time, another physician was called in, to assist the family doctor; and by his earnest recommendation, I was induced to take a particular medicine, from which he and myself anticipated much benefit. But instead of being useful, it proved injurious to me. The sanguine hope of relief which I had indulged, made me feel the disappointment very severely: and contemplating, at that moment, my prime of life, and the prosperous circumstances with which I was surrounded, I foolishly said, it was hard that I should be deprived of health, at a time when it appeared to be so peculiarly desirable. This expression was scarcely uttered, when my heart condemned me for its rashness. I felt remorse for this want of submission to Divine Providence; and was much humbled under the sense of my folly. The painful reflections which I had, on this occasion, probably contributed to make me more guarded, in future, against the admission of thoughts so unjust and irreverent. There has, indeed, amidst all my privations, been no cause for murmuring. I have possessed so many comforts, so many

sources of real enjoyment, that I have often thought my debility and confinement could scarcely be called an affliction. And I sincerely lament, that I have so little improved the blessings which have been conferred upon me.

When I contemplate my own unworthiness, and the goodness of God to me, through the whole course of my life, I feel that I can not be too humble, nor too grateful for his manifold mercies. I can not, indeed, be sufficiently thankful for them. Amidst the numerous blessings which I have received, it has afforded me peculiar satisfaction, that I have been disposed to ascribe them all to Him, as the Origin and Giver of every thing that is good; as the Parent, Redeemer, and Sanctifier, of men. If I consider him as my Creator and Preserver; as the Author of the laws and operations of nature; as the Controller and Director of these laws and operations; as the immediate Bestower of benefits; or, as our Deliverer from sin and misery, and our hope of eternal life, through the sacrifice and merits of his beloved Son, the Lord Jesus Christ: I perceive that he is the Source whence every blessing is derived, and the great object of gratitude and love. But as this is a subject of high importance, and on which I love to dwell, my friend will not, I am sure, think it improper, if I express myself upon it with more particularity.

As my Creator and Preserver, I owe to him all the faculties of my soul and body, all the capacities which I have for the enjoyment of corporeal, intellectual, and spiritual objects; and, consequently, all the advantage and pleasure that I have received from these sources.

As the Author of the laws of nature, of the material, animal, and rational world, I am indebted to him for every benefit, which I have derived from this grand system of Divine wisdom and goodness. He has not only given me powers to receive happy impressions, but he has arranged and disposed his works, so that their regular operations supply those powers with objects, which are calculated to employ and gratify them. When this great machine of nature, or any part of it, produces in me pleasurable or beneficial effects, I must attribute them all to its beneficent Author, who superintends and permits these operations. If I am, at any time, enabled to conduct myself so happily, as to receive particular benefits from this arrangement and operation of second causes, I still owe them all to Him, who has both presented the feast, and given me power to partake of it, and liberty to choose what is best for me. If, therefore, I am tempted to ascribe any thing exclusively to myself, from the right use of my

ability, as a free agent, I am instantly checked by the reflection, that this ability itself is the gift of God.

I can not, on this occasion, avoid making a few observations, respecting this important sentiment, the free agency of man. Whatever difficulties attend the subject, and how perplexed soever it may have been rendered, by the reasonings of subtle and ingenious disputants; I never had a doubt of its existence. The consciousness which we have of such a power in the human mind, and the necessity there is for it, in order to make us accountable beings; the correspondent declarations of the Holy Scriptures, and the dealings of God with men, which always suppose them to be free and moral agents; afford such evidence of the truth of this fundamental article of religion, as appears to me irresistible. If we are unable rationally to explain this principle of action, and to reconcile it with other great truths; we should reflect, that our intellectual powers are of a very limited nature; that there are many things which we do not understand, but which we firmly believe; some points of doctrine which we must admit, without being, at present, able to explain them. That profound philosopher, the venerable Locke, entertained the most unshaken belief, both in the prescience

of the Divine Being, and in the free agency of man; though he confessed that his finite capacity was not able to reconcile them.—When we have sufficient evidence for truths which we can not clearly comprehend, and humbly submit to that evidence, faith becomes a special virtue, and weakness is converted into strength.—I will not pursue this subject any further, but proceed in my remarks on the benefits we receive, and in tracing the great Object of our gratitude.

As the Controller and Director of the laws of nature, I am under peculiar obligations to him, for all the comforts and benefits, which, in consequence of this direction, I have received. This divine interposition to overrule, and appoint the operation of second causes, natural and moral, and make them answer his sovereign purposes, constitutes the special government and providence of God. And all the good obtained, and evil avoided, from this interposition, must be attributed to Him, who not only superintends, but rules and directs, all things, according to his pleasure; who can turn aside impending calamities, and convert that into good, which, in its natural progress or design, would have been productive of injury to us.

If I consider the Divine Being, as immediately influencing my mind, by the operation of his

Holy Spirit; consoling me under affliction; guarding me in prosperity; strengthening my faith; animating me to piety and virtue, and supporting me in temptation; I perceive that he is eminently entitled to my gratitude and praise, for all the blessings which I receive by these gracious communications. He has access to the human mind, and knows all its wants and imperfections; and he has promised to give the Holy Spirit, to be a light and defence, a support and comfort, to those who implore his assistance, and put their trust in the Divine Redeemer of the world. And most assuredly he does not fail to perform these sacred promises to the children of men, though the mode of his communications is incomprehensible.

I consider myself as under deep obligations to God, for the trials and afflictions with which he has been pleased to visit me, as well as for the prosperous events of my life. They have been the corrections and restraints of a wise and merciful Father; and may justly be ranked among the number of my choicest blessings. I am firmly persuaded, that cross occurrences, and adverse situations, may be improved by us to the happiest purposes. The spirit of resignation to the will of Heaven, which they inculcate, and the virtuous exertions to which they prompt us, in

order to make the best of our condition, not only often greatly amend it, but confer on the mind a strength and elevation, which dispose it to survey with less attachment the transient things of time, and to desire more earnestly the eternal happiness of an other world.

I must not omit to mention, on this occasion, that I consider it as a distinguished felicity, demanding the most grateful acknowledgments to Almighty God, that I have lived in a part of the world, which has been enlightened by the rays of the Gospel; where the Holy Scriptures, in their genuine purity and excellence, are read and understood; and where many bright examples of piety and virtue, in the various ranks and walks of life, demonstrate the divine efficacy of the sublime truths and precepts of Christianity. This is a blessing which it is difficult fully to appreciate. A survey of the condition of those nations, in point of religion and morality, on whom the light of the Gospel has not yet shone, may afford us some conception of our inestimable privilege, in possessing this Sacred Volume: which, as an excellent writer* observes, “has God for its author; salvation for its end; and truth, without any mixture of error, for its matter.”

* Locke.

From the preceding enumeration and view of these most interesting subjects, even in so concise and imperfect a manner, it must be evident, that all our benefits, by whatever means they are conveyed to us, are derived from God, the Fountain of life and goodness. And it is scarcely possible to contemplate the blessings which have been so abundantly bestowed upon us; and to reflect on our own unworthiness; without being deeply sensible of these mercies, and rendering to our Divine Benefactor the tribute of thanksgiving and praise. On this occasion, the example and devotional spirit of the sweet Psalmist of Israel, naturally present themselves to our minds. He was often and strongly impressed with sentiments of this nature: particularly when he composed the one hundred and third Psalm; in which he thus pours forth his grateful emotions. "Bless the Lord, O my soul! and all that is within me bless his holy name. Bless the Lord, O my soul! and forget not all his benefits: who forgiveth all thine iniquities: who healeth all thine infirmities: who redeemeth thy life from destruction; and crowneth thee with loving kindness and tender mercies." This devout prince was ever ready to ascribe all the blessings of his life to the goodness of God; and took great delight in recounting his favours, and acknowledg-

ing his care and protection. These duties apply to us also; and they are enforced by the most important and interesting considerations.

When we reflect on the universal presence of the Deity, his perfect knowledge of all things, and his gracious declaration, that we are so much regarded by him, that the very hairs of our head are numbered; can we have the least hesitation in acknowledging his goodness, and his most particular providence? his continual, watchful attention over us, and all our concerns, in order to promote our comfort here, and to train us up for happiness hereafter? Should not the knowledge of his sacred presence and guardianship, excite us also to the utmost circumspection, in our thoughts, words, and actions? Have we not abundant encouragement, in all our spiritual and temporal exigencies, to apply to him, with filial confidence, for the aid of his Holy Spirit, to enlighten, relieve, and support us? Surrounded as we are with danger and temptations, and exposed to the assaults of subtle and powerful enemies, how consoling and animating is the thought, that the Lord of heaven and earth knows perfectly our situation; perceives with complacency every virtuous conflict; and graciously interests himself, as a Father and Friend, in our protection and deliverance!—If we were

duly influenced by these devout sentiments, we should be prepared for all the vicissitudes of this mutable world: and we should steadily pursue our journey through it, always thankful, and often rejoicing.

In the course of this narrative, I have occasionally made a number of observations on serious and religious subjects; and they are the deliberate convictions of my understanding, and the genuine feelings of my heart. But I must not be understood, as at all intimating, that I have attained the virtues, the objects to which many of these observations refer. I know that I am, indeed, very far from such an attainment; that I have great weaknesses, and many imperfections; and that they are all, in some degree, under the influence of a subtle and powerful adversary, ever watchful to circumvent and destroy. I lament their operation and effects: but I trust that, by Divine Grace, through Jesus Christ, I am, and I shall be, enabled to maintain the warfare against them: and a hope lives in my heart, that, for his sake, I shall finally be made victorious over all my spiritual enemies.

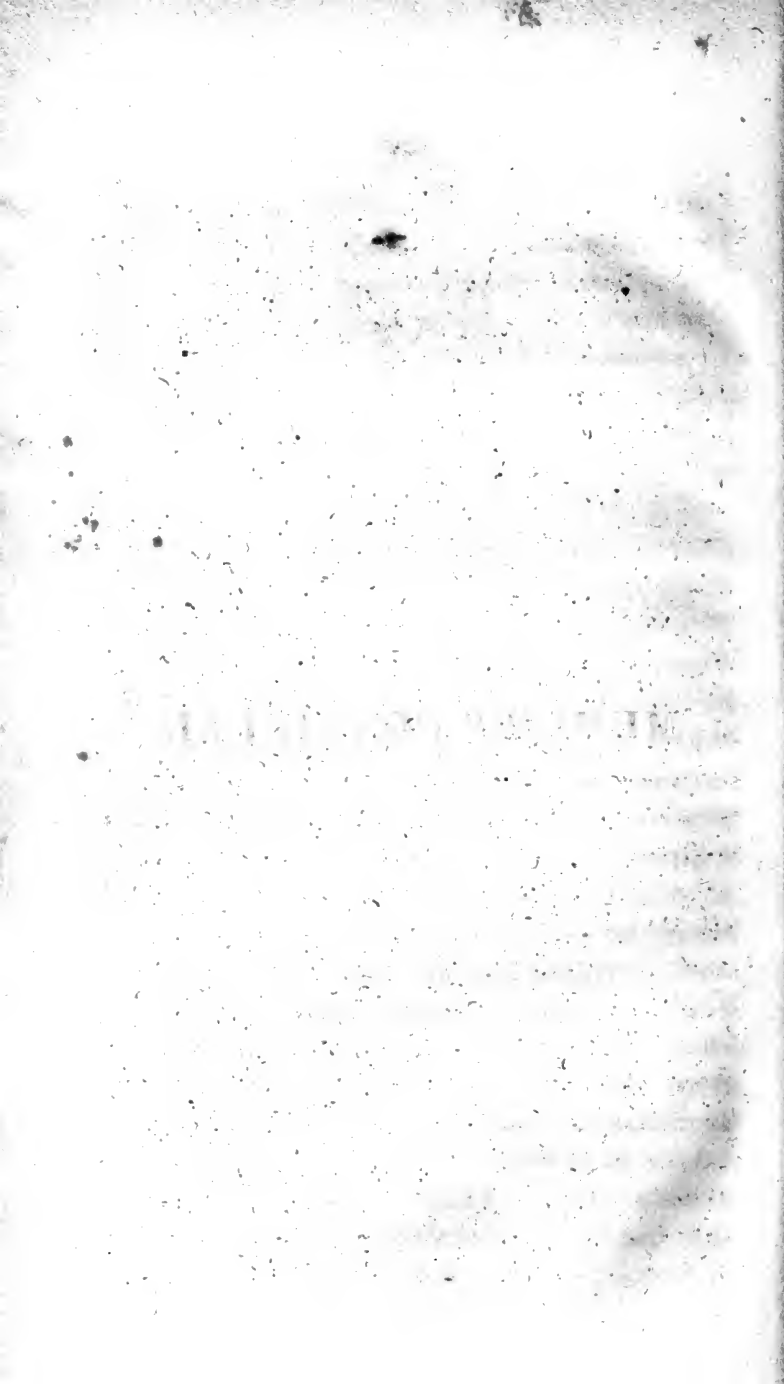
I can not finish these Memoirs of my life, without expressing, still more particularly, my sense of the greatest blessing which was ever conferred on mankind. I mean, the redemption from sin,

and the attainment of a happy immortality, by the atonement and intercession of our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ. I contemplate this wonderful proof of the love of God to man, as an act of mercy and benignity, which will stimulate the gratitude and love, the obedience, praise, and adoration, of the redeemed, through ages that will never end. This high dispensation is, in every respect, adapted to our condition, as frail and sinful creatures. In surveying our offences and imperfections, it prevents despondence; directs us where to look for relief; and freely offers us, if we are truly penitent, and believe in Christ, pardon and peace: in reflecting on our religious attainments, it checks presumption, and keeps us humble: and, amidst all the trials and troubles of life, it cheers us with the prospect of a merciful deliverance, and of being soon received into those blissful regions, where we shall be secured, eternally secured, from sin and sorrow; where we shall be admitted into the Divine presence, and unceasingly celebrate, in joyful anthems, the praises of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, one God blessed for ever. To them who obtain this glorious and happy state, all the afflictions of the longest and most painful life, will then appear to have been, indeed, light and momentary; as a drop of the ocean, as a

grain of sand on the sea-shore, compared with the greatness of their felicity, and the endless ages of its continuance.—That this inestimable blessing, my dear friend, may be ours, when we have quitted this transient scene, is my very fervent desire.

Lindley Murray.

MEMOIRS CONTINUED.



MEMOIRS CONTINUED.

CHAPTER I.

CONCLUDING YEARS OF THE AUTHOR'S LIFE.

I HAVE now presented to the reader the short but interesting recollections of the life of Mr. Murray; which he was induced to write in consequence of my urgent request. They were finished in the spring of 1809; and committed to my care in the autumn of that year. On me devolves the task of completing them. Not long before the author's decease, as well as at other times, I wished and earnestly desired him, to bring them down to a much later period; which I believe he would have done if his life had been prolonged. The addition would, I doubt not, have been peculiarly interesting and edifying; and would perhaps have afforded an almost unequalled proof of vigour of mind, and warmth of benevolent and devotional feeling, in very advanced age. But as he has performed more

than I originally either proposed or expected, I have no cause to complain; and nothing to lament, but my inability to do justice to the subject. A short account of the concluding years of his life, his character, and some remarks on his publications, will, I apprehend, comprise all that is requisite for the information of the reader, and will complete my tribute to the memory of this excellent man.

In the course of the narrative, I shall introduce a few circumstances, which, according to the strict order of time, should have been inserted in Mr. Murray's own memoirs; but which, from modesty, and other obvious motives, he has omitted.

Soon after the conclusion of his memoirs, he experienced a considerable increase of debility and indisposition; from which he did not think he should recover. In that expectation, he frequently expressed, as on many similar occasions, his assured hope of happiness in the life to come, through the merits and mediation of our blessed Lord Jesus Christ; utterly disclaiming all confidence in any good deeds that he had been enabled to do, and all idea of acceptance with God through them, or for them.

Till this period he was able to go out daily in his carriage; and in summer, he was frequently drawn about his garden in a chair con-

veniently made for that purpose. But he was at length induced, though reluctantly, to relinquish all the little exercise which he had been accustomed to take. He found that even a very small degree of bodily exertion, increased the muscular weakness of his limbs, and that exposure to the air occasioned frequent and severe colds, together with other indisposition. The last time he went out in his carriage, was in autumn, 1809. From that time till his decease, the space of upwards of sixteen years, he was wholly confined to the house; with the exception of one or two times, when, after an illness, he went out in a sedan, but without receiving any benefit.

The total want of exercise appears to have brought on a painful disorder; which, in June, 1810, terminated in the discharge of a small stone. His sufferings for some days were severe, and, for a few hours, acute: but his mind was, as usual, calm and resigned. In an interval of comparative ease, he said: "My trust is in the mercy of God, through Christ, my Redeemer. Nothing which I have done, that may seem meritorious, affords me any satisfaction, on reflection, except as an earnest of divine mercy and goodness." Having voided the stone, and finding instant relief, he exclaimed, with lively and grateful feeling: "I am eased of my pain! I have great

cause to be thankful, even if the relief should prove but temporary."

Some time afterwards he had a slight return of a similar disorder. And for several succeeding years, he was much afflicted with oppressive languor; and with very uncomfortable sensations in his head, stomach, and bowels. But, upon the whole, his health was not so much impaired as might have been expected, from his total confinement to the house, his advanced age, and enfeebled constitution. His spirits were, with very slight exceptions, uniformly good; his demeanour was, at all times, gentle; and his disposition, mild, cheerful, and obliging.

When his health would allow, he found, till the close of life, much useful occupation, and even amusement, in revising and improving his works. His grammatical productions, in particular, engaged a considerable portion of his time and attention. As the public had so liberally approved and encouraged them, he thought it was incumbent upon him to bring them as near as he could to a state of completeness. He was particularly solicitous to render them explicit, and free from difficulty; to remove objections which had occurred, and to prevent others which might be formed, to different parts of the works. These objects, though important, he has in many instances accomplished, without

much alteration. "By the change of a word," he observes, "a slight variation in the form of a phrase, an additional sentence, or a short note, I have, as I think, frequently removed an objection or difficulty, and made that perspicuous, which seemed to be obscure or ambiguous. And I believe that all these variations have been effected, without any material deviations from the original plan and principles of the Grammar."—To the octavo Grammar, he made large and important additions, as well as corrections. The later editions of the duodecimo Grammar, Exercises, and Key, also underwent much amendment. To enlarge and improve the Power of Religion, was, from its first publication to the latest period of the author's life, a favourite object of his attention. But his parental care and regard were bestowed on all his works. Whatever he found erroneous or deficient in one edition, he corrected or supplied in an other. The editions pressed close upon him: but they seldom failed to receive from him some portion of attention, and consequent benefit. No author, I believe, ever had so much opportunity to revise, improve, and enlarge his works; and no one could have availed himself of it, with greater judgment, or more unwearied vigilance.

He was induced, also, to prepare some new publications, which he conceived would be use-

ful. Having himself derived much benefit and satisfaction from the frequent perusal of bishop Horne's Commentary on the Psalms, and being desirous of extending that benefit to others, he made and published "A Selection" from that invaluable work. It was well received; and has been approved and recommended by several very respectable public critics.

He wrote also a little piece, published in 1817, "On the Duty and Benefit of a daily Perusal of the Holy Scriptures." It is well composed; and, I doubt not, it has promoted, in no small degree, the important object which the author had in view. It expresses, in striking terms, the reverence which he felt for the Scriptures; and the benefit which he derived from that serious perusal of them, which he recommends to others. To endeavour reverently to compose the mind, before any portion of Scripture is read or heard; and when it is finished, to allow time, by a short pause, for devout meditation, or useful reflection, on what has been read or heard; is advice well worthy of attention, and consonant with Mr. Murray's own practice. The inefficacy which usually attends the reading of the Bible, is not owing to any defect in the sacred volume; but to the want of serious attention, or of previous preparation in those who read or hear.

Mr. Murray, from his retired life and unassuming character, did not receive any of those academical honours, to which the publication of his grammatical works, no doubt, fully entitled him. A tribute of respect was, however, paid to him by two literary societies at New York. In 1810, he was elected an honorary member of the Historical Society; and in 1816, of the Literary and Philosophical Society. But he was not covetous of honour. The high approbation which his works received, was gratifying to him; chiefly because it was an earnest and a proof of their usefulness.

His acquaintance and society, particularly after his works had obtained celebrity, were much courted by respectable and literary persons. But there was a genuine humility, and even a diffidence, in his nature, which seemed to shrink from the idea of personally attracting any share of public curiosity or observation. The general debility under which he laboured, and which was usually increased by the exertion necessarily attendant on the receiving of strangers, and conversing with them, was, however, the chief cause which induced him to decline much company. Indeed, the calls, and applications for introduction, which he received, were so numerous, that had he encouraged them, the early and regular hours which he kept, would

have been much broken in upon, and the leisure which he enjoyed for literary pursuits, greatly interrupted: and it was highly desirable that his valuable time should be preserved free from invasion.

But he did not, on any occasion, decline company, because he was unsocial, or, in the slightest degree, hypochondriacal. His friends frequently visited him: they knew the hours most suitable to him; they were careful not to encroach too much on his time; and they did not expect him to converse, when higher engagements, or indisposition, rendered it inconvenient. He took a lively concern in the transactions of his domestic circle; and conversed, with interest, on public affairs. When he was in a tolerable state of health, no one more cheerfully enjoyed, or more agreeably promoted, social intercourse. Far from needing consolation from his visitors, he communicated it to them. Like a gentle stream by the way side, he enlivened and refreshed them.

Many strangers, however, and distinguished literary persons, were at different times, and on various occasions, introduced to him; and expressed, in strong terms, the pleasure which they derived from the interview: amongst these may be particularly mentioned the earl of Buchan, in 1802, and the Edgeworths, in 1803. On the lively fancy of Mr. Edgeworth and his daughter

Maria, their visit to Holdgate formed a very pleasing picture, often reverted to with much satisfaction, in which even "the benevolent looks of Mrs. Murray, when she offered them some cake and wine, were not forgotten." Their visit was in the evening, and wholly unexpected. With the kind reception which they received, they were much gratified. Mr. Murray himself far exceeded their expectation. His personal appearance, his unassuming demeanour, and his conversational powers, excited in their minds a most agreeable surprise. When they called at Holdgate, they were on a tour, of which an excursion to Paris had formed part. Mr. Murray's sequestered little abode, and its happy and respectable inhabitants, formed, no doubt, a very striking contrast to the gay and literary circles in which they had mixed. They considered Mr. and Mrs. Murray as "the most striking example of domestic happiness, and of religion without ostentation, or the spirit of dogmatising, which they had ever beheld."

Mr. Murray bore his honours so meekly; he was so intelligent, not only on literary subjects, but also on the common affairs of life; and he adapted his conversation, so judiciously and kindly, to the capacities, tastes, and characters, of the persons to whom it was addressed, that no one, whether learned or unlearned, young or old,

gay or grave, could partake of it without feeling highly gratified. In him no one could observe any vanity, egotism, or eccentricity. Few, I believe, ever visited him, who did not hear something from him, to inform their judgment, or to amend their heart.

Seldom did he make his sufferings and privations the subject of conversation. When on any occasion they were mentioned, he never failed to enumerate, and frequently he expatiated very pathetically on, the many alleviating and comfortable circumstances that attended them: the pleasantness of his dwelling; the kindness of his friends; the constant company, and affectionate attention, of his wife; the ability of pursuing literary occupations; and the calm state of his mind. He would sometimes say: "When I first lost the use of my limbs, and saw my friends walking about, and pursuing their respective business or amusement, I wished to be, and to do, like them: but now, by long use, confinement has become familiar to me; and, I believe, it is less irksome and afflictive, than many persons who have not experienced it, would imagine. My blessings far overbalance my afflictions. Indeed, I have so many enjoyments yet left me, and I possess so many comforts, that I can scarcely term my situation an affliction." He often said that what had very much

tended to reconcile him to his confinement, was a belief that he had been more extensively useful, than he could have been, if he had continued in the possession of that health and strength which he once enjoyed.

To pass from an author's works to his life and conversation, frequently occasions disappointment: but with respect to Mr. Murray, the transition was honourable. Personal acquaintance increased esteem and regard. Between his life and his works there was a striking coincidence. His writings might be truly called a fair transcript of his mind; and his life and conversation a beautiful exemplification of the moral and religious principles, which his writings uniformly inculcate.

For many years, his infirmities did not allow him to rise from his seat, on the entrance of a visiter; and not unfrequently the weakness of his voice, contracted by severe colds, or by over-exertions, prevented his uttering any words except in a whisper: but on such occasions, his kindly extended hand, and his smile of ineffable benignity, bespoke a welcome far more cordial and affecting, than could have been expressed by any of the usual forms of civility.—When I first saw him, he was forty-eight years of age: but both then, and long afterwards, he looked considerably younger than he really was. The impres-

sion which his noble aspect, his gentle demeanour, his cheerful, sensible, and, occasionally, pious conversation, produced on my mind, can never be obliterated whilst my memory continues.

So excellent was his character, so mild and engaging his deportment, that persons having but a very slight acquaintance with him, or seeing him only occasionally on business, seemed to contract a strong personal regard for him: they frequently inquired, with apparent solicitude, respecting his health; and spoke of him in terms of the highest respect and esteem. Even strangers, merely from the report which they heard of him, would solicitously inquire after him; and, not unfrequently, send him some little message, or token, of respect. To know him, though but imperfectly, was to love and esteem him; and if any persons did not love and esteem him, it was because they did not know him, or had not heard the full and true report of his good deeds and amiable disposition.

Mr. Murray was much respected by many of his most distinguished cotemporaries in America. When his works had procured for him a high degree of celebrity, the testimony of their approbation, especially of those with whom he had been personally acquainted, was peculiarly acceptable to him. From his fellow-student, Mr. Jay, and from many other highly respectable

persons, he received, on various occasions, letters replete with expressions of esteem, regard, and warm congratulation.

Several of his countrymen, at different times, visited him: two of whom having, in their travels, given an account of their visit, I shall diversify this narrative, by giving an extract from each.

The first is from "Travels in England, Holland, and Scotland, by Benjamin Silliman, professor of chemistry, at Yale College, Connecticut."

"Towards evening," (Nov. 19, 1805,) "I went out on horseback to Holdgate, a village in the vicinity of York; for the purpose of seeing a countryman of ours, who is well known to the world, both by his writings and the excellence of his character. I carried an introductory letter, which procured me the kindest reception; and all unnecessary ceremony being waved, I was seated at once between Mr. and Mrs. Murray.

Mr. Murray, I need not inform you, enjoys a distinguished literary reputation; and this, although well deserved, is by no means his most enviable distinction, for he is an eminently good man. Being afflicted with a muscular weakness in his limbs, he removed, about twenty years ago, from New York to England, hoping for relief from the temperate climate of this island. The expected benefit he has not been so happy

as to obtain; his debility still continues to such a degree, that he can walk only a few steps at once.

I found him sitting on a sofa, to which he has been generally confined for many years. Although unable to benefit mankind by active exertions in any of the common pursuits of business, he has made full amends by the labours of his mind. In the chaste, perspicuous, and polished style of his writings, in the pure and dignified moral sentiments which they contain, and even in the simple and yet elegant typographical execution, one may discern proofs of the character of the man. He belongs to the society of Friends; but both he and Mrs. Murray have so tempered the strictness of the manners peculiar to their society, that they are polished people, with the advantage of the utmost simplicity of deportment.

I was fortunate in finding Mr. Murray able to converse with freedom; for, at times, he is unable to utter even a whisper, and is compelled to decline seeing his friends. Our conversation related principally to literature, morals, and religion; and the state of these important subjects in the United States and in England. I asked him if he had relinquished the idea of returning to his country, and of observing the great change which these things had undergone in a period of twenty years. He said that he still cherished a

faint hope of seeing his native land again; that hope was, like a star, often obscured, but twinkling now and then, to revive his spirits.

One would suppose that a situation so peculiar as that Mr. Murray, would naturally induce a degree of impatience of temper, or at least of depression of spirits; but I know not that I have ever seen more equanimity, and sweetness of deportment, joined with a more serene and happy cheerfulness, than in this instance. When the painful circumstances of his situation were alluded to, he expressed his gratitude to Heaven, for the many comforts and alleviations which, he said, he enjoyed under his confinement.

You would not judge from his appearance that he is an infirm man, for his countenance is rather ruddy; and it is animated with a strong expression of benevolence. His person is tall, and well-formed; and his manner of conversing is modest, gentle, easy, and persuasive.

Being afraid of inducing him to converse beyond his strength, towards the close of the evening I reluctantly rose to come away; and was solicited, in the most gratifying manner, to protract and repeat my visit. Declining the former, and having no prospect of the latter, I took a cordial farewell of these excellent people; and rode back to York with impressions of the most agreeable kind.

Who would not rather be Mr. Murray, confined to his sofa, than Napoleon, the guilty possessor of a usurped crown, and the sanguinary oppressor of Europe?"

The second extract is from a work entitled, "A Year in Europe, in 1818 and 1819, by John Griscom, professor of chemistry and natural philosophy in the New York Institution."

"Among the social occurrences which I shall remember with the most pleasure, is a visit this afternoon," (27th of February, 1819,) "to our very estimable countryman, Lindley Murray. He still resides at the little village of Holdgate, about three quarters of a mile from the city of York. His increasing infirmity of body has latterly been such, as to prevent him from receiving the visits of strangers. But coming from New York, and being acquainted with his nearest relations, he was induced to yield to my request and grant me an interview. Though so weak as to be scarcely able to bear his own weight, he has been enabled, by the power of a strong and well balanced mind, and by the exercise of the Christian virtues; to gain a complete ascendancy over himself; and to exhibit an instance of meekness, patience, and humility, which affords, I may truly say, one of the most edifying examples I have ever beheld. His mind is still clear, sound, and discriminating;

and he feels the interest of a true philanthropist, in the progress of education, and the general welfare of his fellow-creatures. I have been informed, by persons who were his youthful cotemporaries, that he was possessed by nature of great vivacity of feeling, and passions not less difficult to control, than those which fall to the ordinary lot of humanity. But so effectually have the graces of the Christian surmounted the waywardness of nature, and diffused their benign influence over the whole tenour of his mind, as to produce upon his countenance, a lustre and a sweetness of expression, 'with less of earth in them than heaven.'

The temperature of his room is regulated by the thermometer. A constant care of this kind, joined to temperance in diet, has enabled him to live without exercise; to support a frame of unusual debility; and to prolong to old age, a life of the greatest usefulness to his fellow-creatures. Having brought with him to England a fortune competent to his moderate wants, he has devoted the whole profit of his literary labours to the promotion of various benevolent institutions, and to other deeds of charity. He has been blessed with a most amiable and intelligent wife; the companion of his early years, and the faithful and sympathizing partner in all that concerns him. A young woman, who serves them as

housekeeper, appears also well qualified, by the respectability of her character and acquirements, to perform the duties of an almost filial trust.

It is thirty-four years since this worthy pair left their native shores: but their feelings are still American; and to listen to a particular relation of the enlargement of our cities, and the progress of the country, afforded them evidently the most lively satisfaction; while, at the same time, a consideration of the small number of the numerous acquaintance they left behind, who are now on the stage of life, gave to the conversation a placid melancholy, which served but to increase the warmth and tenderness of the interview."

Mr. Murray lived, during a long course of years, a very retired life. Though an object of general esteem, respect, and admiration, he was known intimately, or even personally, but to few. The following particulars, therefore, respecting his habits and manners of living, though minute, may perhaps be acceptable to the reader, and not devoid of interest; and, in time to come, they may supply the place of vague, traditionary report. In a physical point of view, they may also be useful. It has frequently been made a subject of inquiry, how a person could support entire confinement to the house, and even to one seat, during many years, and yet preserve to the

last, a comfortable state of health, evenness and cheerfulness of spirits, and surprising vigour of mind.

Mr. Murray carefully avoided all habits of indolence, both with respect to body and mind. He generally rose about seven o'clock in the morning; but rather later in the depth of winter. When he was dressed, and seated in an arm chair, which had casters, his wife rolled him, with ease, to the sofa,* in his sitting room; on which, after he gave up taking any exercise, he sat during the whole day. At meal times, the table was brought to him. At other times, a small stand, with a portable writing desk on it, was generally before him. The papers and books which he was using, were laid on the sofa, by his side: but they were usually removed before the entrance of any visiter, as he disliked the parade of literature. His wife sat on a chair close by his side; except when, through courtesy, she relinquished her seat to some friend, or visiter, with whom he wished particularly to converse. The room being rather narrow, the sofa was placed against the wall. Mr. Murray never sat by the fire: but to avoid the draught from the doors and windows, he was obliged to sit nearly

* The sofa which he had brought with him, from America; and on which he sat, or lay, during the voyage.

opposite ; from the ill effects of which, he was guarded by a small skreen, between him and the fire. He attributed, in a great measure, the preservation of his sight to extreme old age, to his constantly avoiding the glare of fire and candles. When he read or wrote by candlelight, he used a shade candlestick.

His sitting room was of a good size, and particularly pleasant, having a window at each end: the one with a south aspect, looked to the garden; the other to the turnpike-road, and to some fields, across one of which, was a pathway leading to the city of York. The trees and flowers in his garden, the passengers on the road and pathway, and the rural occupations in the fields, afforded a pleasing diversity of scene, cheering to his mind, and relieving to his eyes, when fatigued with composing, reading, or writing. An awning was placed in summer, over the south window, to shade off the rays of the sun. Thus secured, and having a constant but almost imperceptible ventilation, occasioned by two large windows opposite to each other, and also by two doors and the fire, the room was always sweet, fresh, and salubrious. A fire, even in summer, was constantly kept up through the whole day, which, as Mr. Murray justly observed, tended to carry off the noxious particles of air; but the room, in the warmest weather,

was considerably cooler and fresher than apartments usually are. Mr. Murray could not bear a partial exposure to the air; therefore, he never sat with the doors or windows open. But in the morning, before he came into the room, it was completely ventilated by the opening of both windows for a short time; and thus a free current of air was admitted. His bed room was also ventilated once or twice during the course of the day. So sensible was he of the pernicious effects of breathing vitiated air, that he never had the curtains of his bed drawn. As a further preventive from over heating his sitting room, he had two of Fahrenheit's thermometers: the one was placed at the outside of the north window; the other was hung in the room, at a distance from the fire. The temperature of the room was usually from sixty-three to sixty-five degrees.

Mr. Murray's bed room was large; it had the same aspect, and was on the same floor, as his sitting room, and opened into it; and had also two windows, one at each end. But as the chimney could not be made to carry up the smoke, he was obliged in all his illnesses, when the weather was cold, to have a bed brought into his sitting room; and in that room, very near the seat on which he had done so much good, he breathed his last, and passed, I trust, from the employments of time to the rewards of eternity.

Soon after he came into his sitting room, in the morning, he took his breakfast; after which, his wife, or some one of his family, read to him a portion of the Scripture, or of some other religious book. Horne's Commentary on the Psalms, and Doddridge's Family Expositor, omitting the notes and paraphrase, were the books which he chiefly used for this purpose, and also for his evening meditation. After a short pause, he proceeded to transact the business of the day, of which the hearing or reading of a daily journal formed part; or he applied immediately to his literary avocations. Until he became wholly confined to the house, he took an airing in his carriage, from twelve till half-past one. At two he dined. After dinner, he sat quite still, closed his eyes, and sometimes dozed, for nearly half an hour; a practice which he brought with him from America, and by which he found his strength and spirits much recruited: then he resumed his occupations; and continued them for some hours, unless interrupted by company. Religious reading in the family, and meditation, closed the day. At ten, he and all his household retired to rest. This course of life he continued, with little variation, during the whole of his residence in England.

There was nothing particular in his diet. It was simple. He did not use tobacco in any

shape. He never took spirits, and but seldom wine; and then only half a glass at most. At dinner, he was accustomed, for many years after he came into this country, to take about a gill of London porter: afterwards, he gradually diminished the quantity, until he reduced it only to a wine glass, diluted in warm water. His breakfast and supper were, for some years, new milk and baked rice, or sometimes toasted bread; afterwards, chocolate boiled in milk and water, and bread. At dinner, he partook of meat, vegetables, pudding, and other ordinary dishes; but all cooked in a plain way. He did not, at dinner, eat of more than one dish of meat. In the afternoon, he sometimes took about half a cup of tea, or of milk and water; but more frequently instead of it, a small quantity of strawberries, grapes, or other sweet fruits, out of his garden, or dried plums. Except in serious illness, he took no medicine; and even then but little: being of opinion that the too frequent use of it weakens the tones of the stomach. Of the beneficial effects of friction, by the hand simply, he was thoroughly convinced. He made frequent, if not daily use of it; and never failed to have recourse to it when his head, or any part of his body, was affected with uncomfortable sensations, particularly of a rheumatic nature. He was of opinion that it not only produced local

benefit; but that, in his particular case, it tended, in a considerable degree, to supply the want of other exercise. His appetite, till within a few years previous to his decease, was good, and rather uncommon, considering his sedentary life. Much of that comfortable state of health and vigour of mind, which he enjoyed in his old age, must be ascribed, under the blessing of Providence, to his temperance and moderation, to his judicious self-management, and to that peacefulness and serenity, which are the usual concomitants of a good and pious life.

In the year 1819, Mr. Murray lost his much esteemed brother, John Murray, of New York. In his character, and in some of the circumstances of his life, he bore a striking resemblance to our author. He was of a lively and active disposition; kind and liberal, humane and pious. Early in life, he engaged in mercantile pursuits; in which he was highly successful: but, in the prime of life, having acquired a competency, he relinquished them, and devoted the remainder of his days to the service of religion and humanity. He was particularly distinguished by his endeavours to promote the abolition of slavery; to ameliorate the condition of the Indians of North America; and to establish and support various institutions at New York, for the relief of poverty, and the improvement of public morals.

He was of a remarkably liberal and catholic spirit. In the prosecution of his benevolent designs, he associated much and freely with persons of various religious denominations. He often expressed an earnest desire, that Christians should avoid unnecessary disputes about non-essentials, and unite in promoting the common cause, in which they all profess to be engaged.

Some years before his death, being at Albany, on public business, when the streets were covered with ice, he had a fall, from the effects of which he never recovered. He continued lame, and in a disabled state of body; and suffered great and almost constant pain; but he endured the affliction with fortitude and Christian patience; nor did it materially interrupt his career of benevolence. He died in an act of supplication to the Lord.—His charities did not terminate with his life. By his last will, he made many ample donations and bequests for public and private benefit. His name is remembered at New York, with respect and gratitude, as a benefactor of his country.

He left behind him two sons, and a widowed daughter: who, in some degree, supplied to Mr. Murray, the loss which he had sustained of a kind and intelligent correspondent, in his native, but far distant land.

After the decease of his brother, our author found himself the last surviving child of his parents. They had twelve children: and to him appertained the peculiar circumstance of being the first and the last of them all; affording thus a striking instance of the uncertain tenure of life. When he left New York, he had a brother living, and three sisters. They were in health and vigour, and considerably younger than himself. He was feeble and languishing: but, in course of years, they all died; and he lived to mourn the loss of them, and to embalm their memory.

When speaking of the many deprivations which he had sustained, of kind friends and relatives, a circumstance which in his lengthened life, was inevitable, he often said, in the words of the poet :

“ Our little lights go out one by one.”

But after all his bereavements, he still possessed, as he observed, the uncommon privilege and providential favour of having his beloved wife preserved to him. The continuance of this blessing to the end of his days was inestimable. No one, however kindly disposed, could have supplied to him the place of a most affectionate wife; a constant companion and faithful attendant; a beloved friend, with whom, from his

youth, he took sweet counsel on all the concerns of his life. He often said, he had abundant cause to value her very highly, and to consider her as the greatest temporal blessing of his life; and she was indeed fully entitled to his love and esteem.

Mrs. Murray is not a showy woman, nor particularly literary: but she possesses a solid understanding, great firmness of mind, and a particularly kind disposition. To the poor and afflicted, she is, in a high degree, liberal and compassionate. By her skill and prudence in the management of her household affairs, she relieved her husband from all care or anxiety on those subjects. She was most tenderly attached, and even devoted, to him; always preferring his gratification to her own. Her aged and beloved father, and a large circle of relatives and friends, she freely left to accompany her husband into England. For many years after she came into this country, she still called New York her home; but she never requested or wished him to return. She encouraged and assisted him, as far as she was able, in every good word and work; and often expressed her solicitous desire, that both she, and her "precious husband," as she frequently called him, "might so pass through this life, as not to fail of future and everlasting bliss;" adding: "If we

are but prepared for that happy state, we need not fear how soon we depart hence." During the latter years of her husband's life, she scarcely ever quitted the house; and very rarely the two rooms occupied by him. She said, she was most comfortable with him; and that if he were taken ill suddenly, as was sometimes the case, she could never forgive herself, if she were absent.

As Mrs. Murray is still living, it may seem indelicate to speak of her in terms thus commendatory. But she is so intertwined with the memory of her husband, that I could not write any account of him without mentioning her; and I could not mention her except to praise her.

On the anniversary of their marriage, the twenty-second of June, which was also the birthday of his wife, he never failed to congratulate her on the return of that auspicious day. On some of these occasions, occurring in a late period of their union, he offered his congratulation not only verbally, but also in writing: thus giving additional force, as well as permanence, to the expression of his sentiments. In these written testimonials, which she justly esteems amongst the most valuable of her possessions, he assures her that during the whole period of their union, she has been, by far, his greatest earthly treasure: that in health and sickness, in prosperous and adverse situations, in all the varied events of

their lives, he has ever found her the same uniform, kind, and faithful friend, the sweetener and improver of every allotment: and he offers her his most grateful acknowledgments for her cordial attachment, and affectionate services; for her kind assiduity, and tender solicitude, to promote his comfort and happiness in every respect.

From these beautiful little effusions of devotional, as well as conjugal feeling, I have pleasure in presenting to the reader, a few extracts; which evince not only Mr. Murray's tender regard for his wife, in the decline of life, but also his increasing piety, his deep humility, and the ground of his hope of finding mercy and acceptance with God.

1809. "This, my beloved Hannah, is the forty-second anniversary of that happy period, when we were joined together in the tender and sacred bonds of wedlock. To me this event has ever proved most auspicious; and I am persuaded that my choice could not have been happier. I have never seen a single moment, that I could have wished my choice had been different. But a few more, at the most, can be the returns of this happy day. Perhaps not an other may be given to us. If that should be the case, let the survivor rather be thankful that so much has been bestowed, than murmur because no more was allowed. It is an inexpressible com-

fort, that our latter years have been the sweetest to us, though every part of our connexion has been pleasant.

When the time comes, whether sooner or later, that we must part, may the survivor be blessed with the hope and faith, that a little time will reunite us in the blessed abodes: where we shall have, with purified affections and enlarged minds, to sing the praises of our God and Saviour, through the endless ages of eternity."

1812. "This day, my beloved Hannah, it is forty-five years, since we were joined together in the pleasant bonds of marriage. I feel grateful to my heavenly Father, for the blessing of so kind, and faithful, and so very suitable a partner. Our connexion has continued for a much longer period, than is common; and this is an additional source of thankfulness to the bountiful Author of all Good. But the longer we have been preserved to each other, the shorter must be the time that remains. May it be studiously improved to the glory of God, and our own final happiness!

It is an inexpressible satisfaction to reflect, that our latter days have been our best days; and that a desire for each other's welfare, has increased as we advanced in life. May our prayers and labours for each other's future felicity, grow more and more ardent, during the remainder of

our short time; and may the survivor rather be thankful for the mercies that are past, than dwell mournfully on those which are taken away. A little time after the separation, will, I humbly hope, reunite our spirits in a better world; where we shall glorify, praise, and serve our heavenly Father, Redeemer, and Sanctifier, for endless ages, with enlarged understandings and purified affections, as the greatest happiness, and highest perfection, of which our nature is capable."

1817. "This day, my beloved Hannah, we have been united in the sacred bonds of wedlock, for fifty years, half a century! How very few have lived together so many years, in this happy connexion!—Many are the dangers we have escaped, and the preservations we have experienced, during this length of time, which have been seen and observed by us: but innumerable, perhaps, have been the deliverances and protections, that were unseen and unknown, which a gracious and merciful Providence has extended towards us! For these, and all his mercies and blessings with which we have been favoured, we are bound to praise and glorify Him, to adore, love, and serve Him, most gratefully, during the short remaining period of our lives here; and in his holy and happy kingdom hereafter, if we should be blessed, as I humbly hope we shall, to be partakers of that heavenly inheritance.

May we, my dear Hannah, be very diligent to improve the remaining portion of time, whether it be longer or shorter: so that we may, at last, when the hour of parting comes, have a well founded hope that the season of separation will be short; and take leave of each other, as companions who have been dearly united, and who, through Infinite love and mercy, will be joined again in the mansions of eternal peace; where we shall for ever rejoice together, in praising, adoring, and serving our God and Redeemer, with the highest gratitude and love, of which our enlarged minds shall then be made capable.

In the course of the long period of our union, we have had our trials and afflictions.—But we have been favoured too, with many great and distinguished blessings. Even the afflictions, and what appeared to be adverse occurrences, were designed for our final wellbeing. I hope the gracious intention of these dispensations will be fully answered by our being safely landed, through the atonement and intercession of our blessed Redeemer, on those happy shores, where no clouds nor storms are ever known; and where, after millions of ages of happiness shall have passed away, we shall only seem to have begun our felicity, a felicity that will last for ever.

We know not, my dear Hannah, which of us shall be first removed from this earthly scene;

which of us shall have to lament the loss of a partner so long known and beloved. But whichever of us may be the survivor, let not that survivor mourn as one without hope, but endeavour to perform the remaining duties required; to be humbly resigned to the will of Heaven; and to wait with patience and hope, for a blessed and happy reunion."

1821. "This day, my beloved Hannah, is the fifty-fourth anniversary of our marriage.—At this late period of our lives, we can not, in the course of nature, look for a much longer continuance together. Our remaining time here must now be short. Perhaps we may not be permitted to see an other anniversary of our union. If this should be the case, or whenever we may be removed from this transient scene, may the God of love and mercy be graciously pleased, through the blessed Redeemer, to give us an inheritance in his holy and happy kingdom; there to be reunited in our spirits, and joyfully employed in thanksgivings and praises, and the most devout and zealous services, to our heavenly Father and Redeemer, for endless ages!

Whichever of us may be the survivor, I hope that Divine Goodness and Mercy will be near to support that survivor under so deeply trying an event, and to produce a humble, reverent

submission to the will of Heaven.—May we both, my dear Hannah, now when the curtains of the night are soon, or before long, to be drawn around us, be more and more diligent to make our calling and election sure; to be prepared for striking our tents, and removing to a better world; where, sinful and unworthy as I am, I hope, through the infinite mercy of God in Jesus Christ, to be admitted: and where, if admitted, we shall be finally delivered from all sickness and sorrow, from all sin, temptation, and imperfection.”

As a further proof of Mr. Murray's piety and humility, I present to the reader the following memorandums; all of which, except the two first, were found in his desk after his decease. They are mere fragments; written on detached slips of paper, some of them only with a pencil: but fragments of such a mind as his, should be gathered up, when it can be done with delicacy and propriety, and without violating any known or expressed wish of the writer. They, as well as the preceding extracts from the little addresses to his wife, are so accordant with the tenour of his memoirs, that I can not doubt but that, if he were living, he would give leave for their insertion. Indeed, I think it is not improbable that some of the memorandums were designed as hints or materials for a continuation of the memoirs;

the original notices with which he furnished me, being written in a similar manner.

“It may be truly asserted, that a tenth part of the solicitude which we have, to secure a precarious happiness, for a few years upon earth, would secure a perfect felicity, for endless ages, in heaven.—How greatly will this consideration increase our anguish at last, if we should neglect in time, to procure, at so easy a sacrifice, the blessedness of a future state!—The summer of 1811.”

“Be watchful. Be humble. Be grateful.”*

“It is a comfort to me to feel that the longer I live, the greater is my regard for my friends and acquaintance, and my desire that we may all meet in a better world ; where we shall, if we attain it, be for ever grateful, beyond expression, to our Divine Benefactor.”

“But a little time remains for me, (and how little that may be I know not,) to prepare to meet the God of my life, and to give in to Him an account of my actions.”

“I am this day seventy-two years of age. How many preservations and mercies have I ex-

* These words were addressed to his wife : but they were also the daily rule of his own life ; and they form a striking summary of Christian duty.

perienced in this long course of time! How poorly I have improved the goodness and forbearance of God to me! What has been the design of this long continuance of life, and of the blessings with which my cup has run over? Plainly, that I might improve these mercies, by gratitude, love, and obedience, to my great Benefactor; and be prepared to enter into his holy and happy kingdom, there to glorify and serve him for ever. May this be my joyful experience, through the mercy of God, in Jesus Christ, and for his sake! I know, by long and repeated proofs in myself, and by the testimony of the Holy Scriptures, that of myself I can do nothing to effect my salvation: my powers are all inadequate to this great end. It is by the Grace of God alone, that the work can be effected. May I ever look to that, and pray for it, and finally experience it to work in me a most comfortable and steadfast hope, that I shall be made one of those holy and happy beings, who shall glorify, adore, praise, and serve Him, for evermore, with the highest degree of love and gratitude, that their enlarged spirits shall then be made capable of exerting."

"Preserve me from all vain self complacencies; from seeking the applauses of men; and from all solicitude about what they may think or say of me. May I be made truly humble, and of a

meeke and quiet spirit! If I have done any good to my fellow-creatures, or, in any degree, promoted the will of my heavenly Father, may I unfeignedly give him all the glory; attributing nothing to myself, and taking comfort only from the reflection, that an employment in his service, affords an evidence that his mercy is towards me, that I am not forsaken by Him, and that he is training me for an inhabitant of his blessed kingdom, there to glorify and serve my God and Redeemer for ever."

From the conclusion of Mr. Murray's memoirs, till his decease, his life proceeded in a pretty uniform tenour; little diversified by incident, or by any change of circumstance, except the vicissitude from sickness to a state of comparative health. The power of employing his time to good and useful purposes, was, through a peculiarly benign providence, continued to the latest period of his life. Religious reading and meditation, which, as he advanced in years, became increasingly acceptable to him; the arrangement of his secular affairs both with respect to his continuance in, or removal from, this sphere of action; attention to his literary works; social intercourse; acts of beneficence and charity; were employments which rendered the long evening of his days useful and pleasant.

In the full enjoyment of life, and in the discharge of all its varied and important duties, he attained his eighty-first year: which, considering his long confinement, and his general debility, was a remarkable circumstance; a kind of jubilee in his existence. On his birthday, he appeared so well, and cheerful, and so bright in his mental faculties, that the prospect of losing him seemed as remote as on any similar occasion, during many preceding years. "I am favoured," he piously observed, "with a comfortable state of health, for my time of life; a state for which I ought, and I desire, to be humbly and deeply thankful to the gracious Giver of all good."— But the year which he had so auspiciously begun, he was not allowed to complete. A happier birthday than any which we had anticipated, I doubt not, awaited him.

Persons who were strangers to him, might suppose from his age and long confinement, that, at this period, he must have been fairly worn out, both in body and mind. But this was by no means the case. His health, towards the close of life, seemed rather to improve. In the autumn and winter immediately preceding his decease, he appeared unusually free from indisposition. His sight and hearing were good. With spectacles he could read the finest print. His memory, even for recent events, was remarkably

retentive. He appeared as sensible, well-informed, and cheerful, as at any former period during my acquaintance with him. His vigour of mind was unimpaired: he was, indeed, incapable of long-continued attention to any subject; but this seemed rather the effect of bodily than mental decay. His hair had become entirely white: his countenance bespoke age and feebleness; but still retained an expression of mingled intelligence and sweetness.

In October, 1825, I went from home. Having previously informed him of my intention, he expressed, as he had often done before, an earnest desire that I might not be absent at the time of his decease. As his health then seemed better than usual, the expression of this sentiment appeared to me less adapted to the occasion, than his sentiments usually were; and tended, unnecessarily I thought, to cast a gloom and depression over my mind. But the event fully justified him. I had not been returned many weeks, before I visited him on his death-bed, and followed his remains to the grave. That his desire was accomplished; and that I saw him in his last hours, and received from him some token of kind remembrance and parting friendship; are circumstances which afford my mind inexpressible satisfaction.

I was at his house, a very short time before his last illness. When I was about taking leave of him, he said to me: "REMEMBER the following lines." He pronounced the word "Remember," and repeated the lines, with an emphasis, which now assumes something of prophetic energy.

"Absent or dead, still let a friend be dear:
A sigh the absent claims; the dead a tear."

On the tenth of January, 1826, Mr. Murray being at dinner, was seized with a slight paralytic affection in his left hand; it was, however, of short duration, and was attended with no visible ill effect. On Monday morning, the thirteenth of February, he had a return of numbness, in the same hand; but it soon yielded to friction, and wholly disappeared. Soon after he conversed very cheerfully, and even pleasantly. During the day, he was a good deal engaged, and much interested, in having the newspaper read to him, containing the debates on the commercial embarrassments of the country. In the afternoon of that day, the last time of his taking a pen in his hand, I received from him a short note, as kind, as usual, and as well written and composed. That the last words which he ever wrote, were addressed to me, is a melancholy recollection; but it is inexpressibly soothing and consolatory to my mind.

In the evening, he was seized with acute pain in his groin, accompanied with violent sickness. Medical assistance was procured: but the means used to afford relief proved ineffectual. During the night he had an alarming fainting fit, of long continuance. On recovering, he spoke most tenderly to his wife, and urged her to go to bed.

I saw him on the following morning. He then seemed rather better; but said the pain was not removed. When I was going away, he took leave of me with unusual solemnity, saying, very slowly, and with a most affecting emphasis: "Farewell, my dear friend!" With some difficulty, he extended his hand under the bed clothes, and uncovered it, in order that he might, at parting, shake hands with me.

In the evening, he was conveyed, in his rolling chair, to a bed prepared for him in his sitting room. Some time after, the aperient medicines took effect; and this circumstance, together with his disposition to sleep, appeared very favourable, and encouraged a hope of his speedy recovery. But he spent a restless night, and in the morning he was in a state of extreme exhaustion. When his wife went to his bed side, he revived a little; spoke sweetly to her; and seeing her soon afterwards, at a little distance in the room, he looked at her very tenderly, and said, "That dear one!" He slumbered most of the morning, except when

roused to take refreshment. I visited him about noon. Seeing me at his bed side, and probably being unwilling, though in a state of great weakness, not to notice me, he looked at me very kindly, and repeated my name three times, in a low but affectionate tone of voice; and again stretched forth his hand under the bed clothes, towards me. That hand, which had so kindly welcomed me, when first I entered the room, at the commencement of our acquaintance, was now extended towards me for the last time; not to welcome, but gently to dismiss me. I heard the sound of his voice no more; nor did I ever again behold his living countenance.

In the afternoon, his wife sent me word he was better; and I flattered myself with the hope that he would speedily recover, as I had seen him do on many previous occasions. Great were my surprise and disappointment when I received, on the following morning, the melancholy intelligence that he was much worse. I hastened to his house; but, before I arrived, "his dear spirit," to use his wife's expression, "had taken its flight." Thus terminated an uninterrupted intercourse of many years' standing, with a most excellent man, and a kind friend. The loss to me is irreparable. In this world of sin and error, a true friend is rarely to be met with: "an old friend," as Dr. Johnson observes, "can never be found."

During his short illness, my much esteemed friend expressed his gratitude for the care that was taken of him, and for all the kind attention which he received. He also adverted to the pleasant conversation which he had, on the morning of his seizure; and remarked, "What poor, frail creatures we are; and how little we know what is to happen to us!"

On Wednesday afternoon he seemed refreshed by sleep; noticed what was passing in the room; and took sustenance freely. But the night was again restless. His pulse was quick, and his tongue parched. Though he was evidently suffering from pain, he made very little complaint: when inquired of, he said the pain was still fixed in the same place. A few times he cried out: "Oh my ——;" but checked himself before the expression was completed.

In the morning, his servant being at his bed side, and tenderly sympathizing with him, told him she should be very glad, if she could afford him any relief from his suffering. He expressed his sense of her kindness; but meekly added: "It is my portion."

About seven in the morning, a change for the worse evidently took place. Soon after that time, his wife went to his bed side; he noticed her; and spoke to her in the most tenderly, affectionate manner. A deathlike sickness seem-

ed to be coming over him. He cried out: "Oh my groin!—What a pain!" Being asked on which side the pain was, he said: "On the right." His wife warmed a cloth, and put it to the part. He turned on his back and lay stretched at his length: his arms were extended, close to his body; the thumb of each hand was gently pressed upon the forefinger, seeming to indicate suppressed agony: and in that attitude he continued during the short remainder of his mortal existence. For a few moments, anguish was depicted on his countenance: but it soon gave place to fixed serenity. His eyes were lifted up; no doubt, in fervent supplication to the God of mercy. His lips moved, though no sound of his voice could be heard. He lay without any perceptible motion, until his eyes gently closed of themselves. About half-past eight in the morning, he expired in peace; without a struggle, or even a sigh or a groan.

Thus died, on Thursday morning, the sixteenth of February, 1826, the much loved and much lamented Lindley Murray; in the eighty-first year of his age, and in the full possession of all his mental faculties. His last illness was of short duration, scarcely exceeding two days: but his life, during a long course of years, was a constant preparation for the awful change which has now taken place; so that death could scarcely at

any time have come upon him unawares, or found him in a state, unsuited for removal to a world of glory.

The immediate cause of his dissolution can not be ascertained; nor is it material now. His allotted work was finished: his Lord called him home to receive his appointed wages. Nor can it be known, whether at any time of his short illness, he was sensible that the close of his earthly existence was at hand. The alternation of pain and extreme exhaustion in which the last days of his life were spent, allowed him little opportunity to say any thing, but what was absolutely necessary respecting the illness of his body. In his final hour, if not before, it is probable, the solemn truth was conveyed to his mind; and his soul was lifted up in fervent prayer, to the Father of spirits, and the God of mercy and consolation. The thoughts, the feelings, of the mind, especially of such a mind as his, when earth and all connected with it, recede from the view, and the eternal world appears, can never be spoken, or fully made known, on this side the grave.

The peculiarly benign providence which had followed him through life, forsook him not in the end. His removal, though a loss to the world at large, and a subject of much regret to his friends, was, no doubt, a dispensation of

mercy. He was taken away from the evil to come. He was translated to glory, in the lengthened evening of his day; but in the midst of usefulness and honour, of comfort and happiness. The powers of his mind were not suffered to waste away, nor to decline into imbecility. The loveliness of his character was not sullied, nor the efficacy of his example impaired, by any infirmity of mind or of body. His old age, to the very latest period of it, was an object, not of commiseration, but of love, esteem, and reverence.

His death was easy, both as regards the body and the soul. The bodily suffering which preceded it, though severe, was not protracted; nor did it, at any moment, obscure his understanding, or disturb the tranquillity of his mind. His passage through the valley of the shadow of death, was short and free from terror. He seemed to have no internal conflict. All within appeared calm and tranquil. Devotedness to God, and love to man, were almost the latest expressions of his departing spirit.

His peaceful and happy death formed a natural and beautiful close of his holy and virtuous life. In the extremity of nature, the spirit of the Lord sustained him. The arm of the Lord, though invisible, was underneath him. The Lord was round about him, and made all his bed in his

sickness. Like a confiding child, he rested on the bosom of his heavenly Parent. He died in the Lord; he fell asleep in the Lord Jesus. And he verified the Scripture declaration: "Behold the upright man; and mark the perfect man: for the end of that man is peace." No doubt, the Lord Jesus, in whom he had trusted, and whom he had served, from his youth, received his spirit. And he has now, I trust, begun that celestial song, and entered upon that elevated sphere of action, of which, while on earth, he had joyful and devout anticipation.

"The chamber where the good man meets his fate,
Is privileg'd above the common walk"

Of virtuous life, quite on the verge of heav'n.

His God supports him in his final hour :

His final hour brings glory to his God." YOUNG.

Mr. Murray, in one of his illnesses, expressed an earnest hope that, at the close of life, whenever it might take place, he should be mercifully supported: so that he might not disgrace religion by any unbecoming words or behaviour; but might even, if enabled by divine grace, glorify God in his dying hours, and edify his fellow-creatures. His wish was, in a good degree, accomplished. He glorified God, I doubt not, by the secret aspirations of his heart; as I am sure he did by his meek, unrepining endurance of pain, and weak-

ness, and his kind, considerate attention to all around him. On the minds of the survivors, his affectionate regard for others in the midst of his own sufferings, his quiet resignation, his patient sickness, and his tranquil death, are calculated to produce deep and salutary impressions.

His death, in some of its circumstances, was awfully affecting: it was, in a manner, sudden; and it was, to his friends at least, wholly unexpected. In this respect, also, it is instructive; and, as he wished, edifying to the survivors. It warns them of the uncertainty of life; it admonishes them to prepare, and to live prepared, to meet their Creator and their Judge; and it urges them, by this most cogent reason, not to delay the preparation, seeing they know neither the day, nor the hour, when they will be summoned to the awful tribunal.

“ Thus runs Death’s dread commission; ‘ Strike, but so,
As most alarms the living by the dead.’
Is death uncertain? therefore be thou fix’d;
Fix’d as a centinel, all eye, all ear,
All expectation of the coming foe.
Rouse, stand in arms, nor lean against thy spear,
Lest slumber steal one moment o’er thy soul,
And fate surprise thee nodding. Watch, be strong:
Thus give each day the merit and renown,
Of dying well; tho’ doom’d but once to die.
Nor let life’s period hidden (as from most)
Hide too from thee the precious use of life.” YOUNG.

Though the final summons to the eternal world, vouchsafed to Mr. Murray, was but short, he was, through infinite mercy, ready to depart. All his concerns, respecting both worlds, were settled and arranged. He was at peace with all men. And he had, I doubt not, a comfortable assurance, as in all former illnesses, that his sins were pardoned, and his transgressions blotted out. If this had not been the case, how dreadful would his condition have been! From the commencement of his short illness till its close, he was incapable of paying attention to any worldly affairs; far less to the great work of salvation. The thought of unsettled business, or of unrepented sins, would, no doubt, in his weak state, have overpowered his reason, or plunged him into the agonies of despair. In this point of view also, his death is edifying; not only to his surviving friends, but to all who may read or hear the account. It is calculated to awaken in their minds, an earnest desire that through faith in Christ, and through divine grace, they may be enabled to live the life of the righteous; and that when their final summons is sent forth, they may be found, like the excellent Lindley Murray, having finished their allotted work, being at peace with all men, and having a humble trust that the Shepherd of Israel, will, with his rod and staff, conduct them safely through the

valley of the shadow of death, into the land of promise.

Mr. Murray's will, signed Feb. 1, 1821, was written and composed by himself. It affords a striking proof of the vigour of his mind in advanced age, his accuracy in transacting business, and his solicitous desire to do as much and as extensive good, both living and dying, as his circumstances would allow. To make a suitable provision for his wife, and to afford her every comfortable accommodation, seems to be the primary object of his testamentary attention. He mentions in his will a large number of relatives and friends; to each of whom he bequeaths a legacy, either in money, or books, or both: the books are partly to be taken from his own library, and partly to be purchased; and he has, with particular pains, selected and apportioned them in such a manner, as he thought would be most acceptable and useful. To myself he bequeaths, besides some books, his papers and letters respecting his literary concerns. Several poor persons whom he occasionally employed, or assisted by his alms, are also mentioned in his will; to each of whom he bequeaths the sum of two guineas. He leaves the following charitable bequests, payable after the death of his wife: to the British and Foreign Bible Society, two hundred pounds; to the African Institution, the

same sum; and to each of the following institutions, or societies, at York, twenty-five pounds; the County Hospital, the Dispensary, the Blue Coat School for Boys, the Gray Coat School for Girls, the Charitable Society, the Benevolent Society, and the Lunatic Asylum. After the decease of his wife, and the payment of all his bequests, the residue of his property is to be transferred to New York, and vested in trustees there, so as to form a permanent fund; the yearly income or produce of which is to be appropriated in the following manner: "in liberating black people who may be held in slavery, assisting them when freed, and giving their descendants or the descendants of other black persons, suitable education; in promoting the civilization and instruction of the Indians of North America; in the purchase and distribution of books tending to promote piety and virtue, and the truth of Christianity, and it is his wish that 'The Power of Religion on the Mind, in Retirement, Affliction, and at the Approach of Death,' with the author's latest corrections and improvements, may form a considerable part of those books; and in assisting and relieving the poor of any description, in any manner that may be judged proper, especially those who are sober, industrious, and of good character."

On Wednesday morning, the twenty-second of February, Mr. Murray's remains were interred in the burying ground of the Friends, or Quakers, in the city of York; amidst a large assemblage of persons, many of whom had come from a considerable distance. From the stillness which prevailed, one might have thought only few persons were present. All were silent and serious; many deeply affected.

No relative was present. His aged and bereaved widow, though entirely resigned to the Divine will, was, from affliction, indisposition, and long confinement, unable to attend. All his own relations, and those of his wife, were resident in America. The intelligence of his death could not reach them, till long after his remains were consigned to the silent grave. A large number of his friends, acquaintance, and other persons, followed his corpse to the place of interment; and were truly mourners. Few have departed this life more beloved and lamented: the graves of few have been surrounded by so many persons, who, if they had been allowed to speak, could have told of some favour or benefit, some good advice or kind attention, which they had received from the deceased; or could, in some way or other, either directly or indirectly, have acknowledged him as their friend and benefactor. And thousands who were absent, might,

if their voice could have been heard, have joined in the acknowledgment.

His life and death were blessed, and his memory is blessed. He had great talents imparted to him, and high success attended him in the employment of them. By his virtues and his kindness, he will long live in the affectionate and grateful remembrance of his friends and acquaintance. His literary works and his good deeds are a lasting memorial of him. His name, wherever the English language is spoken, (and soon, where will it not be spoken?) will be known and revered. The little tribute to his memory which I now present to the world, will, I hope, contribute to make him valued and remembered, not only as Lindley Murray, the Grammarian, as he is usually designated; but, in a far higher character, as Lindley Murray, the benevolent and pious; the friend of man, and the faithful, dedicated servant of the Lord God Omnipotent.

CHAPTER II.

CHARACTER OF THE AUTHOR.

THE character of the author is depicted in his writings, particularly in his Memoirs. And it is deeply engraven on the memories of many, who were personally acquainted with him; or who have derived benefit from his literary labours. But it was so excellent, and in many respects, so imitable, that, as editor of his Memoirs, I cannot feel excused from attempting a delineation; which I shall intersperse with various illustrative anecdotes. It will thus assume rather an historical form; but, I trust, it will not, on that account, be the less interesting.

Mr. Murray seems to have been raised up by Providence, for peculiar purposes to do good in the world, and to exhibit a beautiful specimen of a Christian character. His endowments, both moral and intellectual, were of a superior order. Few men have left behind them a higher character for wisdom, piety, and benevolence.

Good sense and sound judgment were the predominating qualities of his mind. He took a large, comprehensive, and accurate view of the objects presented to his mental eye; and he discerned, clearly and readily, which of those ob-

jects were to be preferred and pursued. His apprehension was quick, his memory retentive, and his taste delicate and refined. There did not appear in any of the faculties of his mind, either exuberance or deficiency. Their general harmony, as well as strength, constituted the distinguishing excellence of his intellectual character.

To the appellation of a man of genius, he has an undoubted claim; if true genius signifies, according to the definition of a celebrated author, "a mind of large, general powers, accidentally," or rather providentially, "determined to some particular direction."—The strength of his intellect, and the habit of close, vigorous application which he acquired early in life, enabled him, at will, to collect his thoughts, and to fix them wholly, and for a sufficient length of time, on any subject under his consideration. Hence, whatever he did, was well done, and with comparative ease. And hence too, he would have excelled in every pursuit in which he had engaged, or on whatever subject to which he had turned his attention. His grammatical works have obtained so much celebrity, and they exhibit so high a degree of excellence, that it might not unreasonably be supposed, grammar was the principal study of his life; but it did not particularly engage his attention, until a short time

previous to the publication of his first work on that subject.

Before he began any literary work, or engaged in any undertaking, he considered what was useful, practicable, and excellent. His imagination did not bewilder him with a diversity of plans and views. A few obvious and judicious means of accomplishing the end proposed, immediately presented themselves to his mind. These he considered with attention; selected from them what he thought best; and then proceeded to action, without any agitating hope of success, or fear of failure. He pursued a straight forward path; not unnecessarily retracing his steps, nor wasting his powers in idle wanderings, or useless cogitations. He formed a grand outline of what he proposed, from which he seldom deviated: then he filled up all the parts successively; overcoming the difficulties as they occurred, and, on no account, suffering them to accumulate. He never undertook any thing to which he was not more than equal; and he seldom relinquished any thing which he had undertaken.

He composed, and wrote, with quickness and accuracy. His Grammar, as it appeared in the first edition, was completed in rather less than a year. It was begun in the spring of 1794, and it was published in the spring of 1795; though he had an intervening illness, which, for several

weeks, stopped the progress of the work. Afterwards, indeed, he bestowed much attention, and a considerable portion of time, in improving and enlarging the work for a second, and many subsequent editions. The Exercises and Key were also composed in about a year: and none of his succeeding publications engrossed, in the first instance, a larger portion of time.

His handwriting was uncommonly and uniformly neat. "Indeed," as was once justly observed of him, "he was neat and accurate in every thing he did." I present my readers with a fac simile of a few lines written by him on his last birthday, June 7, 1825.—In 1823, he revised and wrote a fair copy of his Memoirs. This manuscript, from which they are printed, is, as well as his will, a beautiful specimen of neat and correct handwriting, at a very advanced period of life. It is throughout perfectly legible: it has no blots, and but few erasures or interlineations.

Mr. Murray's sentiments were elevated and refined; his ideas and opinions just and well founded; and always expressed in delicate and appropriate language. They often attracted attention by their novelty: accompanied with a conviction of their propriety, in the minds of those to whom they were communicated; together with some degree of surprise that they

had not previously occurred, or at least not with so strong an evidence of their justness. Both in writing and speaking, his manner of expression was simple and pleasing, but correct and accurate, clear and concise: no one could be at a loss to understand his meaning, or to apprehend its force. He had a happy choice of words, and a clear arrangement of his thoughts; avoiding all useless repetition, or awkward, unnecessary explanation, and all contradiction or inconsistency. The current of his expressions and thoughts was easy and natural, smooth and regular.

The powers of his mind were improved and enlarged, not only by study, reading, and reflection, but also by observation, and by extensive intercourse with mankind. His early introduction to business, and the diversity of employment in which he was subsequently engaged, gave him an insight into human affairs; and contributed, no doubt, very essentially, to improve and exercise his judgment, and to store his memory with various and useful information. His observations on what he saw in the world, and his reflections on what passed in his own mind, gave him an accurate knowledge of human nature.

In his Memoirs, he seems to undervalue his acquirements, particularly his classical and literary attainments. He had a considerable ac-

quaintance with the Latin and French languages, and some knowledge of Greek. He was an excellent arithmetician and accountant. With general literature, including history and geography, he was well acquainted. He used to say, though not designing to disparage what is called learning, that if he had been intimately acquainted with ancient languages, he might, perhaps, by introducing much curious and recondite matter, into his grammatical and other works, have rendered them less useful and acceptable. The general scholar, and the man of business, do not require to know the remote etymologies of words, but their present meaning, and their right application and arrangement. Mr. Murray seemed to have acquired all the general knowledge which is practically useful. But his knowledge, though general, was not superficial. What he knew, he knew well. One of his early instructors said of him: "Il veut tout approfondir." And this character he retained to the end of life, with respect to every object which he deemed worthy of his serious attention. Whatever subject of general importance or interest, that occurred in conversation, or in the business of life, he either possessed all the requisite information, or he could readily obtain it, by a reference to some written authority, or by judicious questions and observations addressed to those with whom he

was conversing. Even in his retirement at Holdgate, he was much consulted on matters of law and literature, morals and religion, the forming and conducting of public and private institutions; and, indeed, on all subjects of importance in themselves, or in the view of those who consulted him. The opinion which he gave, was, on most occasions, just; and satisfactory to those by whom it was requested.

His disposition was uncommonly active. When he became incapable of bodily exertion, he turned, with alacrity, to pursuits purely intellectual. His friends sometimes expressed their apprehension that his close application to literary employments, might, in his weak state of health, prove injurious to him; he would pleasantly say: "It is better to wear away, than to rust away."

He had an even flow of spirits, and great cheerfulness of temper. He seems to have been naturally mild, gentle, and compassionate, yet firm, steadfast, and resolute. He possessed to the latest period of his life, lively sensibility, warmth of feeling, and tenderness of affection.

He exercised great and habitual self control. All his feelings and emotions were, as far as human imperfection will allow, subjugated by reason and religion. He was quick in discerning, and solicitous to check, the risings of evil passions, and to refrain, as far as possible, from acting

under their influence. He seldom suffered any circumstance, or event, to ruffle his temper, or disturb his rest. And it may almost be remarked of him, as of an eminent statesman, that "he could cast off his cares with his clothes."

His joys and griefs, his hopes and fears, his purposes and desires, on all occasions on which I ever witnessed them, were tempered, partly by native mildness, and partly by religious considerations. The delicacy of taste and feeling, which he cultivated, seemed to have a considerable effect in inducing a certain nicety and caution, and the avoidance of error and excess, both moral and intellectual. He was free from that vain inflation of mind, and self sufficiency, which too often accompany and disgrace talents; and he was equally removed from despondence, or a groundless distrust of the abilities which he possessed. Of his own character, he formed a just, though humble estimate; preserving a due medium between pride on the one hand, and degradation on the other.

He entertained a high sense of moral obligation. His probity was unimpeachable. He neither allowed nor tolerated in himself, a departure, in any degree, or on any occasion, from strict integrity. In all his transactions, particularly of a pecuniary nature, he was scrupulously exact: careful to take no unfair advantage, to

evade no rightful claim, and to omit or delay no just payment, whether with respect to government or any public body, or to individuals. Both in narration and assertion, he considered it an indispensable duty to adhere inviolably to truth; even on small matters, and on points that are too generally deemed of little moment. He was careful to make no promise or engagement which he could not fulfil; nor any profession, which he could not justify by his actions, or by the genuine feelings of his heart.

His tender and humble spirit was the proper soil in which religion could take deep root, and flourish.—Often did the tear of sensibility glisten in his eyes, when he heard, or read, affecting passages from the Scriptures, and other writings; particularly those which, in pointing out the excellent uses of affliction, applied very forcibly to his own state, and to the feelings of his own mind.

From childhood to the latest period of his life, he was, in a high degree, susceptible of religious impressions.—The sun of righteousness appeared in the early morning of his days; shone, as it advanced, with increasing splendour, and set in brightness: and it has now, I trust, arisen in that morning without clouds, which ushers in a day of never-ending, effulgent glory.

In early life, Mr. Murray was remarkably lively. He engaged in many pursuits and amusements, which his improved reason, and sense of religious duty, afterwards condemned. But he was never a slave to amusement; never allowed himself in any that are absolutely sinful; and never became corrupt in principle, or negligent of the duties of life. His buoyant spirits, his ardent affections, and his superior intellect, rendered his society much courted, and gave a high zest to social enjoyment. His profession of the law, and his widely extended family connexions, naturally led him into company, and not unfrequently into parties of pleasure. He entered into the gaieties of the passing scene, with more spirit and animation than most others did, because he brought to them a purer mind, and he considered them only as relaxations from study or business. But so correct was his conduct, that his companions, who were less restrained than himself, used not unfrequently to say: "Mr. Murray, you are a spy upon us!" and they commented on his moderation and self control, sometimes sarcastically, sometimes with merited commendation. On some occasions, he may have exceeded the bounds of the strictest temperance and self command: yet he was never intoxicated; and but two or three times in a condition, in any degree, approaching to it. Doubtless, it is to

his circumspection under the trials of youth, that he owed much of the future comfort, happiness, and respectability of his life. Few, I believe, have mixed so much in the gay and busy scenes of the world, and retained a more pure, benevolent, and pious spirit, and a more unblemished character. The philosopher who has just notions of the excellence of virtue, will applaud his wisdom, his calm self possession, and his almost complete triumph over the seductions of pleasure. The Christian will observe in them, as in every appearance of nature, every event in human life, the guiding and protecting hand of a most wise and merciful Providence.

Mr. Murray often acknowledged preservation from the snares of youth, as one of the greatest blessings of his life. "I stood," said he, "on the brink of a precipice; and, through Infinite mercy, I was preserved from falling into it." On one occasion, having taken an affecting review of his early life, he added, with deep humility: "I have abundant cause of thankfulness to God, that he has preserved me through those dangerous scenes of folly; and has mercifully enabled me, in some degree, to live to his praise; and to cherish a hope, that I shall answer the great end of my existence, by glorifying and serving him for ever."

Mr. Murray regularly attended public worship, as long as his health would permit; and often even when his weakness, and extreme susceptibility of cold, rendered his attendance rather hazardous. His behaviour, on such occasions, was suited to the solemnity of them; and his countenance bespoke at once the calm, collected, and devout frame of his mind.

He had a great and increasing regard for the sabbath. He was highly sensible of the propriety, and even necessity, of a due observance of it: considering it as a day peculiarly set apart for social worship, and private meditation; a day of rest from worldly business; of suspension, as far as possible, from worldly care; and of preparation, by religious exercises and services, for that happy world, where the redeemed of the Lord celebrate a perpetual sabbath. One small instance of his reverence for the sabbath may not improperly be adduced. He took much pleasure in reading a daily newspaper: but that he might not, on any occasion of peculiar interest, be induced to look into it, on the sabbath day, he did not, on that day, receive it into his house; but read, or heard read, two papers on the following day. In one of his manuscripts, he observes: "The public worship of the Almighty is a special duty of all men; resulting from the relation in which we all stand to God,

as our Creator, Preserver, and Benefactor. Common benefits demand common and united thanksgivings and praises. That this great duty ought to be frequently performed, is evident, from the nature of it, and the end which it has in view. If a day of religious rest and social worship, did not often occur, there would be danger, that the sense of gratitude to God, and of entire dependence upon him, would languish, if not expire, in the minds of men. That the observance of a weekly sabbath is entitled to distinguished regard, and is supported by Divine authority, appears from its being a part of the ten commandments; and written, as with the hand of God, on tables of stone, among moral precepts of the highest importance. If an institution of this kind had not been intimately connected with the religious welfare of men, it would not have been classed, in such a manner, with duties of the most interesting nature."

Mr. Murray had a firm conviction of the Divine truth and efficacy of Christianity. This conviction commenced with the early dawn of reason; and continued, through life, with unshaken and even increasing force. It was so satisfactory to himself, that he was solicitous to impress it on others. But he never made a wordy profession; seeming to bear in mind the Scriptural admonition: "God is in heaven, and

thou upon earth; therefore, let thy words be few." He never obtruded his sentiments; nor lessened their force by pressing them on unsuitable occasions: at the same time he did not shrink from any opportunity of paying homage to Divine truth, or of supporting it to the utmost of his power. He never spoke on religious subjects, for form sake, or as a matter of course: but always with calmness, seriousness, and reverence. Whatever he said, seemed to flow from the feeling of his heart, and the conviction of his understanding.

But religion with him was not confined to a barren assent of the mind, or to occasional feeling. He experienced, and, with pious simplicity, evinced, its renewing, purifying, and sanctifying influence. It formed his character; it regulated his conduct; it cherished and directed his talents; it enlarged his views and affections; it elevated his thoughts, his hopes, and desires, from earth to heaven. He lived in a confirmed belief of the general and immediate agency of Providence; in a spirit of prayer; and in constant, daily trust in God, and dependance on his care and goodness.

He regarded the Holy Scriptures with profound veneration and love; as a rule of life and faith, and the record of Divine goodness to fallen, sinful man. He read them; he meditated

on them; he recommended them to others; he esteemed it a favour to be enabled, in any degree, to promote the knowledge and circulation of them.—On sending a Bible to a young friend, he observed: “How great a privilege it is, to be blessed with so clear and important communications of the Divine will! which at once enlighten and enlarge the understanding, warm and animate the heart, and continually present to the religious mind, a defence, support, and comfort, under all the trials and vicissitudes of life. It is the secret influence of the Divine Spirit alone, which can effectually bless and sanctify the perusal of these invaluable books; and make them a feast more truly rational and delightful, than can be afforded by the most finished human compositions, that ever were exhibited.” On recommending the Bible Society to an affluent friend; he said: “Should we not count it a privilege that we can, in any degree, promote the dear Redeemer’s kingdom?”

Among men, Mr. Murray knew his comparative worth; he felt and maintained his dignity: but before the Omnipotent he was prostrate in spirit, and deeply humbled; all his honours were laid low; all his good deeds forgotten; he implored mercy, pardon, and help; he pleaded only the merits of the Redeemer. Whilst the world admired him, whilst his most intimate friends

and acquaintance revered him, and could scarcely find any fault in him ; it appears plainly, from many passages in his memoirs, from the extracts which I have given, in the preceding chapter, from his manuscripts, and from his verbal declarations on many occasions, that he deeply mourned his transgressions ; he felt and lamented his weakness, his infirmity, and his sinfulness ; he acknowledged that he had no hope of deliverance from sin, and of eternal happiness, but through the atonement and intercession of the ever blessed Redeemer.

Though highly gifted, and eminently successful in the exercise of his talents, he never arrogated any merit to himself ; but, in great humility, attributed all the means with which he had been blessed of doing good in the world, to that gracious Power from whom they had been derived. The following sentiment, though expressed by him on a particular occasion, was, I believe, habitual, whenever he contemplated any good, which he had been the instrument in the hands of Providence of accomplishing : “ I feel humbled in spirit ; and I adore the condescension of that Great Being, who deigns to employ so feeble and undeserving a creature in the advancement of his work.”

The chastened feeling with which he contemplated the great success of his literary pro-

ductions, and the reputation which they procured for him, is strikingly displayed in the meditation, or prayer, inserted in the preceding chapter.— He was, certainly, much gratified at the distinguished approbation which his works received, and at their uncommon sale. But the pleasure which he felt, was, I believe, unconnected with the gratification of pride or vanity. It seemed only to animate him to fresh exertions; and to excite renewed gratitude to the Giver of all good, and the Disposer of all events. “I hope,” said he, “that the praises, both public and private, which I have received, have not, in any degree, puffed me up with pride; or made me contemptuous in my treatment, or opinion, of others, more worthy, but less distinguished, than myself.”

On an other occasion, having mentioned the extensive sale, and high reputation of his works, he added: “I hope that this flattering success has no improper effect upon me. I am sure that my manifold imperfections are sufficient to check elation of mind, and make me humble. I do, indeed, feel grateful to the Author of all good, that, under my long-continued bodily infirmities, I am not yet a useless being in the world.”

During the course of a severe though short illness, which brought the prospect of death very near to him, he said to me: “It is a pleasing, though affecting consideration, that when I am

mouldering in the dust, thousands will probably be perusing my books; and, I hope, deriving from them moral and religious instruction, and treasuring up in their minds sentiments that will influence their future conduct." On the same occasion, he said: "I own I have been pleased, but, I trust, not improperly, with the general approbation and acceptance which my literary labours have received. But if I know my own heart, my satisfaction arises from the belief that my works are useful; and that the wide circulation of them will tend to the promotion of virtue and piety. Whatever literary reputation I may possess, is certainly derived from my grammatical works: but the chief, if not the only, satisfaction, which I now feel, or which I ever have felt in the hour of serious reflection, from the publication of them, arises from the consideration, that the elements of our language may now be acquired, not only without injury to morals, but they are made the means of infusing into the young mind, sentiments of the best and noblest kind. Had I only taught how to put words together, I could not, at this awful hour, have reflected on my literary labours with that satisfaction which I now feel. I do not mention these things, or consider them, as merits, in the eyes of my great Creator and Judge. If they were weighed in the balance with my mani-

fold transgressions, they would be found light indeed."

Mr. Murray's resignation, under suffering and privation, and under all the trials of life, were remarkable. He seemed to have no repining or vexatious thoughts that he deserved better of the Supreme Ruler than he received; nor was he grieved when he saw others possessed of advantages, which were withheld from him. His amiable disposition, as well as his sense of religious duty, induced him, at all times, to make the best of his condition, and to look at the bright side of surrounding objects. Both in his letters and in his conversation, he often expressed himself to the following purport: "I am persuaded that Infinite Goodness knows what is best for me; and has assigned me my proper allotment. In his merciful appointment I acquiesce. To his will I desire humbly and cheerfully to resign myself and all my concerns. It is a blessing that I am preserved from repining at my condition. I have, indeed, no cause for murmuring; but much for humiliation and unceasing thankfulness." All the ills that befel him, he received, with gentleness and submission, as trials or chastisements; and often mentioned them as blessings in disguise.

He bore all his afflictions with the most exemplary patience; particularly many very severe

illnesses, and, during a long course of years, almost continued weakness and langour. But even in this respect he fell short of apprehended duty; and he used not unfrequently to lament that he could not attain greater devotedness to the Divine will, and bear bodily pain and suffering with more composure of mind. In a very violent illness which he had in America, (a constipation of the bowels,) feeling excruciating pain, he held forth his hand, and gently snapped his fingers, in a manner and with an expression of countenance, which indicated, that his sufferings were almost beyond his power of endurance; but he uttered not a word.—Debility and confinement must have been, in the commencement at least, a sore trial and grievous affliction, to a person distinguished as Mr. Murray had been by health, strength, and agility. Never, I believe, did a murmur or complaint, on this or any other account, issue from his lips, or arise in his heart.

I do not think that any of his afflictions, even when they pressed hard upon him, diminished, in the slightest degree, his love and reverence for the Supreme Being. Gratitude seemed to be the predominant and warmest affection, which he felt for the Almighty; praise and thanksgiving his favourite theme. He was grateful for every thing; for his afflictions, because they brought him nearer to God and heav-

en ; and for his blessings, because they were an earnest of Divine favour and goodness. He often expressed a fervent desire that all his trials and afflictions might be sanctified to him ; and all his blessings carefully numbered, and gratefully acknowledged. But though so resigned to whatever befel him of an afflictive nature, and so patient and contented under it, few persons enjoyed the blessings of life more feelingly than he did ; few were more grateful to the Supreme Dispenser of good. All his enjoyments were heightened by reflection, and by a tender sense of obligation to his heavenly Benefactor.

Both in sickness and in health, he often spoke of his own death, in terms at once calm, serious, and affecting ; but never, in the slightest degree, indicating any unmanly or unchristian fear. His affectionate disposition, his lively sensibility, and the many blessings which he enjoyed, rendered life very pleasant to him ; he valued it highly ; he was grateful for it ; and he took all judicious means to preserve and prolong it : but during all the years in which I was acquainted with him, and I believe, long before, he seemed ready, at any moment, to resign it into the hands of the great Bestower, in hopes of a better life, and a more glorious inheritance.

Once, when recovering from an alarming illness, he said : “ My life, upon the whole, has

been a comfortable one; and marked by many blessings. I have had my afflictions; but these have doubtless been intended for my good. I have felt them to be so: and some of them, I hope, I have properly improved." On the same occasion, he said: "I have had an admonition; a very gentle one. I trust I shall not soon forget it—I wish to be prepared for death; and to be more and more weaned from life, and all its enjoyments."

He had near and affecting views of a future state of blessedness; and often discoursed on the subject with animation. He believed that the happiness of heaven consists in the enlargement of the faculties of the mind, and the complete purification of the heart; in the adoration of the Supreme Being, with a clear understanding of his wonderful wisdom and goodness; in communion with the spirits of just men made perfect; in administering, in some way or other, to the happiness of God's creatures; and in extending the boundaries of his most righteous, holy, and wise government. He believed, in common with most pious persons, that in a state of blessedness, the soul retains a general consciousness of its previous existence on earth; and also renews virtuous affections and friendships, but only in such a way as is freed from

every thing painful, debasing, or inconsistent with perfect bliss and purity.

Being congratulated on one of his birthdays, he replied : “ Many returns of this anniversary, I can not have : but I have a humble trust, that, through the mercy of God in Jesus Christ, I shall be made one of those happy beings, who are employed in his service in the realms of light and joy ; and who perform that service with the utmost alacrity ; feeling it to be their highest honour and privilege, to do the will, and promote the cause, of their most gracious Lord and Father.”

In the last of his little anniversary addresses to his wife, written in his eighty-first year, he says : “ For the mercies of preservation, and the continuance of the many blessings we have had together, we have abundant cause to be thankful to our heavenly Protector and Father. May He be pleased to prepare us for his holy and happy kingdom ; where we shall then have to rejoice for ever, in rendering continual thanksgivings and praises, and the most devout and zealous services, to our heavenly Father, Redeemer, and Sanctifier, one God, blessed for ever !”

In one of his manuscripts, he observes : “ If it would be a circumstance of satisfaction, that the redeemed shall be with the patriarchs whom

they never knew; may we not believe that it will also be peculiarly rejoicing to meet those whom they did know and love?

No doubt there will be many new and great sources of joy, to those who are admitted into the realms of bliss: but may we not reasonably believe that *one* of those sources will be the reunion of those who loved one another here, and promoted each other's best interests on earth?— Could they know one another in a happy state, and remember the spiritual strength and comfort, given and received in the days of trial and trouble below, without partaking of a pure and lively joy in the eternal deliverance and happiness of one another?"

Mr. Murray was a member of the society of Quakers, or Friends: by whom he was much respected and esteemed, and justly considered as one of their brightest ornaments. From his earliest years, he was educated in the principles of that society, to which he uniformly adhered. In his conduct and conversation, except in some instances in early life, he conformed to all the peculiarities of the sect; but always with his accustomed delicacy, and regard to the feelings of others. Though attached to his own sect, he had a great respect for truly religious persons of every denomination: he considered them, and

often spoke of them, as members of one church, children of one holy and blessed family, and fellow-travellers to a heavenly country. Some of his nearest relations, and many of his friends, were not Quakers; this circumstance probably tended in no small degree, to preserve him from a spirit of bigotry. But his enlarged views both of divine and human nature, were sufficient, independently of any other consideration, to guard him from the extravagant opinion, which lurks in the minds of some, even pious persons, that to their own sect or party, to those who adopt the same expressions, or join in the same forms of worship with themselves, belong exclusively all virtue, piety, and acceptance with God. "Various," Mr. Murray observed, "are the shades and degrees of our understandings and natural dispositions: but if the holy principle is suffered to rule, it will make them all acceptable to HIM who framed them, though it may not model them to any standard of uniformity. We are long in learning to judge wisely of one another; and to make charitable allowances for difference of understanding, disposition, education, &c. Mankind are all brethren, the children of one Father: they should, therefore, when we believe them sincere and upright, be received as fellow-partakers of the same privileges."

On an other occasion, he observed: "I respect piety and virtue wherever I meet them. It would be a proof of my own superficiality or depravity, if I valued a truly religious man the less for the name and profession which he sustains. I trust that I shall ever be influenced by the cheering sentiment, that every man who sincerely loves God and works righteousness, is accepted by him, and is entitled to universal esteem and regard."

In all the varied relations of life, Mr. Murray's conduct was excellent. He was attentive to every dictate of affection, and every requirement of duty. He understood well the nature and extent of all his relative duties; he had reflected much upon them; and he seemed to take pleasure in performing them. He possessed, in an uncommon degree, the respect and affection of all with whom he was intimately connected. Few persons ever left their native land; more beloved and regretted by numerous relations and friends, or took with them more blessings and good wishes. During the whole time of his residence in this country, though long and far separated from his relatives, he preserved a most affectionate remembrance of them; he rendered them all the varied services and assistance which circumstances would allow; and he kept up with them a regular and frequent correspond-

ence. He said, no time, nor distance, weakened his attachment for them.

To his parents, particularly to his mother, he was very affectionate. And he was also highly obedient and respectful; except perhaps in a few instances, in which the vivacity of his temper, and the peculiarity of his circumstances, may have betrayed him into some violation of filial duty. To his brother and sisters he was uniformly kind and attentive.

As a husband, he was tenderly affectionate, and indulgent. He was the revered guide, and beloved friend of his wife; her constant monitor; her counsellor in difficulty; her comforter in affliction. She often said: "I believe it is not possible for any woman to have a kinder or more affectionate husband than I have. I hope there are many husbands as good as he is: but I can not conceive, or allow, that any can be better." They lived together, upwards of fifty-eight years, in uninterrupted harmony. They had no children: but neither this circumstance, nor any other, diminished their mutual affection, or their happiness. During the first years of their union, Mr. Murray rather wished for children: but he was perfectly satisfied with the allotment of Providence, in this, as well as in every other respect. He used to say pleasantly that his books were his children; that, he hoped,

they were well settled and doing good in the world; and that they had occasioned him less trouble and anxiety than most children give to their parents.

He was a humane and kind master. He did not dispense with the performance of necessary or proper duty; but he exercised authority with moderation, forbearing threatening, and all rude or harsh expressions. He never grudged his servants the well earned reward of their services, or any suitable indulgence; and was always desirous that they should have full time and opportunity, not only to attend public worship, but to all their secular and spiritual concerns. He never required, or looked for, more diligence from them, than could reasonably be expected; and in all their faults and failures, he made due allowance for them, as beings partaking of the same frail nature as himself, but exposed to peculiar temptations and disadvantages. He frequently gave them advice, and moral or religious instruction, adapted to their particular characters and tempers. When they had left his service he did not forget or forsake them; he continued to bestow upon them such marks of attention, or of pecuniary assistance, as their respective circumstances required. One of his servants, who had lived in his family eight years, being questioned as to her future pros-

pects in life, said: "I never expect to find a better place, nor a better master and mistress." The servant who lived with him at the time of his decease, said: "I believe no person's servants are more comfortably accommodated, in health, or more tenderly cared for, in sickness, than I am." After Mr. Murray gave up his carriage, which, from his own confinement and that of his wife, had become useless, he kept only one regular, stated servant. His family, for some years previous to his decease, consisted, besides himself and his wife, of one servant, and a female friend, who lived with them as a companion; and who was much employed in reading to them, and in assisting Mrs. Murray in her household concerns. Both these persons, at the time of his decease, had resided in his family nearly twelve years. He has left them, by his will, a handsome acknowledgment of their services, and of his regard. They respected him during his lifetime, and lamented him, after his death, as a father and a friend.

The praise of conscientious servants and inmates, may justly be considered as the highest panegyric that private virtue can receive. That praise Mr. Murray obtained in a high degree; for, I believe, no servant ever lived with him, and no person ever resided in his house, either as an inmate, or an occasional guest, who did not

highly respect him, and speak of him in terms of the warmest commendation.

He was a kind and sincere friend. He highly esteemed his friends; he took pleasure in their company; but so just was the estimate which he formed of human life and character, that he entertained no unreasonable expectations from them. With great delicacy and judgment, he performed towards them the best offices of friendship. He admonished and advised them; he assisted them in their difficulties; he consoled them in their afflictions; and, which is perhaps the severest test of friendship, he bore patiently with their weaknesses and foibles, though perfectly sensible of them, and he usually concealed from others the faults he saw. Few men, none certainly in so retired a situation, ever had so many friends, or was so much beloved by them. He engaged their warmest attachment, and excited in their minds a peculiarity and intensesness of interest. "We felt for him," said one of his friends, after his decease, "as we did for no one else." "In other persons, however estimable," said an other of his friends, "we can observe errors, defects, inconsistencies: in him, we could discern nothing but what was amiable, just, and proper."

Enemies, personal enemies, I believe he had none. Competitors in his literary career, he cer-

tainly had: but he practised great forbearance towards them: and always spoke of them with respect and moderation. One of the first of his manuscripts which caught my attention after his decease, contains the following candid observations: "I not only feel myself very much obliged to my friends for their kind and judicious private remarks on my grammatical works; but I owe something to the public criticisms of several persons who are not very friendly to these publications. Their strictures have enabled me sometimes to correct a real error, and often to remove doubt, and prevent misapprehension."

Mr. Murray was a most pleasing, as well as instructive companion. His voice, though not strong, was clear; and his enunciation remarkably distinct and correct. So great was the versatility of his parts, that he could with ease, enter into all sorts of conversation of a general and useful nature. His discourse was attractive and interesting even to children and ignorant persons. With wonderful dexterity and condescension, he drew forth from the rich stores of his reading and experience, facts, anecdotes, and observations, tending to recommend some moral precept, or to impress some useful information. When he had young visitors, he not unfrequently introduced some book or paper, which he requested them to read aloud: thus diversifying their en-

ertainment, enlarging their ideas, and suggesting to them new subjects of useful and interesting conversation.

In general discourse he did not talk much, nor long together, except on business or occasions which rendered it necessary; indeed, he was usually prevented by the weakness of his voice. He seldom said more than the subject required; nor, apparently, more than he intended. He never seemed to talk for the sake of self display, or self gratification. To please or edify those with whom he conversed, or to obtain from them such useful information as they were capable of affording, were his favourite objects.

Subjects of importance were most congenial to his mind. These he frequently introduced; and he seldom failed to represent them in a new and striking point of view, indicating the strength and originality of his mind. He was unassuming in opinion; he never contended eagerly about trifles: but, at the same time, he renounced no important truth, or just principle. The general tenour of his conversation may not unaptly be described in the following lines of the poet:

“ Still turn'd to moral virtue was his speech;
And gladly would he learn, and meekly teach.”

He seemed to hold in his hand the master key of the heart and understanding of those

with whom he conversed, or with whom he had to do; and he could, at will, draw forth such tones, grave or gay, soft or strong, as suited the present occasion: but he used this power only for good and legitimate purposes; to allay anger, to sooth discontent, to inspire good resolutions, to prompt judicious decisions. With peculiar aptitude, he discovered, and called forth, the best qualities, the best thoughts and feelings, of those with whom he conversed; these he particularly addressed and cherished: so that in his presence, I have often seen the thoughtless become grave; the profligate, serious; the dull, animate; the timid, free; and the reserved, communicative.

He had a happy art of conveying instruction, reproof, or advice. Instruction he gave with precision, unincumbered with any extraneous matter; reproof he administered with tenderness; advice, with persuasive gentleness. No one, on consulting him, or receiving information from him, could feel humbled, or self abased. He never exulted in the superiority of his knowledge or wisdom. He was slow to contradict, and still slower to blame. He listened patiently; and he did not attempt to answer, or to give an opinion, till he understood the matter. He never exclaimed at the folly, ignorance, or perversity, of those who consulted him, however

inwardly convinced of it. He quietly ascertained the extent of their capacity : he observed where their difficulty, or misapprehension lay ; and what obstacles pride, passion, or prejudice, placed in the way of truth. By argument clearly and forcibly expressed, by gentle persuasion, or by innocent pleasantry, he seldom failed to win them over to a right decision, or proper feeling.

His letters, like his conversation, seemed dictated by a spirit of wisdom and of kindness. On subjects of business, they were clear, explicit, and concise ; on matters in which self was concerned, delicate and cautious : on occasions of giving advice or admonition, (which sometimes occurred even with regard to strangers,) full of candour and tenderness, yet firm and decisive. Sentiments of piety were so deeply impressed on his own mind, that he could not fail to endeavour, by letter as well as in words, to communicate the impression to others. His letters, even on mere business, frequently contained some sentiment, or expression, calling to the mind of the persons addressed, the concerns of an other and a better world. His correspondence was voluminous ; and the number of persons to whom he wrote, very great. His separation from his relations, and his literary concerns, independently of other circumstances, naturally gave occasion to

much writing. Debarred by his ill health, and frequently by the weakness of his voice, from many opportunities of personal intercourse, he often expressed in writing the sentiments which he would otherwise have spoken; and with as much freedom and ease as most people could converse. His celebrity as an author, and as a man of benevolence, induced many persons, even strangers, to write to him, soliciting advice, or pecuniary assistance: to all these letters he seldom failed to return prompt and kind answers. His letters of consolation and congratulation, in particular, were numerous: for so lively was the interest which he took in the affairs of those persons, with whom he was connected or acquainted, that occasions of sorrow or joy seldom occurred to them, or in their families which did not call forth from him an expression of tender and pious sympathy. His letters were not designed, nor, as he observed, calculated for the public, but exclusively for the persons to whom they were addressed: he has, therefore, as I have mentioned in the preface, left in writing a request that they may not be published. To all his correspondents, whose feeling and delicacy are, in any degree, congenial to his own, they will, from that very circumstance, become the more deeply interesting, and the more valuable, not, indeed, in a pecuniary point of view, but

intrinsically; and they will, I doubt not, be preserved with reverential care, as precious relics of a departed friend and monitor.

As a neighbour, Mr. Murray was highly respected, and truly exemplary. He was solicitous to avoid either giving or taking offence; loath to believe, and still more loath to propagate, any idle tales, or rumours, or to make any censorious remarks; ready to unite, as far as his situation would allow, in every useful plan for general accommodation, or advantage;* unwilling to interfere in other people's affairs, or to offer his advice, unless he thought it would be acceptable or beneficial; and very humane and liberal to the poor, particularly in time of sickness. During the greater part of his abode in England, he was not able to associate much with his neigh-

* Amongst numerous instances of this kind, the following, though comparatively small, is characteristic, and therefore, not unworthy of notice. Unable to walk himself, he contributed largely towards forming and keeping up a walk, by the side of the road, leading from Holdgate and other places, to the city of York. A seat, on which to rest the weary traveller, was put up, by the side of this walk, entirely at Mr. Murray's own expense: which, it is to be hoped, will not be injured or demolished by rude, rapacious hands; but will henceforth be called Murray's seat, and preserved as a humble memorial of a great and good man, who lived near the spot where it is placed, and who, by his long residence, has given celebrity to the little village of Holdgate, and its environs.

hours: but scarcely any one ever resided in his immediate vicinity, who did not, in some way or other, receive from him, some kind, delicate attention, or some essential service. Both himself and his wife seemed not only to embrace, but to contrive, opportunities of serving and obliging.

Mr. Murray preserved an habitual tenderness of mind. With him a spirit of kindness seemed in constant operation. He loved to be at peace with all persons, especially those with whom he was most conversant. He seemed grieved whenever he perceived, that, through inadvertence, or any unavoidable circumstance, he had given pain, or the slightest cause of offence to any one; and always wished for, and gladly embraced, an early opportunity of endeavouring to remove the impression.

On all occasions of provocation occurring to himself, particularly when he received any mark of inattention, unkindness, or even ingratitude, from those to whom he was attached, or whom he had served, he evidently felt keenly; but he never expressed any sentiment, or uttered any expression, unbecoming a Christian. His emotion soon subsided; and his resentment passed away, quick as a transient cloud on a fine summer's day. Not only the sun never went down on his anger; but even the next hour scarcely saw any traces of it. On many occasions, he has

been known, to take the earliest opportunity of renewing his civility, to those persons by whom his feelings had been thus tried, or of conferring fresh favours upon them: thus, not encouraging evil, but endeavouring, according to the Scripture maxim, to overcome evil with good.

He was full of candour, and Christian charity. Though far removed from that easy credulity which is imposed on by every specious pretence, or artful profession, he certainly appeared quicker in discerning good than evil, in human character and conduct: or, at least, he pointed it out, and commented upon it, with greater alacrity. The good was pleasant to him, and congenial to his feelings. The ill he passed by as lightly as circumstances would allow. He condemned with regret; and readily admitted every extenuation.

He was pleased with little services and attentions, and grateful for them. He was ready to oblige, and willing to be obliged. To confer favours was pleasant to him; and he could not therefore, refuse to others, in their turn, the gratification which he so often felt. A gift, or mark of attention, however small, however awkwardly presented, when offered by those whom he had obliged, seldom failed to be received by him in the most gracious manner. On such occasions, he would sometimes say: "This

person thinks himself indebted to me ; he wishes to discharge part of the debt, or, at least to make some acknowledgment of it : why should I, by my refusal, or cold acceptance, deny him this gratification ?”

In the performance of relative duties, Mr. Murray did not forget humanity to animals ; of which the following is a striking instance, amongst many others that might be given. In early life, he was fond of shooting ; but after some years he became dissatisfied with it, from a conviction, not only that it consumes too much precious time, but also that it is improper to take away life for the sake of amusement. He believed that of the birds which are shot at, many more are wounded, than are actually killed and obtained ; and, consequently, they gradually pine away, and die through pain, and want of food. He had seen birds so much hurt, as to be incapable of performing their natural functions ; and he had reason to believe that instances of this kind are very numerous. These reflections made such an impression on his mind, that he determined never again to indulge himself in a sport, which produced so much distress to the objects of his amusement.

He was a true patriot. America, his native land, the abode of his relations, and his own, during a great part of his life, was dear to him :

England also was dear to him ; it was his adopted country, and the scene of his greatest usefulness. He rejoiced in the prosperity of both countries ; and particularly wished that peace and amity should prevail between them. He was a friend of liberty, both civil and religious ; a warm asserter of the just rights of man, and averse to despotic power, whether lodged in the hands of one, or of many : but, at the same time, he was a friend of order, a strenuous supporter of good government, and opposed to all wild theories and useless innovation. The British constitution he much admired : “ a fabric,” as he observes in one of his publications, “ which has stood the test of ages, and attracted the admiration of the world. It combines the advantages of the three great forms of government, without their inconveniences : it preserves a happy balance amongst them : and it contains within itself, the power of recurring to first principles, and of rectifying all the disorders of time.”

Mr. Murray was a philanthropist in the justest and most extensive sense of the word. His benevolence was universal, not confined to any nation, sect, or party. It took in the whole human race, of every clime and colour. It knew no limits but the limits of the whole creation. It sprung from a principle of duty and of love, to

God and all his creatures. It did not exhaust itself in mere sentiment or feeling: but diffused its benign influence over his character and conduct. He promoted, by all the means in his power, the welfare and improvement of mankind. He took a deep interest in the success of various public institutions, designed to serve the cause of religion and humanity, particularly the Bible society and the African institution; and he contributed largely according to his means, though sometimes anonymously, to their support. By his writings, by his life and conversation, by the encouragement which he gave not only to public but to private endeavours, of a benevolent and religious nature, he promoted, in an eminent degree, the general diffusion of the spirit of Christianity. The good seed which was intrusted to his care, he cast upon a wide extent of land: the abundant harvest which it has produced, and which, I trust, it will long continue to produce, will, probably, be fully made known to him in the world to come.

His acts of private charity were innumerable: indeed, many of them were known only to himself and his wife, and to those who were the objects of them. All his favours were rendered doubly acceptable even to the poorest persons, by the civility, kindness, or tenderness, with which they were bestowed. The profit which

he derived from his various publications, was uniformly devoted to benevolent purposes, and afforded him a considerable fund of charity. But long before he received any assistance from this source, he was distinguished by his beneficence: he gave much alms; he distributed books of piety; and he contributed in various ways, to render more comfortable many persons in straitened circumstances. From the commencement of his residence at Holdgate, till his decease, he paid, annually, for the schooling of several poor children in his neighbourhood; which, before the general establishment of Sunday and other schools, was a peculiarly acceptable and useful charity.

By his great abilities and application, and his respectable family connexions, he had, through the blessing of Providence, acquired, early in life, a portion of this world's goods amply adequate to his own moderate wants and wishes, and those of his wife: the overplus he devoted to the service of God and man. Nay, I think it may be said, he dedicated all he had to the Lord; his fortune, his time, his talents. His house was the seat of simplicity, piety, and benevolence. It was abundantly supplied with every thing necessary for the comfortable accommodation of its inhabitants, and of visitors; but there was nothing for show, or mere ornament. From

taste, as well as principle, Mr. Murray was averse to an ostentatious or luxurious mode of living.

His income, independently of the profit of his publications, scarcely at any time exceeded five or six hundred pounds a year. With this income, he was hospitable and generous; he lived in a plain way indeed, but so respectably, and with so high a character for benevolence, that he was generally esteemed rich.—He frequently acknowledged as one of the blessings of Providence, that from his first establishment in life, he had always had the means of living with comfort and respectability.

His external manners were truly pleasing. He was affable and courteous in his address; mild, yet dignified in his demeanour. His unaffected civility and kindness readily won their way to the heart. Though a valetudinarian during the greater part of his life, his personal habits were those of uncommon delicacy and decorum.

His appearance was noble and prepossessing. He was tall and well proportioned; and rather stout. His complexion was dark, and somewhat ruddy: it did not exhibit that sickly appearance which might have been expected from his general debility, and long confinement. His forehead was open, expansive, and rather elevated. His features were regular. The profile

of his face, if not handsome, was strikingly noble and pleasing. The general impression of his countenance indicated at once the elevation of his mind, and the sweetness of his disposition. When he received and welcomed any stranger, or visiter, for whom he felt particular respect or regard, his countenance beamed with increased dignity and sweetness; his eyes sparkled with benevolent animation, and a smile played on his lips: his whole appearance and manner, bespoke instantaneously and powerfully, superior intelligence sweetly tempered by superior goodness and benignity. The effect produced on the mind of the beholder, though often felt, can scarcely be described: it was a mingled sensation of admiration, love, and reverence. Some have said after their first introduction to him, that his aspect and demeanour, together with the purity and sanctity of his character, recalled to their minds the idea of the apostles and other holy men; who, in the early ages of Christianity, were, with a large measure of grace, redeemed from the world, and dedicated to the service of God and religion.

CHAPTER III.

REMARKS ON THE AUTHOR'S VARIOUS PUBLICATIONS.

BEING well acquainted with the publications of Mr. Murray, and having had peculiar opportunities of knowing their merits, and the views of the author, I presume that a few remarks on them, both general and particular, will not be unacceptable to the reader. They are a tribute which seems due to my departed friend, for his meritorious exertions to advance the interests of religion and literature; and they may be the means of attracting attention to some excellences of design or execution, which might otherwise have been passed over unobserved, or with less consideration than they deserve.

It is a striking recommendation of these works, that they have had a considerable influence, in promoting the correct and chaste education of young persons. The strain of piety and virtue, and the elegant taste, which pervade them, have had happy effects, in forming the minds of young persons who have studied them; and in producing, or expanding, a similar spirit, in the publications since introduced into seminaries. The author was very strongly impressed with the im-

portance of a guarded education of youth : and he thought that if sound principles of piety and virtue, were constantly presented to them, and happily incorporated with the elements of literature, the effect would be incalculably greater than most persons are apt to imagine. This sentiment induced him to believe, that he could not better employ his time, or render a greater service to society, than by composing works of education, in which learning and knowledge should go hand in hand with moral and religious instruction. This design he has most successfully accomplished : and the universal approbation which it has obtained, is a very pleasing proof of the importance and usefulness of his writings. He had great satisfaction in reflecting on the moral effects which his works are calculated to produce ; and that none of them contains a sentiment capable of giving him pain in the retrospect of life.—He has, I trust, planted, and he will continue to plant, in the minds of a long succession of young readers and students, principles and virtues, which will support and animate them in every period of this life ; and which may, indeed, have a great influence on their happiness in an other world.

Mr. Murray's grammatical works possess distinguished merit, both as to matter and arrangement. He has introduced into this branch of

science great simplicity and perspicuity. And since these works have appeared, a subject which was before generally considered as dry and uninteresting, to young persons especially, has become very popular, and is now almost universally studied and relished. To render our native tongue an object of peculiar attention; to excite a general desire to acquire the knowledge of it; and to facilitate that acquisition; reflect not a little credit on the productions of our author.

It is an additional recommendation of his publications, that they all have the same objects in view, are intimately connected, and naturally introduce one an other. The subsequent works generally illustrate and enforce the principles of those which precede. To instil into the youthful mind the love of piety and virtue; to infuse into it sentiments of importance on topics of an interesting nature; and to excite a taste for judicious composition, and a correct and elegant style; are the objects which are constantly aimed at, in all these literary productions. They may, therefore, be properly considered as forming a little code of important elementary instruction, adapted to the varied years and capacities of young persons; and may, with confidence, be put into their hands.

It may not be improper to observe, that our author has been of considerable use too, in pro-

moting the printing of works of education, with accuracy and neatness; on good paper, with a clear type, and in a fair, open manner. All his publications, from the first to the last of them, have appeared in this very proper and attractive form.* He thought it was of no small importance in the business of education; and his practice, in this respect, has been successfully imitated.

His publications are entitled to commendatory notice, on account of their negative as well as their positive merit. Indeed, their freedom from every thing objectionable, constitutes one of their most solid recommendations. There is in them no expression or sentiment of an indelicate nature; nothing which tends to vitiate taste, or undermine principle; nothing that is vulgar or frivolous, eccentric or dubious; nor is there, on the other hand, any thing too nice, critical, or refined, for general use and acceptance. Mr.

* It must, in justice, be observed, that the typography of Mr. Murray's works, reflects credit, not only on the author, but on the printers, Messrs. Wilson and Co. of York; who were also publishers, and, in part, proprietors of these works. Their extensive printing establishment, only about a mile distant from the residence of Mr. Murray; the ability, promptitude, and obligingness, with which they promoted his views; were particularly satisfactory to him; and afforded him great facility and accommodation, in the ordering and managing of his various publications.

Murray aims at nothing which he does not accomplish; nor does he aim at any thing, which is not worth accomplishing. His books are a considerable and an acknowledged improvement on all existing works of the same nature. He does not pursue ideal or imaginary perfection; he accommodates his works to the tastes and capacities of young persons, for whom they are chiefly designed, and to the present state of society and literature.

The Christian Observer, in noticing his octavo Grammar, says: "We are happy to bear testimony that none of the sentences and extracts appear to be selected with relation to the peculiar creed of the writer." With equal truth it may be said, that our author's other publications are clear of any expressions or sentiments, peculiar to the society of which he was a member. He made it a point, whilst he was writing for the benefit of readers in general, to avoid introducing, in any shape, the tenets of a particular sect; or any thing which could be supposed to relate to those tenets. And for this judicious care and liberality, he has been much and deservedly commended. At the same time, it must be observed that he avoided introducing any thing inconsistent with, or contrary to, the tenets of the sect to which he belonged; so that, whilst his works have received the approbation

of the public in general, they have been no less highly appreciated by the members of his own society.

The preceding observations on Mr. Murray's works, are supported and confirmed by the opinions of the public critics, and of various other writers. A statement of some of these opinions, may not improperly be adduced on the present occasion.

The British Critic contains the following remarks: "Our pages bear ample testimony, both to the ability and diligence of Mr. Murray. His different publications evince much sound judgment and good sense; and his Selections are very well calculated to answer the intended purpose."

"This author," says the Christian Observer, "deserves much praise and encouragement for the pains he has taken in purifying books of instruction; and his English Grammar will establish his character as a writer in this important department of literature."

The Eclectic Review observes, that "Mr. Murray's exertions are directed to one of the noblest objects. They are judicious, unremitting, and, we rejoice to add, particularly acceptable to the public. His works are distinguished from the mass of school books, by a correct style, a

refined taste, and especially by a vigilant subservience to morality and religion."

The Anti-jacobin Review gives the following very ample recommendation: "The principle upon which all the publications of Mr. Murray, for the instruction of the rising generation are founded, is such as gives him an unquestionable claim to public protection. The man who blends religion and morals with the elements of scientific knowledge, renders an eminent service to society; and where ability of execution is added to excellence of design, as in the present case, the claim becomes irresistible."

In the American Review and Literary Journal is the following eulogium on Mr. Murray's works: "Mr. Murray's Grammar, as well as his other publications, has received the uniform approbation of literary characters and journalists. We do not hesitate warmly to recommend them to the instructors of youth in every part of the United States, as eminently conducive to pure morality and religion, and to the acquisition of a correct and elegant style. They deserve to take place of all other works of the same kind."

Dr. Miller in his "Retrospect of the Eighteenth Century," observes that "Mr. Lindley Murray, by his English Grammar, and by several other publications connected with it, and designed as auxiliaries to its principal purpose, has be-

come entitled to the gratitude of every friend to English literature, and to true virtue."

Mr. Walker, author of a judicious and highly approved Pronouncing Dictionary, and of various other works, has, in his "Elements of Elocution," and in his "Outlines of English Grammar," borne a very striking testimony to the merits of our author. "Mr. Murray's Grammar, and Selection of lessons for reading, are the best in the English language."—"I need not acquaint the public with the merits and success of Lindley Murray's Grammar; which seems to have superseded every other. Indeed, when we consider the plain, simple mode of instruction he has adopted; the extent of observation he has displayed; and the copious variety of illustration he has added; we shall not wonder that his Grammar has been so universally applauded."

The letters which Mr. Murray received, at an early period of the publication of his works, from a celebrated writer on education, and on other important subjects, contain the following passages: "You appear to have simplified Grammar beyond any of your precursors. I am also better pleased with your English Reader, than with any compilation I have ever seen.—I am happy to see you so carefully guarding the elements of literature, and fencing off the obstruction of any immoral author, or corrupt senti-

ment.”—“We are both, I trust, co-operators in the same great cause, that of impressing young minds with right principles, as well as keeping out of their way, what would serve only to corrupt and deprave them. Preoccupying the ground, by safe, early instruction, of various kinds, and supplying, in some measure, their early literary wants, you, I trust, will be enabled so far to form their minds to virtue and religion, that they will reject from taste, as well as avoid from principle, the destructive, and also the vain and idle compositions, to which so much youthful time is unthinkingly sacrificed.—I never neglect an opportunity, when it is fairly offered, of bearing my testimony to your works; and I have never heard them named by any one into whose hands they have fallen, but with respect and approbation. They will, I doubt not, more and more make their way: and, as they are more known, will be generally adopted.”

An other highly respectable writer on education, expresses himself in a letter to our author, in the following terms: “You must allow me to observe, that no man who feels as an Englishman or a christian, can contemplate, without the highest satisfaction, the very extensive circulation which your works have obtained. It is books of this description, which the last chapter of my Essay was designed to recommend to our

schools: and I still think, that on the use or neglect of them, depend, in no small degree, the principles of the rising generation, and consequently our permanence and prosperity as a nation."

A letter to Mr. Murray from the president of one of the American colleges, contains the following sentiments: "Your grammatical works have always been esteemed by me, as the most valuable yet published; and hence, I have never ceased to recommend the careful study of them to the youth of this college. The advantage which both students and scholars have derived from such a study, has been great. The knowledge, and the proper use, of our own language, have become an indispensable acquirement; and with the lights which you have held forth, that valuable acquirement is accessible to every one. Too long had the study of our own language yielded to that of Latin and Greek, or of some modern language. You have the merit of producing a reform in this respect; for which every friend of literature owes to you the greatest obligation."

A distinguished and elegant author, having occasion to write to Mr. Murray, on a subject unconnected with his works, embraced the opportunity of expressing his opinion respecting them. "I can not," says he, "deny myself the

pleasure of offering you, upon this occasion, my best thanks, as a part of the public, for the many judicious and truly valuable works, with which you have enriched our language. The rising generation, and those who are concerned in their superintendence, are greatly your debtors : and, if to have been made useful, under God, in promoting sound learning, pure religion, and liberal sentiments, be (as it certainly is) a ground of satisfactory reflection, you are entitled to that enjoyment, in no ordinary degree."

I shall only add an extract from an other letter to Mr. Murray, on the subject of his works. It was written by a respectable and learned clergyman, with whom he had been acquainted in early life. "After your performances have passed the ordeal of public criticism, and received the approbation of all the British and American Reviews, it would be presumption in me to give an opinion, or to add my feeble voice to the common plaudit. Indeed, I do not recollect any publications, that have so entirely escaped censure, and so universally obtained commendation. I rejoice much in their extensive circulation, because they will not only improve the rising generation, in the knowledge of grammar, and in correct reading, writing, and composition; but strongly impress on their tender minds the principles of morality and religion, and make

them not only better scholars, but better men. If generally introduced (as they will be) into our public schools and seminaries, they will counteract the baneful effects of some late licentious productions; and furnish youth with an armour, which will imbolden and enable them to repel, through life, the weapons of vice and infidelity.”

Having made these general observations on the works of Mr. Murray, I proceed to consider their merits individually.

The first of his publications was, the **POWER of RELIGION on the MIND.**

This work, as he often observed, afforded him the most heartfelt satisfaction. Though it has not procured him the most literary reputation, it was his favourite performance. It was viewed by him in this light, because he conceived that it was more immediately adapted than any of his other works, to lead the readers to a virtuous and happy life, and to excite in them an ardent desire, and earnest preparation, for that state of eternal felicity which is the great end of their being. On his own mind, the lives of good men, and the efficacy of religion in the closing scene of life, had made a happy impression. The elevated hopes and lively faith of pious persons, in their dying moments, who are just entering into the regions of glory, where all their virtuous conflicts will be infinitely over-

paid, are, indeed, of the most consoling and animating nature. They strengthen confidence in religion; and encourage perseverance in its paths. That the author of this book should be desirous of exciting in the breasts of others, the encouragements to piety and virtue, which he had himself felt from contemplating exalted goodness, was natural and laudable; and he has, in consequence, produced a valuable work, which has been much read, and highly commended. Besides the proof of approbation, which the sale of seventeen editions, some of them consisting of three or four thousand copies, has afforded, the author received very gratifying information of several individuals who had been excited to virtue, or strengthened in a religious course of life, by the perusal of this publication. From many persons of piety and learning, he also received letters, which expressed, in strong terms, their approbation of the performance; and their opinion that it is happily calculated to counteract the growing spirit of infidelity and irreligion.

The work is, in every point of view, well executed. The subjects have been judiciously selected from the mass of biography, consisting generally of distinguished individuals of different periods, countries, and professions; whose sentiments would probably be listened to with

reverence. An historical sketch of each person is given, sufficient to make the reader acquainted with him, and to give an interest to his testimony on behalf of religion. This individual testimony does not embrace a great number and variety of expressions, which might be tedious to many readers: it is confined to a few striking and important declarations. And yet the sentiments of each person, when united together, form a considerable body of religious instruction, copiously varied, and communicated in the most weighty and impressive manner. The facts stated in the work are well authenticated; the arrangement is judicious; and the language is simple and correct.

In characterizing this little volume, the Monthly Reviewers, with great propriety, observe, that "Mr. Murray has furnished an interesting collection of testimonies; and we wonder not, that a work so instructive and amusing, as well as impressive, should have been generally patronised. It is a book which may be read, with profit, by persons in all situations." —The Guardian of Education also speaks in high terms of the publication: "This work, in its present enlarged state, forms, in our opinion, one of the best books that can be put into the hands of young people. The subject is grave and important; but Mr. Murray has rendered it

highly interesting and engaging; by a judicious selection of anecdotes and examples; which, by the intermixture of pious reflections, he teaches the reader to apply to his own benefit."

Mr. Murray considered the extensive circulation of this work, and the very general approbation which it has received, as a pleasing evidence, that a regard for piety and virtue, for true practical religion, is sincere and lively; and prevails in a much greater degree, than some gloomy and unfavourable circumstances would induce us, at the first view, to suppose.—The success of this performance, and the good which it was the means of producing, were considerations of the most soothing nature to the heart of the author; and excited his gratitude to God, that he had been made of some use in promoting the best interests of mankind.

The next work which Mr. Murray presented to the public, was his **ENGLISH GRAMMAR**.

This is a performance of distinguished merit. "It shows," as one of his literary correspondents justly observes, "an extensive knowledge of the subject; and, what is seldom joined with it, a judicious distinction between the speculative and the practical, the curious and the useful parts of grammar."

The author has modestly called this work a compilation. But the critical and attentive

reader of it knows, that besides its great improvement in the arrangement of the various subjects, and the logical division of its parts, it contains many highly ingenious positions that are perfectly original. In particular, the discussions, which are dispersed through the book, and intended to illustrate and support the author's grammatical system in general, as well as to defend some special points, will be allowed to be not only new, but to contain much acute and satisfactory reasoning. His views of the cases of English nouns, and the moods and tenses of our verbs, are so judicious, and so consonant with the nature and idiom of our language, that teachers almost universally acquiesce in the propriety of his arrangements.

The definitions and the rules throughout the Grammar, are expressed with neatness and perspicuity. They are as short and comprehensive as the nature of the subject would admit: and they are well adapted both to the understanding and the memory of young persons. The mode of parsing which our author recommends, is admirably calculated to confirm and perfect the scholar in what he has previously learned; and to enable him thoroughly to understand, and readily to apply, the rules, both principal and subordinate.

It may truly be said, that the language in every part of the work, is simple, correct, and perspicuous; and, consequently, well calculated to improve the taste and habits of the student, in the cultivation of his native tongue. In an elementary work, it is of consequence that no awkward or vulgar expressions, no harsh or irregular constructions, should occur. In the Grammar, at present under review, the reverse of all these imperfections, is very conspicuous.

A particular recommendation of this Grammar, is, that it embraces all the parts of the science; and gives to each of them that attention which its relative importance demands. The student, by this means, surveys the whole of his subject; and derives the advantage which results from such a connected view, at the same time that he is not detained, nor disgusted, by too prolix a discussion of any particular part. The author has, with great propriety, distinguished by a larger letter, all the rules and observations which are of primary importance; and, by this means, a judicious outline, or general view, of the more prominent parts of the subject, is happily presented to the student. When this comprehensive view has been taken, the subordinate points, contained in the smaller type, will be perused to the greatest advantage. Many of these explain the principles, on which the rules

and positions are founded; showing their origin to be in the constitution of the human mind, or in the reason and nature of things; and, so far as these explanations extend, they may properly be said to exhibit the philosophy of grammar. This work is also valuable, for its occasional references to the various opinions of other English grammarians; and for the comparisons which it often institutes, on particular points, between the English and other languages. And yet the author has studiously avoided every thing that tends to involve in obscurity, the subjects on which he treats. His system is connected and uniform; his plan and materials are such as are adapted to the present structure of the language; and his reasonings are calculated to preserve its regularity, and prevent useless and unwarrantable innovations. In these points of view, this Grammar is entitled to high estimation. An approved and established system of grammatical rules and principles, judiciously expressed and arranged, according to which the youth of our country are educated, and which may serve as a general standard of rectitude on these subjects, is certainly a great and national benefit; and entitles the author to the respect and gratitude of the literary world.

The Appendix to the Grammar is introduced with peculiar propriety. The learner, by his

preceding acquirements, is fully prepared to enter upon this part of the work. It will not only confirm the rules of construction which he has already learned; but, by regular transitions, it will lead him forward to the principles and practice of perspicuous and elegant composition. The rules for attaining purity, propriety, and precision of language, both with regard to single words and phrases, and the construction of sentences, are exhibited with great order and judgment; and illustrated by a variety of examples which clearly show the importance and usefulness of the rules. This Appendix is, I believe, generally allowed to contain, in a small compass, a greater number of excellent rules and principles, with happy illustrations, for teaching accurate and elegant composition, than is to be found in any other publication.

The Grammar is closed by a sensible, affectionate, and truly Christian "Address to young students," on the proper application of their literary attainments, and the happiness they would find in a pious and virtuous course of life. This short address, especially with the last additions to it, contains many excellent sentiments and admonitions; and it is expressed in a style and manner well adapted to make serious and lasting impressions on the minds of youth. It is fraught with just and elevated views of

learning and religion; and the solicitude of the author, that the young persons whom he addresses, may answer the great end of their existence, both here and hereafter, can not fail of disposing their minds to listen with reverence to his affectionate recommendations. This address will, I doubt not, be read by many young students with a lively interest; and confirm or awaken in them an attachment to the cause of religion and virtue.

Mr. Murray's Grammar being so celebrated a work, and so extensively circulated, a more particular account of the occasion of his writing it, than is given in his Memoirs, may not be unacceptable to the reader. Some of his friends established, at York, a school for the guarded education of young females; which was continued for several years. Mr. Murray strongly recommended that the study of the English language, should form a prominent part of instruction. The young persons employed as the first teachers, not being sufficiently qualified in this respect, he kindly undertook to instruct them at his own house; and, for their use, he made some extracts from Blair, Campbell, and other writers, which afterwards formed the basis of the Appendix to his English Grammar. By these young teachers, he was much importuned to write an English Grammar, for the benefit of their pupils,

on the same plan of simplicity, clearness, and regular gradation, which he had pursued in his verbal instructions. Their requests were sanctioned and enforced, by the superintendents of the school, and by some of his other friends: he was at length induced to comply. In preparing the work, and consenting to its publication, he had no expectation that it would be used, except by the school for which it was designed, and two or three other schools, conducted by persons who were also his friends.

Such was the humble origin of his Grammar; which I have often heard him mention, even amongst literary persons, with great humility, simplicity, and candour. The first public recommendations of the work which he read, gave him the most lively joy, accompanied by some degree of surprise. The success of the Grammar naturally led to the publication of other works, in which general benefit and extensive circulation were contemplated. The occasion of his writing the "Power of Religion," is mentioned in his Memoirs. It was designed merely for his own distribution amongst his friends and neighbours. Thus his commencing author, did not arise from any overweening conceit of his own abilities, nor from any desire of literary fame, or even any idea that he could attain it; but from a disinterested and unfeigned desire to do good, in

a small circle; to disseminate useful knowledge, correct literary taste, and above all, moral and religious principles.—I have often thought that no part of his life is more exemplary, or striking, than the great humility, and earnest desire to do good, with which he began, and indeed continued, his literary career; and that the eminent success which attended his labours, may, without presumption or superstition, be attributed, in great measure, to the blessing of Providence on motives of action so pure, so pious and benevolent.—The excellence of his character contributed also in no small degree to the success of his works: his kindness made him many friends, who were anxious, from regard to him, to receive and circulate them; and a general impression very justly prevailed, that whatever proceeded from him would be distinguished by good sense, good taste, correct language, and the soundest principles of religion and morality.

The next works which were published by Mr. Murray, were his **ENGLISH EXERCISES** and **KEY**.

The Grammar exhibits the principles and rules of the language: these works contain most copious examples and illustrations of the rules, and display them in almost every possible variety. They give more extended views of

each subject than are found in the Grammar, or could conveniently have been there introduced. The great diversity of these illustrations serves also, in many instances, as substitutes for a considerable number of minute subordinate rules, which it would have been tedious to have drawn out into regular form.

It is not unusual to exhibit grammatical English exercises, in the most coarse and vulgar manner. The errors are so glaring, that learners can scarcely commit them; and they are often so extremely awkward, that the proper words and construction can not easily be discovered. They are, in short, more calculated to puzzle and mislead the learner, than to afford him any instruction. The author of these Exercises has greatly served the cause of education, by the judicious manner in which they are executed. Both teachers and pupils are under no small obligation to him for these labours. No errors are admitted into his Exercises, but such as are commonly to be met with in respectable writings and conversation: and, for this reason, the Key which corrects the erroneous constructions, will render these books of great use to all persons, who wish to express themselves in accurate and unexceptionable terms. Some parts of the Exercises and Key are indeed adapted to young learners; but many other parts of them are calculated for the im-

provement of persons, who have made considerable proficiency in the study of the language. These books have consequently been found well adapted to inculcate and exemplify the refinements and peculiarities of the English tongue. They possess great merit; and it may justly be said of them, in the words of the Monthly Review, that, “they occupy, with distinguished excellence, a most important place in the science of the English language; and may be warmly recommended to the teachers of schools, as well as to all those who are desirous of attaining correctness and precision in their native tongue.”

A peculiar advantage of these Exercises, is, that they consist almost altogether of sentences which inculcate important sentiments respecting morality, religion, and civil life; all of which as exhibited in the Key, are expressed in the most correct, perspicuous, and easy language. The author was studious to select illustrations of this nature; and, by this means, to combine every advantage of which the subject is capable. It is unnecessary to enlarge on the benefits, which Exercises so constructed must produce to the learner, with regard to expression, taste, and composition.

These exercises furnish to the student a very pleasing mode of improving himself in the construction of our language. In surveying the in-

accurate sentence, his ingenuity is exercised in correcting every part which he thinks requires amendment: and on a reference to the Key, either by his teacher, or himself, he has the satisfaction of perceiving that he had made the corrections properly, or of knowing the points in which he had failed, and of being guarded, in future, against errors of a similar nature. And he is confirmed in the propriety of these corrections, by turning to the rules in the Grammar, on which they are founded. Improvement thus acquired, is not only peculiarly gratifying to an ingenious mind, but must be impressive and permanent.

About the time that the Exercises and Key appeared, our author published an ABRIDGMENT of his Grammar.

This is a very neat and judicious little work. It is calculated for two purposes: first, to convey a competent knowledge of grammar to those who are not designed to make an extensive progress in the study; and secondly, to serve as an Introduction to the author's larger Grammar, in those schools where both the books are used. The utility of this work has been abundantly evinced by the very extensive sale which it has had. In this country, about forty-eight thousand copies have been annually sold for many years past; and I believe that the number of copies

sold, from the first publication of the work to the present time, amounts to one million.

Our author's three volumes of the **ENGLISH READER**, and the **INTRODUCTION** and **SEQUEL** to it, have met with high approbation from the public. The design and execution of these volumes are truly excellent; and well adapted to promote their professed objects, improvement in the art of reading, and storing the youthful mind with the finest moral and religious sentiments. These sentiments possess the additional merit of being so happily diversified, as to comprise a great body of instruction most important to young persons. As the pieces which form these volumes, are taken from the best English writers, the composition is, of course, correct, and the language finished and elegant. The benefit which young students will reap from the perusal of such models of excellence, early and impressively set before them, can not be duly appreciated but by those who have had the best opportunities to reflect on the subject. The compiler has selected, with the utmost care, what he conceived to be particularly adapted to engage the youthful mind, and to present to it the most amiable and striking views of piety and virtue. He has too embraced every suitable occasion to exhibit the Christian religion in the most attractive form; and to recommend to the serious

attention of young persons its divine and deeply interesting doctrines and precepts. I shall close the observations on these three volumes, by a short extract from the Monthly Review. "We recommend this small volume (the English Reader) to those who wish to attain, without the help of instructors, the important advantages of thinking and speaking with propriety. We have no doubt that the public will be pleased with the additions (the Introduction and Sequel) to both the fronts of the original building. The whole is truly useful, and well arranged. Displaying a sound judgment, and actuated by the purest motives, this gentleman is indeed entitled to the fullest praise."

Our author's two French publications, the *INTRODUCTION AU LECTEUR FRANÇOIS* and the *LECTEUR FRANÇOIS*, are highly worthy of commendation. They are, in a peculiar manner, acceptable to parents and teachers, who are desirous that their children and pupils should acquire a knowledge of the French language, without imbibing a spirit of frivolity, or lax principles of morality. Chaste, correct, and elegant, these works exhibit fine specimens of the language; and instruct the learner, by the easiest gradations, in the various styles of the best French writers. The "Preliminary Rules and Observations," in the "*Introduction au Lecteur François*," and the

Appendix to that work, are well calculated to facilitate the acquisition of the French language; and that not in a superficial manner, but radically. The selections in both volumes are of the choicest nature; and forcibly inculcate sound morality and religion, adorned with all the graces of language and composition. The "Lecteur François," in particular, is a truly classical work; and it will, doubtless, be long read and admired by persons who have a taste for French literature, or who are desirous of improving themselves in the language. Correctness and accuracy in the printing of books designed to teach a foreign language, are highly desirable, and indeed indispensable. This advantage the works in question possess in no ordinary degree; both with respect to orthography and accentuation.

The ENGLISH SPELLING-BOOK composed by our author, though it is a small volume, is a work which bears the marks of great judgment and ingenuity; and, perhaps, it is not inferior in point of ability and literary execution, to any of his publications. The gradation throughout the work is easy and regular; and well adapted to the progress of the infant understanding. The advances from letters to syllables, from syllables to words, and from words to sentences, are carried on by almost insensible degrees. The first

lessons of spelling are of the simplest nature, and they imperceptibly slide into those which follow: the reading lessons are so carefully adjusted as to contain no words, which the scholar has not previously spelled. The sections of spelling are constructed and arranged in such a manner, as to afford great assistance in acquiring the true pronunciation both of letters and words. The division of syllables which the author has adopted, and his rules for spelling, are consonant to the best authorities, and to the analogy of the language. The more advanced reading lessons are admirably calculated to attract and interest young readers; as well as to impress their minds with moral and religious sentiments, suited to their age and capacity. Under a garb of great simplicity, these lessons convey an uncommon portion of instruction, adapted to children in all ranks of life.

In the plan and execution of this work, the reader who is skilled in the subject, will find considerable originality, of a truly useful nature. And I believe, that the more accurately this little volume is examined, the more it will be approved. One of Mr. Murray's literary correspondents speaks of it in the following terms: "It surpasses every elementary work of the kind, in felicity of arrangement, and in perspicuity, comprehensiveness, and accuracy of information."

The next publication of our author, was his **ENGLISH GRAMMAR**, in two volumes octavo.

It comprises the Grammar, Exercises, and Key, united in one connected and uniform system. The first volume contains the principles and rules of the language, which are amply and most judiciously exemplified in the second volume. These exemplifications are of so great importance to the clear comprehension of the rules, that the work would have been very defective without them. The two volumes, in their present state, are generally acknowledged to constitute the best system of English grammar, which has hitherto appeared. When this new form of our author's grammatical works was contemplated, he thought it afforded a proper occasion, for extending and improving some of the principles and positions contained in the duodecimo Grammar; and he has done this very amply, and doubtless, much to the satisfaction of those who possess a critical knowledge of the subject. Of this work the public critics have given a highly favourable character. The "Christian Observers," in particular, speak of it, as "a work of great correctness and perfection:" and recommend it to teachers, to foreigners, and to young persons who have left school. A distinguished author, in a letter addressed to Mr. Murray, expresses the following sentiments re-

specting this publication: "I have great satisfaction in congratulating you on the completion of your system of English Grammar. The British and American nations owe you a high obligation, for the service you have rendered to English literature, by your learned and elaborate work. You may safely anticipate the gratitude of a long succession of students of English Grammar, in both hemispheres; and of writers in the English language, who will recur to your work as a standard in settling the principles, and adjusting the niceties, of composition."—The work has already gone through five editions in this country; and it has been frequently reprinted in America.

In contemplating the different publications of Mr. Murray, on grammar, it is peculiarly satisfactory to observe, how happily he has provided every class of students with the means of acquiring a knowledge of their native language. The Abridgment is calculated for the minor schools, and for those who use it as introductory to the larger work. The duodecimo Grammar, and the Exercises and Key, are suited to academies, and to private learners. The octavo edition claims the attention of persons, who aim at higher attainments in the language; who wish for an extensive and critical knowledge of the subject. To many it will serve as a book of reference;

in ascertaining what is proper, and correcting what is erroneous, in English composition. Both as an elegant and a scientific work, it will, I doubt not, find a place in the libraries of all persons, who are desirous of understanding the construction of their native tongue, and of speaking and writing it with accuracy and perspicuity; or who wish to encourage and patronise the literature of their country.

The "Selection from Bishop Horne's Commentary on the Psalms," and "The Duty and Benefit of a Daily Perusal of the Holy Scriptures," having been spoken of in a preceding chapter, no further mention of them seems requisite.

It will probably be satisfactory to the reader, to be informed of the prices which Mr. Murray received for the copyrights of his different works; I shall, therefore, present him with an accurate statement. Though inadequate to the subsequent success of the works, they were certainly very liberal at the time they were given; and, I believe, greater than ever had been given for works of a similar nature. The sale of most of the books far exceeded every expectation which had been formed, when the agreements respecting them were made; but Mr. Murray often expressed his entire satisfaction on the subject. For the Grammar, Exercises, and Key, he received seven hundred pounds; for the

Abridgment, one hundred pounds; for the English Reader, three hundred and fifty pounds; for the Sequel to the English Reader, two hundred pounds; for the Introduction to the English Reader, two hundred pounds; for the Lecteur François, and the Introduction au Lecteur François, seven hundred pounds; for the Spelling-Book, and the First Book for Children, five hundred pounds; for the Selections from Horne's Commentary on the Psalms, one hundred pounds. The copyright of the Duty and Benefit of reading the scriptures, as well as of the Power of Religion, was presented by him to the booksellers, without any pecuniary compensation. The enlargement of the Grammar in the octavo edition, and the numerous improvements in, and addition to his other works, were always gratuitous on his part.

The demand for his grammatical works, and also for his Spelling-Book, has been so great and regular, that excepting the octavo edition of the Grammar, the types which compose them have long been kept standing. The editions which have been worked off, though numerous, have not, however, been limited to a small number of copies. For many years past, every edition of the Grammar has consisted of ten thousand copies; of the Exercises, ten thousand; of the Key, six thousand; of the Abridgment of the Grammar, twelve thousand; of the Spelling-

Book, and of the First Book for Children, ten thousand. Each edition of the English Reader, and of the Introduction to the English Reader, consists of ten thousand copies; of the Sequel to the English Reader, six thousand; of the Lecteur François, and the Introduction au Lecteur François, each three thousand.—That one author should have supplied so many works on education, each of which is so extensively circulated, and so highly approved, is, I believe, unprecedented in the annals of literature. The number of editions through which Mr. Murray's grammatical and other works have passed, may be seen by referring to the list of them, at the end of this volume.

In the United States of North America, the sale of his works is rapid; and the editions are numerous. The success of his publications in his native land, afforded him much satisfaction; and was, as he observed, peculiarly grateful to his feelings.—The high approbation which his grammatical works have received, and their extensive circulation, in the United States of North America, as well as in Great Britain, is a very pleasing consideration. They will doubtless tend, in no small degree, to preserve the Anglo-American language from corruption; and to stop the progress of useless innovation. The advantages likely to accrue to

both countries, from a common standard of grammatical purity and propriety, are incalculable.—The extended use of the English language is a distinguishing feature of the times in which we live: it may, perhaps, be one of the means in the hands of a wise and merciful Providence, for conveying the benefit of civilization, and the knowledge of Christianity, to the whole world.

Besides the anonymous extracts given in the preceding part of this chapter, a great number of letters to the author, from persons of high respectability in the literary world, might be produced, which contain the most favourable sentiments of his publications, and reflect great credit both on himself and on his productions. But to publish letters, however honourable to the subject of this work, without the permission of the writers, would be inconsistent with propriety, and a violation of my own principles, as well as of those of my deceased friend. They must therefore be omitted. One letter, however, from the celebrated Dr. Blair, may, very properly, be inserted in confirmation of the observations contained in this chapter, on the writings of Mr. Murray. The most material parts of it were, many years since, extracted and sent to the doctor's nephew and executor, with a request for permission to publish them. This

permission was readily granted; in terms so obliging, as make it evident that no objection can arise to the publication of the whole letter. The following is an exact copy of this interesting communication; so worthy of him who paid, and of him who received, the just tribute of commendation.

SIR,

I have been honoured with your kind letter; and can not but be very much flattered with the testimonies of esteem and regard which you are pleased to bestow; though I am humbled, at the same time, by a sense of my character's having been overrated by you, much above what it deserves. I am happy, however, that my publications have been of any service to you, in the very useful works which you have given to the public.

I return you my best thanks for the very valuable present of your works, which you have made me; and which have come safe to my hands. I have now perused a great part of them, with much pleasure and edification.—Your Grammar, with the Exercises and the Key in a separate volume, I esteem as a most excellent performance. I think it superior to any work of that nature we have yet had; and am persuaded that it is, by much, the best Grammar of the English

language extant. On syntax, in particular, you have shown a wonderful degree of acuteness and precision, in ascertaining the propriety of language, and in rectifying the numberless errors which writers are apt to commit. Were I only beginning my course, as I am now (in my eighty-third year) on the point of finishing it, I should have hoped to have been much benefited, in point of accurate style, by your instructions and examples. Most useful they must certainly be to all, who are applying themselves to the arts of composition.

On your two volumes of the English Reader, I could bestow much praise for the judiciousness and propriety of the Selection, were it not that my own writings are honoured with so great a place in the work. Certainly the tendency of the whole is of the best kind; and does honour to the worthy designs and intentions of the author.—To all the friends of religion, your book on the Power of Religion on the Mind, with the apt and useful exemplifications it gives, can not but be highly acceptable.—I am happy to find the praises of the authors of different Reviews bestowed with so much judgment and propriety as they are on your works.

As we have here not much intercourse with York, and as I have no correspondent nor acquaintance in that city, your name was unknown

to me till I received the present of your books, as is also your business or profession. I should presume you are, under some character, concerned in the education of youth: and happy I must account all the young people placed under the charge of one, who not only discovers such great abilities in all that relates to English literature, but whose writings bespeak a mind fraught with the best sentiments, and the most earnest zeal for religion and virtue.*

I shall be always happy to hear of your health, success, and prosperity; and, with great regard and esteem, I am,

Sir,

your most obliged,

and obedient humble servant,

Hugh Blair.

21st Oct. 1800,
Edinburgh.

* To prevent misapprehension, I think it is necessary to observe that Mr. Murray was, at no period of his life, engaged as a teacher of youth. Many persons, besides Dr. Blair, supposed, from the nature of his writings, that he was employed in the business of education: he even had applications on the subject; particularly from a respectable person in Holland, who, from the favourable sentiments which he had conceived of the author, on perusing his works, was desirous of placing his son under the tuition of a person so highly esteemed. From a nobleman of high rank in this country, with whom

The appropriate and unqualified approbation contained in the preceding letter, is the more honourable to our author, because it was bestowed by a person whose literary attainments, and professional studies, qualified him, in a peculiar manner, to judge of the works which he designates; and whose moral and religious character, as well as his years, precludes the supposition, that he did not express the genuine feelings of his mind. The merits of the works might be safely rested on the testimony which this letter contains, if there were no other recommendations of them: but their excellence is incontestably proved by the unanimous judgment of the public critics, the sentiments of many writers on education, and the almost universal admission of them into the seminaries, both of this country, and of the North American States. I sincerely hope, that they will long continue to inform and guard the minds of youth; and to serve as models of correct and

Mr. Murray was wholly unacquainted, he received an application, by letter, not indeed to educate his son, but to supply him with a tutor. Though Mr. Murray was not a teacher of youth, he entertained a high opinion of the office, and a great respect for those, who faithfully endeavour to form the young mind to knowledge and virtue. He often spoke of them, as persons engaged in one of the most important concerns of society; and whose services merit a very liberal remuneration.

chaste instruction, in various departments of science.

If any reader should think that the observations in this chapter, are too far extended, and bear the marks of undue partiality; I beg leave to state that I could scarcely have made them more limited, on an occasion in which the professed object is, to explain the nature and design, and to portray the excellences, of these publications.—I do not, however, wish to exalt the value of them above its proper level, nor to appreciate the author's literary talents more highly than they deserve. In the important business of education, I believe no person will deny that he has been eminently useful; and that his works have produced much practical good to society. And this character certainly entitles them to a respectable rank in the republic of letters. It will secure to the author, the title of the friend of youth; and the reputation of having successfully employed his time and talents, in promoting the best interests of the rising generation: a reputation which is more valuable, and dearer far, to the mind of a pious man, than the highest acquisition of mere literary fame.

The praise which Dr. Johnson bestows on Watts, may, with almost equal propriety, be applied to our author: "Whatever he took in hand

was, by his incessant solicitude for souls, converted to theology. As piety predominated in his mind, it is diffused over his works. Under his direction it may be truly said, that philosophy is subservient to evangelical instruction : it is difficult to read a page without learning, or at least, wishing to be better."

THE END.

A LIST OF THE BOOKS

PUBLISHED BY LINDLEY MURRAY.

1. **A FIRST BOOK FOR CHILDREN.** The 17th edition.
2. **AN ENGLISH SPELLING-BOOK;** with Reading Lessons adapted to the capacities of Children: in Three Parts. Calculated to advance the Learners by natural and easy gradations; and to teach Orthography and Pronunciation together. The 34th edition.
3. **AN ABRIDGMENT OF MURRAY'S ENGLISH GRAMMAR.** With an Appendix, containing Exercises in Orthography, in Parsing, in Syntax, and in Punctuation. Designed for the younger Classes of Learners. The 92nd edition.
4. **ENGLISH GRAMMAR,** adapted to the different Classes of Learners. With an Appendix, containing Rules, and Observations for assisting the more advanced Students to write with perspicuity and accuracy. The 40th edition.
5. **ENGLISH EXERCISES,** adapted to Murray's English Grammar: consisting of Exercises in Parsing; instances of False Orthography; violations of the Rules of Syntax; defects in Punctuation; and violations of the Rules respecting perspicuous and accurate Writing. Designed for the benefit of private Learners, as well as for the use of Schools. The 34th edition.
6. **KEY TO THE EXERCISES,** adapted to Murray's English Grammar. Calculated to enable Private Learners to become their own instructors, in Grammar and Composition. The 17th edition.
7. **AN ENGLISH GRAMMAR:** comprehending the Principles and Rules of the language, illustrated by appropriate Exercises, and a Key to the Exercises. In two vols. 8vo. The 5th edition, improved.
8. **INTRODUCTION TO THE ENGLISH READER:** or, A Selection of Pieces, in Prose and Poetry; calculated to improve the younger Classes of Learners in Reading; and to imbue their minds with the love of virtue. To which are added, Rules and Observations for assisting Children to read with Propriety. The 22nd edition.

9. **THE ENGLISH READER:** or, Pieces in Prose and Poetry, selected from the best Writers. Designed to assist young Persons to read with propriety and effect; to improve their language and sentiments; and to inculcate some of the most important principles of piety and virtue. With a few preliminary Observations on the principles of good Reading. The 19th edition.
10. **SEQUEL TO THE ENGLISH READER:** or, Elegant Selections in Prose and Poetry. Designed to improve the highest class of learners, in reading; to establish a taste for just and accurate composition; and to promote the interests of piety and virtue. The 6th edition.
11. **INTRODUCTION AU LECTEUR FRANÇOIS:** ou, Recueil de Pièces Choies: avec l'explication des idiotismes, et des phrases difficiles, qui s'y trouvent. The 5th edition.
12. **LECTEUR FRANÇOIS:** ou, Recueil de Pièces, en Prose et en Vers, tirées des Meilleurs Ecrivains. Pour servir à perfectionner les jeunes gens dans la lecture; à étendre leur connoissance de la Langue Françoise et à leur inculquer des principes de vertu et de piété. The 5th edition.
13. **THE POWER OF RELIGION ON THE MIND,** in Retirement, Affliction, and at the approach of Death; exemplified in the Testimonies and Experience of Persons distinguished by their greatness, learning, or virtue. The 18th edition.
- " 'Tis immortality,—'tis that alone,
 " Amidst life's pains, abasements, emptiness,
 " The soul can comfort, elevate, and fill." YOUNG.
14. The same Work on fine paper, with a pica letter, 8vo.
15. **THE DUTY AND BENEFIT** of a daily Perusal of the HOLY SCRIPTURES, in Families. The 2nd edition, improved.
16. **A SELECTION** from Bishop Horne's Commentary on the Psalms.

ABSTRACT
OF
A MEMORIAL
OF
YORK MONTHLY MEETING OF FRIENDS,
RESPECTING
LINDLEY MURRAY.

THE ancient practice of our Society, of preserving memoirs of some of its members, whose lives and conversation have eminently illustrated our Christian principles, has, we believe, been in various ways beneficial. The account of those who have fought the good fight, and kept the faith, and who, through infinite mercy, we have cause to believe, have received the immortal crown, is calculated to stimulate the lukewarm to enter on the Christian warfare, and to confirm the faith of those who are already engaged, and animate them in the spiritual conflict. It is with these views, that we feel disposed to record a notice of the services and character of our late much beloved friend and elder, Lindley Murray.

He was a native of Pennsylvania, North America; and his parents were respected members of the Society of Friends. His father designed him for a merchant, and he gave him an excellent education. But Lindley Murray, having entertained views of mental improvement superior to what is generally afforded by mercantile pursuits, on leaving school sought for some employment more congenial with the bent of his mind.

He gave a decided preference to the law, and having pursued his studies for four years with an eminent solicitor, he commenced practice in New York; where his knowledge and talents soon developed themselves, and appeared likely to gain for him considerable practice. But it pleased Divine Providence, to arrest, by sickness, the course of his ardent pursuits; and by a succession of circumstances which might then appear opposed to his usefulness and comfort, to direct his future life to those purposes which Infinite Wisdom saw best.

About the year 1784 his constitution being very much enfeebled by illness, his physicians advised the trial of a milder climate, as the most likely means to re-establish his health. He had some years before been in this country, which induced him to give a decided preference to England. At this time he had been married about seventeen years; and the prospect of leaving their home and near connexions, was, to him and his beloved wife, a severe trial. They hoped, however, that with the blessing of Providence on the means thus used, they might be favoured, at no distant period, to return to their native country, which they left with the unity and sympathy of their friends, as expressed in the certificate from the Monthly Meeting of New York, addressed to one of the Meetings in London. They landed in the First month, 1785, and in the course of that year fixed their residence at Holdgate, near York; at which place they continued to live until the time of Lindley Murray's decease.

During youth, the natural vivacity of his mind led him into some of the gaieties incident to that period of life; but there is good reason to believe, that he was easily made sensible of the operation of Divine Grace, and that his morals and principles were preserved from contamination. For some years previous to his settling in England, he had been led to form a correct estimate of the value of all earthly pursuits; to turn his back on the applause of the world; and had become an humble, consistent, and exemplary member of our religious

society; his mind, as it matured, having made the principles of his education, those of his judgment.

Such was the character of our dear friend, when, by a Providence which we desire to acknowledge with gratitude, his lot was first cast among us. The humility of his deportment, and the Christian spirit which breathed through his whole conduct, greatly endeared him to the members of this meeting, and afforded him a scope for usefulness, of which he diligently availed himself, for the benefit of all around him. His health continued so delicate, as to prevent his taking a very active part in our meetings for discipline, or in the concerns of society at large; yet, contemplating his time, his talents, and all that he possessed, but as a trust of which he had to render an account, he proved by his future life how much may be done for the good of others, under circumstances apparently unfavourable, when the love of God and of our fellow creatures is the governing principle of the heart.

In the year 1787, he published the book well known by the title of "The Power of Religion on the Mind." The consolation which he had himself derived from the hopes and promises of the Gospel, led him, doubtless, to the selection of these striking examples of the influence of religion, "in retirement, affliction, and at the approach of death;" exhibiting its efficacy in retreat from the world, and under the most trying circumstances of human existence. His desire that many persons should reap the benefit of this selection, induced him to have a large number of copies printed for gratuitous distribution.

At the time of Lindley Murray's coming to York, a school had just been established for the education of girls of the Society of Friends, which soon became an object of great interest to him; and it was for the benefit of this school that he first attempted to simplify, and thereby facilitate the acquirement, of elementary instruction. In his publications for this purpose, he not only excluded whatever was calculated to impress *false principles and sentiments* in morals and

religion, but he also aimed to make the course of instruction in the elements of useful knowledge, subservient to a still higher object—that of imbuing the susceptible minds of youth with the purest principles and precepts of Christian morality. The fruits of these unostentatious labours can not be accurately estimated; but we have reason to believe that, under the Divine blessing, they have had a decided and extensive influence in the formation of virtuous and religious character.

In the year 1795, seven friends were committed to York Castle for refusing to pay tithes; the claimant having pursued the Exchequer process, instead of the more easy mode of recovery provided by law. Lindley Murray assisted the prisoners in the statement of their case, which was published under the title of “The Prisoner’s Defence;” and also in the further support of their cause, in reply to the allegations of the prosecutor. In these works, the soundness of his judgment, and his habitual self-government and Christian temper, were strikingly evinced. His opponent had attacked the objects of his severity with harsh invective; the replies returned not railing for railing, but displayed the force of truth, clothed in the spirit of Him who prayed for his persecutors.

These publications, as well as the Christian conduct of the sufferers, excited a feeling of respect and commiseration for them, which, we believe, tended to strengthen, in the public mind, the testimony they supported, and to call forth, even from the members of his own profession, a general expression of disapprobation of the measures pursued by the claimant.

In the year 1812, Lindley Murray published “A Selection from Bishop Horne’s Commentary on the Psalms;” a work, which, for many years, formed a part of his daily reading. In the latter years of his life, his bodily infirmities increased; but his mind was preserved in intellectual and spiritual brightness; and he was particularly watchful, that his weakness of body should not lead to any habits of indolence or unnecessary self-indulgence.

A considerable portion of his time, during the latter part of his life, was employed in the correction and improvement of the numerous editions of his various works. His concern for the religious instruction of the youth of our society, led him, when in his seventieth year, to prepare and publish "A Compendium of Religious Faith and Practice," chiefly designed for their use: and shortly afterwards he published a little work on "The Duty and Benefit of a daily Perusal of the Holy Scriptures in Families," which evinced his continued concern for the best interests of society at large. Thus was our dear friend engaged, through the course of a long life, to exhibit in his daily walk, and to promote in the world, whatsoever things were honest, and lovely, and of good report. It remains for us to mention a few particulars more immediately illustrating his religious views and private character, and his general usefulness as a member of our religious society.—Whilst health permitted him, he was a diligent attender of our meetings for worship and discipline; and was in life and conversation, an eminent preacher of righteousness—illustrating in all his deportment, our Christian testimonies, with uniform consistency; and we believe we may truly say, adorning the gospel of God, his Saviour, in all things.

His charities, both public and private, but particularly the latter, were extensive. He was a firm friend to the education of the poorer classes of society, which he evinced not only by his liberality in assisting public institutions for this purpose, but by his kind attentions to the wants of those in his own neighbourhood, at a period considerably prior to the general interest being excited on the subject. He was very solicitous for the improvement of the condition of the Indian aborigines of his native country, and of the African race. He took a lively interest in the proceedings of the Bible Society, and in every thing which related to the extension of the Redeemer's kingdom on earth.

His exemplary moderation and simplicity in every thing connected with his own expenditure, in his dress, in the furniture of his house and table, and the entire coincidence of his beloved and faithful partner in all his views, enabled them to devote a considerable part of their income, and the profits which he derived from his numerous works, to objects of piety and benevolence. He was, at the same time, hospitable in his house, and, though liberal, discriminating and judicious in his charity. His mind, indeed, was richly imbued with Christian love; from which Divine root flowed that meekness, patience, gentleness, charity, and forgiving temper, which he so uniformly evinced.

Although during nearly the last twenty years of his life, he was unable, from the state of his health, to unite with us in public worship, yet his zeal and devotion were not, we are persuaded, in any degree diminished. His delight was still in the law of the Lord, and in his law did he meditate day and night. Nor, though necessarily more excluded from their society, were his love and attachment to his friends abated.

He was ready and willing, when of ability, to be consulted by them; and he continued to the last to take a lively interest in whatever related to their welfare. He rejoiced especially in the indication of spiritual growth amongst us; and was greatly concerned for the due exercise of our Christian discipline, in the spirit of meekness and wisdom.

He stood in the station of an elder, from the year 1802 to the period of his death; and the judgment and advice of one whose experience was so extensive, and whose natural powers and acquirements had been so sanctified by Divine Grace, was a privilege to us, for which, while we deplore the loss, we desire to render our humble acknowledgments to the Giver of all good. Our dear friend, notwithstanding his various privations from the state of his health, was remarkable for cheerfulness: and he was frequently led to number his blessings, and to acknowledge that his afflictions, and what appeared to

be the most adverse circumstances of his life, were designed to promote his final well-being. He never repined at his long confinement, but was wont to observe how pleasant was his prison, if he might use the term.

Whilst thus cultivating the Christian enjoyment of life, as an evidence of his gratitude to God, he was often led, with great humility, to contemplate the close of it as the commencement of a state of infinite enjoyment. He frequently expressed his sense of his own imperfections and unworthiness, and uniformly evinced that *his hopes of salvation rested solely on the mercy of God, through the atonement and mediation of Jesus Christ*. On the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of his union with his beloved partner, he thus expresses himself in writing: "In the course of the long period of our union, we have had our trials and our afflictions, we have seen a variety of trying events and situations; but we have been favoured too, with many great and distinguished blessings. Even the afflictions, and what appeared to be adverse occurrences, were designed for our final well-being. I hope the gracious intention of these dispensations will be fully answered, by our being safely landed, through the atonement and intercession of our blessed Redeemer, on those happy shores where no clouds nor storms are ever known; and where after millions of ages of happiness shall have passed away, we shall only seem to have begun our felicity—a felicity that will never end."

The following memorandum found in his writing desk, but to which there is no date, evinces that habit of watchfulness and self-examination so necessary to the growth of Christian character: "Preserve me from all vain self-complacency; from seeking the applause of men; and from all solicitude about what they may say or think of me. May I be truly humble, and of a meek and quiet spirit. If I have done any good to my fellow creatures, or in any degree promoted the will of my heavenly Father, may I unfeignedly give him all the glory;

attributing nothing to myself, and taking comfort only from the reflection, that an employment in his service affords an evidence that his mercy is towards me; that I am not forsaken by Him, and that he is training me for an inhabitant of his blessed kingdom; there to glorify and serve my God and Redeemer forever."

A few days after entering on his 81st year, he wrote as follows: "For the mercies and preservation, and the continuance of the many blessings we have had together, (alluding to his wife,) we have abundant cause to be thankful to our heavenly Protector and Father. May He be pleased to prepare us for his holy and happy kingdom, where we shall then have to rejoice forever, in rendering continual thanksgivings and praises, and the most devout and zealous services, to our heavenly Father, Redeemer, and Sanctifier, One God, blessed forever."

These memorandums express, we believe, the daily aspirations and acknowledgments of our dear friend's mind; and in this state of preparation, and of humble and comfortable reliance on the mercy of God in Christ Jesus, was he, we doubt not, found, when the messenger of death delivered his hasty summons, and called him from the labours of the church militant on earth, to the joys of the church triumphant in heaven.

On the evening of the 13th of the Second-month, 1826, he was suddenly seized with a severe attack of indisposition, and on the morning of the 16th he breathed his last, in great peace and resignation, in the 81st year of his age. His remains were interred in Friends' burying ground at York; a large number of Friends and other respectable inhabitants attending his funeral and the subsequent meeting.

Signed in our Monthly Meeting held at York, the 17th of Fifth-month, and 20th of Sixth-month, 1826.

By Fifty-seven Persons.

REMARKS

ON THE

REVIEW OF INCHIQUIN'S LETTERS,

PUBLISHED IN THE

QUARTERLY REVIEW;

ADDRESSED TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

GEORGE CANNING, ESQUIRE.

PUBLISHED BY SAMUEL T. ARMSTRONG,
No. 50, CORNHILL.

.....
1815.

DISTRICT OF MASSACHUSETTS—To wit:

District Clerk's Office.

BE IT REMEMBERED, that on the eleventh day of April, A. D. 1815, and in the thirty-ninth year of the independence of the United States of America, SAMUEL T. ARMSTRONG, of the said District, has deposited in this office the title of a book, the right whereof he claims as Proprietor, in the words following, *to wit:*

“Remarks on the Review of Inchiquin’s Letters, published in the Quarterly Review; addressed to the Right Honourable George Canning, Esq.

In conformity to the act of the Congress of the United States, intitled, “An act for the encouragement of Learning, by securing the Copies of Maps, Charts, and Books, to the Authors and Proprietors of such Copies, during the times therein mentioned;” and also to an act intitled, “An act supplementary to an act, intitled an act for the Encouragement of Learning, by securing the Copies of Maps, Charts, and Books, to the Authors and Proprietors of such Copies during the times therein mentioned; and extending the benefits thereof to the Arts of Designing, Engraving, and Etching, Historical and other Prints.”

WILLIAM S. SHAW,

Clerk of the District of Massachusetts.

PREFACE.

WHEN the following Remarks were almost finished, I was informed, that *Strictures on the Review of Inchiquin's Letters* had been just published in *New York*. As I have not read the Work, I can say nothing of its merit: but some of my friends, who had seen it, urged me to finish what I had proposed, and to send it to the press. I have also been told, that some Observations have been published in one of the *Boston* news-papers on the same Review; but have not seen them.

The general subject of these Remarks has become possessed of considerable importance. *Great Britain* and the *United States* are naturally friends; and their friendship to each other cannot fail, if it should exist, of being mutually and extensively beneficial. It has its foundation laid deep in the common origin, language, manners, laws, and religion; and scarcely less deep in the common interests. Its consequences can only be good: an interruption of it can only be mischievous: the destruction of it will be an evil, which cannot be measured. Nor will the injury to the *United States* be greater, so far as human foresight is able to divine, than to *Great Britain*.

I have ever considered those, who on either side of the *Atlantic* have been willing to alienate these nations

from each other, as governed by passion and prejudice, or as acting from ignorance or thoughtlessness. In both countries they have been sufficiently numerous. Here, as writers, they have appeared chiefly in Newspapers. In *Great Britain* they have assumed graver characters. Both the Travellers and the Literary Journalists of that Country have for reasons, which it would be idle to inquire after, and useless to allege, thought it proper to caricature the *Americans*. Their pens have been dipped in gall; and their representations have been, almost merely, a mixture of malevolence and falsehood. As they have been long continued, and very often repeated, it cannot be unkind, or in any sense improper, to examine their character.

A great number of these abusive effusions have been published in *British* Reviews. They began in Sentences, and Paragraphs: they have now become the materials of extended discussion, and indicate with sufficient evidence, a settled hostility against this country.

That *Britons* should feel the common resentment of enemies towards us, during the existence of the present war, is certainly to be expected. But men, whose minds are professedly enlarged with literature and science, are fairly required to know, that what they write is at least probably founded in truth, and to assert nothing which is not well sustained by evidence. To such men prejudice and passion ought, at least during their sober lucubrations, to be strangers. By such

men contempt and sneers ought to be admitted into their writings with reluctance. But in the Reviews, which I have mentioned, the Writers, in their Observations concerning this Country, have uttered little beside the language of contempt and ill nature.

The existing Government of these States has laboured for a long time to alienate its citizens from *Great Britain*, and to attach them to *France*. The attempt has to some extent been blasted, hitherto: but it may be renewed with fresh vigour at no distant period. The only means of rendering it finally successful, of which I can conceive, will be the co-operation of *Britons* with the existing *American* Government in its favourite design. In such a co-operation these Writers have embarked with an ardour, scarcely to have been expected. Few measures could with equal efficacy bring forward such a catastrophe. Their writings are extensively read in this Country; and, wherever they are read, produce a resentment and indignation, not easily forgotten. Very naturally, they are supposed to be the sentiments of the *British* nation; and the supposition easily exhibits every prospect of future conciliation as hopeless, and even the wish for it as idle and childish: for who can rationally desire any connexion either with an individual, or a nation, capable of such sentiments?

The account, given, in the course of this Work, concerning the manner, in which the *British* Reviews are conducted, and concerning the character of the Re-

viewers, will go far towards persuading the people of this Country, that they are not to receive their effusions as being the sentiments of the *British Nation*, but as ebullitions from inmates of the *Fleet, King's bench,* and *Newgate*, prisons; or from other base and despicable hirelings, employed to aid the dirty purposes of a dirty bookseller. The Nation has not lost its former nobleness; and Reviewers are not the organs of its will. It still contains a multitude of great, and wise, and good men, who, when the present paroxism is over, will, I trust, act towards us, as such men may be fairly expected to act.

The Review of *Inchiquin's Letters*, as I have been very lately informed, has in this country been attributed to Mr. *Southey*. I can hardly admit the supposition, that a man, possessing the reputation of this gentleman, can have been the author of so unworthy a production. If it is his; I can only say, I regret it, for the sake of human nature.

The attention paid in the course of these Remarks to Mr. *Jeffrey*, the Conductor of the *Edinburgh Review*, has been abundantly merited by the indecent sneers, and slanders, issued in that Journal concerning the inhabitants of the United States. *Scotchmen*, and *Scotland*, have been treated here with every expression of good will; and we deserve from them nothing, but to be "paid in kind." But in a Work, which from the beginning has either openly, or insidiously, been hostile to good Government, and Christianity, who, not

destitute of Common Sense, can expect any thing, which is just, or honourable. As to Mr. *Jeffrey* himself, the civilities, which he received here, turned his head; and have been requited only with insolence. Nothing better could rationally have been expected from a man, who had wickedness enough to go into the field, in order to gain the reputation of a duellist, and baseness enough to agree beforehand with his miserable antagonist to fight with powder only. The *Edinburgh Review* sometimes exhibits superiour talents; but, as a whole, it is a nuisance to the world.

It is time that the people of this country should begin to estimate the foreigners, who visit it, more justly. Nine, out of ten, so far as their observations are published, are mere common slanderers; and appear to cross the ocean for little else than to bely us, as soon as they leave our shores. If they dislike our country and its inhabitants, let them stay at home. We shall not molest them. Here they claim, and receive, an attention, due only to persons of worth; and then repay our civilities with contempt and abuse. It is sufficiently painful to be ill-treated by men of respectability; but to be subjected to the heels, and the braying of such creatures, as *Janson*, *Ashe*, and *Parkinson*; and that, in a sense voluntarily, is to be humbled indeed. It is to be hoped, that *Americans*, before they again open their houses, and their hearts, for the reception of foreign stragglers, will demand some evidence, that they are not scoundrels. Every worthy man, from

every country, I would welcome; and wish my countrymen to welcome, to every good office. But it is time, that we should begin to select from so corrupt a mass, such parts, as are at least not putrid.

If we can be connected with *Great Britain* on terms of mutual good will, and mutual respect; I shall hail the connexion with the most sincere pleasure; but, if the people of that country are only to regard us with malignity and contempt, and to treat us with abuse and slander; the sooner, and the farther, we are separated, the better.

Feb. 1, 1815.

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REMARKS, &c.

SIR,

YOU are reported, in this country, to have instituted, and to controul, a literary journal, published in *London*, under the title of *The Quarterly Review*. Whether the report is just, or not, I am unable to determine. If it is just; the following observations are intentionally directed to you. If not; the proper application of them will be made to some other person, probably unknown to the public as the principal patron.

In the twentieth number of this work, Art. 11th, is a review of a production, styled "*Inchiquin the Jesuit's Letters, during a late residence in the United States of America.*" The title you consider, and I presume justly, as fictitious; and attribute the work to a *Philadelphian*, named *Ingersoll*. There is a man of this name in that city, whom the inhabitants, in one of those fits of delirium, which often seize upon large cities, sent as their Representative to Congress. Here he rendered himself in a very short time both odious and contemptible; and received such a flagellation from the Hon. *Mr. Stockton*, of *New Jersey*, as neither he nor his countrymen will soon forget: a flagellation, you will permit me to add, (since you are so ready to accuse us of manual violence,) administered, not with the hand, but with the tongue. That this silly man may have written the book, of which you speak; and that it may be a very silly book; I am not disposed to question. As the only knowledge of it, which I possess, is derived from this review, I am not

warranted to contradict any assertions concerning it, which are made by the reviewer. Had your strictures been confined to *Inchiquin's Letters*; you would never have heard from me.

In an early part of this paper you inform us, that the book has suggested to you, that "it might not be uninteresting, or unamusing to enquire a little into the character of the people, whom its Government are thus endeavouring to inflame into unextinguishable hatred against us, and whom we are so desirous of conciliating." "In doing this," you tell us, "we do not profess to take *Inchiquin* for our only guide; but shall avail ourselves of many partial, and scattered, hints towards a correct portrait of the people of the United States, which are to be found in the works of their own artists, as well as in those of foreigners, who have preceded this jesuitical author." This is a task, upon which you have entered pretty extensively heretofore; and which has been assumed by several other literary journalists of *Great Britain*. The spirit, with which it has been executed, has been the same: and it may be asserted without the least fear of well founded contradiction, that it is the very spirit, which you censure with so much severity; equally causeless; equally malignant; equally dishonourable to him, by whom it is cherished.

There are two subjects, on which you have remarked extensively, and about which I shall give myself little concern. These are *the characters, and the administrations, of Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Madison*. I am a federalist, and a *New Englander*; a *Yankee*, as a multitude of your countrymen choose to style us, with the same gentlemanly spirit, with which they call the *French* frog-eaters; the *Italians*, fiddlers; and the

Russians, bears; with which they see nothing in the *Scotch*, but dirt and the itch; in the *Irish*, nothing but bulls, and lies; and in the *Dutch*, nothing but smoaking, cheating, and stupidity; with which *Dr. Clarke*, otherwise a worthy man, and plainly possessed of respectable talents, declares, that every *Russian*, whom he met, was a rogue; that both sexes in that country, and those even of high rank, are encrusted with filth, and covered with vermin.

There is not, I presume, an *Englishman*, who regards the character, and politics, of *Mr. Jefferson*, and *Mr. Madison*, with less approbation than myself. The former I consider as a cunning, the latter as a weak, man; and both, as hollow in their professions, insincere in their declarations, disposed without reluctance to sacrifice their country to the acquisition, and retention, of power, and actually sacrificing it, so far as they have been able, for the accomplishment of horrid, and despicable purposes. In the progress of their measures I know not one, which wears even the appearance of patriotism, or principle.

The war, existing between *Great Britain* and this country, of which you complain with the best reason, is in my opinion unnatural, impolitic on our part, causeless, and unjust. I do not mean, that you have given us no grounds for complaint. Your Orders in Council were, to say the least, of a very questionable nature; and the treatment, which our commerce has received from you, both before and since that period, is incapable of any vindication. But we, also, had acted in a manner, equally censurable towards you. It is unnecessary, that I should recite the provocations, which we have given you. Suffice it to say, that *France*, to whom with a spirit of drivelling infatuation we at-

tached ourselves, had injured us ten times, where you had done it once; and in a degree, which outran calculation. *Mr. Jefferson*, a *Spaniel* where *Bonaparte* was concerned, and, while he thought himself safe under the imperial and royal protection, growling and bristling in a manner, somewhat formidable, at *Great Britain*, thought, poor man! that *Great Britain* would certainly cease to be an independent nation within twelve months from the date of the treaty concluded by *Messrs. Munroe and Pinckney*. This, he himself declared to *Dr. Logan*, was the reason why he rejected that treaty: a reason, for alleging which a child ten years old, if such a child could have been found, who would have alleged it, ought to have been whipped.

At this time the *British* nation was employed, and had for many years been employed, in defending what was left of the liberty, and safety, of the human race; the protestant religion; and the remains of literature, arts, science, civilization, and happiness; from the jaws of the *Corsican Cyclop*. The expense, which she incurred, the bravery of her fleets and armies, the skill and conduct of her officers, the wisdom and firmness of her councils, and the unanimity, patriotism and perseverance, of her inhabitants, cutrun all praise; and surpass every preceding example. Blasted be the wishes of the man, who desires to see your nation in any other than prosperous circumstances; and who will not rejoice to see it free, virtuous and happy. The human race are your debtors: and to you, under God, it is owing in a great measure, that the inhabitants of this country are in possession of their own liberty and independence. I say this, because it is true: and not one of my own countrymen, although I am well

aware that many of them will deny the position, will be able to refute it.

In this situation, that the *American Government* should wish success to *Napoleon* was equally a proof of profligacy, and madness. Should he succeed; the only boon, which could be expected for the inhabitants of this country, was to be eaten up last; and the period at which they were to be devoured, was at so small a distance, as to render the postponement of the crisis scarcely a privilege.

This single fact tinctures the war, deeply, with the character of ingratitude. We were neutrals: but we had the same interest in its issue, as if we had been a party. You were defending *our* interest; while *we* were opposing it. Heaven blessed you with success: and glory be to the Author of all blessing, that he was pleased to give it in so bountiful a manner.

Far, very far, however, is this from being a complete account of the merits of your countrymen. They have done more to define, and perpetuate, liberty; to form a wise, upright, and stable government; to improve agriculture, arts, and manufactures; to extend learning, and science; and to advance the interests of morality, and religion; than any other nation, ancient or modern. Your judicial system is an exhibition of more wisdom than can be found in the internal police of any spot on the globe. The *British and Foreign Bible Society*, if there were no other monument of your nation to be left, would transmit your character to future generations with a glory, which will expire only with the ages of time.

With the *Conduct of the war*, on our part, I am but little better pleased than with the original declaration. The plan of conquering *Canada* was equally iniqui-

tous, and absurd. The inhabitants of *Upper Canada* were chiefly emigrants from the United States; and left behind them brothers and sisters, parents and children. Those of *Lower Canada* were perfectly friendly to us. Neither of them had done us any wrong. Yet these were the people, who were to undergo the principal sufferings of the war; and no reason could be assigned, at the suggestion of which an upright man would not blush, why we should be willing, that they should suffer at all. The acquisition of *Canada* would have been only injurious to us. To govern it has cost you immense sums. The United States it would have cost much more. To you the possession of *Canada* was safe. Were that country ours; we should be exposed to the discontent, turmoil, and insurrections, of the inhabitants: evils, to which no limits can be foreseen; and the expense of blood, and treasure, which would be necessary to quell, not to say exterminate, them, it would be very difficult to estimate: to omit what is much more important; the immeasurable guilt of bringing the miseries, inseparable from such a process, upon a people, to whom we owe nothing but good will.

Our Government was ill informed, and weak, enough to believe these people their friends: and under this persuasion resolutely attempted, at the commencement of the war, to detach them from their allegiance, and their interests. Alternately, they were threatened, and courted: and the same hand held out to them the torch and the olive branch. The *Canadians* wisely disregarded both; and, unterrified by that preeminent specimen of barbarism, the proclamation of *Gen. Hull*, (dictated for that officer, as I am told he declares, at *Washington*,) adhered to their

interest, and their Sovereign. Since that period we have done what was in our power to alienate them still further, and, it must be acknowledged, have been eminently successful. They now hate us as cordially, as we can desire; and, it is to be hoped, that even the unsusceptible mind of *Mr. Madison*, illustrious as he is for pertinacity, has already, or will soon, become a convert to this opinion. If not, let him send *Gen. Peter B. Porter* on two or three more Indian excursions into that country; and all the difficulties in the way of his conversion will vanish.

Gen. Hull, who was sent at the commencement of the war to subdue Upper *Canada*, and who had acquired an honourable character as a field officer in the *American Revolution*, particularly in the resistance made to *Gen. Burgoyne*, was hurried off to *Detroit* with an expedition, which indicated, that his employers supposed he had nothing to do, after his arrival, but to say "*Veni, vidi, vici;*" and the work would be done. He found at *Detroit* half an army, half victualled, half clothed, miserably furnished with the means of making war, and with little provision for their own safety, health, or comfort. The disastrous issue of the enterprise was an equal, and signal, proof of the folly of those, by whom it was originated, and of the justice of God.

A similar character must be given of the succeeding attempts of *Gens. Dearborn, Hampton, and Wilkinson*. An examination of them, here, would be unnecessary and tedious. I shall not, therefore, weary myself with writing, nor you with reading it. It will be enough to say, that by our various expeditions into *Canada* we have lost much, and gained nothing. We have, indeed, inflicted many evils upon *you*. Of

this we ought to be ashamed; and for it we have been, and hereafter probably may be still more, severely punished. We have destroyed your people; and you, ours. You have boasted of your victories, and so have we of ours; and both, often without any reason. We have burnt your villages; and you have burnt ours. We blew up the parliament house at *Little York*; and you blew up the *American Capitol*, and the President's house, at *Washington*. The destruction was in both cases causeless, and wanton; and both parties exhibited themselves as mere barbarians. Yet I confess, we set you the example. *Sir George Prevost*, however, in a solemn proclamation, published after the destruction of *Buffaloe Creek*, and its environs, declared, that the work of retaliation had been carried sufficiently far. From this time nothing had occurred, which could justify the ravages at *Washington*.

In your attacks upon *us* you have had little more success than we in ours upon you. The bargain has been a losing one on both sides; and the sooner it is terminated, the better. A little common sense, and a little good nature, would easily bring the controversy to a close. But it is questionable whether your government, or ours, will very soon possess enough of either to effectuate so desirable a purpose. That ours will, I confess, I have no expectation.

Your History of the progress of the *American* government is in some respects just, and in some erroneous. If you wish to see the subject correctly stated; you will find it exhibited in a masterly manner by the *Hon. Robert Goodloe Harper*, in an Address to his fellow citizens, assembled at *Annapolis*, to celebrate the victories of the Allies over *Napoleon*. Permit me to recommend this work to you, although it is an *Amer-*

ican production, and written in a country, which you think a land of barbarism and blunders. It will afford you much useful instruction, which you cannot get elsewhere; and will teach you to write with a better spirit, and in better language. At the same time it will gratify your spleen against one class of the *Americans* by shewing you the unworthy character, and disgraceful conduct, of the leaders of that class; and the base manner, in which they collected, and arranged, their political party. The expectation of being gratified in this respect, will, I hope, induce you to read the book.

The first theme of your censure is made up of our Rulers, and their Administration. On this subject I presume you will hardly demand of me more liberal concessions than those, which I have already made. Let us now turn our eyes to *Great Britain*; and see whether in this respect our character will suffer by a comparison with yours. Mr. *Jefferson* and Mr. *Madison* are, we will suppose, weak men. To the former, indeed, you allow a plausible address, and considerable talents: and it must be acknowledged, that he possesses, in no contemptible degree, the talent, which is styled Cunning. As to talents of any other nature, I will leave him to display and his friends to admit them. Place both these Magistrates as low as you please. Were they weaker men than your *John*, *Stephen*, *Henry III*, *Henry VI*, *Edward II*, *James I*, *Charles II*, and *James II*? Could not as many, and those equally ridiculous and contemptible, things be written, even now, concerning each of these men, as concerning the two *American Chiefs*? Were not both their private conduct, and their public policy, at least

as despicable; *Englishmen* themselves being the Judges.

But "the *American Rulers* are grossly vicious men." The private deportment of Mr. *Madison* is, I believe, altogether decent, so far as what is commonly styled morality, is concerned. It is true, he makes no pretensions to the character of a religious man. But, I believe, he never swears, gets drunk, frequents the gambling table, nor keeps a mistress. How small, Sir, do you think, is the number of your princes, of whom this could be said with truth? Look back, if you please, upon the list which I have set before you; and tell me how many it contains, who were not blots, and brands, upon the character of man.

You complain, and justly, of the *hypocritical politics, and false professions*, of these Presidents. Mr. *Madison's* hypocrisy is clumsy, and awkward. Mr. *Jefferson's* is adroit, and sits upon him like an accomplishment; and, visible as it always was to men of sense and integrity, has nevertheless satisfied his party, and kept them in order. That of *Charles II*, though he was plainly inferiour to Mr. *Jefferson* in talents, was equally efficacious in controuling the principal men, and the great body, of the *English* nation. Not only did they unite very generally in his profligate and ruinous measures, but addressed him, and spoke of him publicly and privately, in terms of the most exaggerated and fulsome adulation; such as on a modern ear produces effects, very similar to those, which are experienced by the palate, when tasting Ipecacuanha. A few of the distinguished Ministers of your church, and a few illustrious Laymen, opposed the abominable measures of this fiend in human shape; but the rest; your Clergy, Nobles, Parliament, and People; united

together in a vast mob, and followed with a hue and cry of applause this vile man, who was labouring to destroy at once their liberty and their religion.

You complain of *the injustice of our Rulers to Great Britain*. Admit it. Turn your eyes, if you please, upon your own country. Recollect the miseries, which you have brought upon the people of *Hindoostan*, and upon the wretched inhabitants of *Africa*. Follow for a moment your Slave-factors, prowling through this unhappy region, like a collection of wolves and tygers, and destroying by the wars, which they kindled, an endless multitude of the inhabitants, for the purpose of selling another endless multitude into hopeless, agonizing bondage; of whom one half perished on the way, and the other became victims, at no distant period, to toil, and torture.

You will tell me, perhaps, that *we* are equally, and even more, interested in this charge than yourselves; that we have not only been active in this infamous traffic, but have bought, and kept, and still keep, these miserable people in bondage. Softly, Sir. Our own share in this business was all begun, and carried on, under your patronage, and controul. When we formed our National Constitution, the States stipulated, in effect, that after the year 1808 the importation of slaves should cease. To this stipulation the slaveholding States were parties: and it was the earliest dereliction of this iniquitous traffic, to which they would consent. Blame them for this part of their conduct as much as you please. I shall feel no inducement to refute the charge. The other States either abolished slavery in their Constitutions at the first moment of their political existence; or exterminat-

ed it by the earliest emancipation, which was in their power. This was particularly true of New England.

You will perhaps reply, that *Great Britain* has performed the same act of justice in a manner still more efficacious. I rejoice in it. The name of *Wilberforce*, *Sharp*, *Clarkson*, and their associates, I regard with all the respect, which can be due to mere men; and hail with inexpressible delight the triumph, atchieved by them at the end of a war, of near 20 years, over *Liverpool* slave-dealers, over *West Indian* slave-holders, and over all the phalanx of avarice, barbarity, and oppression. They have erected to themselves a monument of glory, *ære perennius*.

At the same time I remember with no small mortification the hostility, the abuse, the base passions, and the despicable sentiments, which through this long period they were obliged to encounter; not only from the *West Indian* slave-holders, and the *Liverpool* slave-merchants, who, together with their friends, found their way into your Senate, but in many instances, also, from the independent Gentlemen, and even from the Noblemen, of your country. We accomplished the business with much less difficulty; notwithstanding a great part of our Convention, and afterwards of our Congress, was composed of those, whose property consisted extensively in slaves.

In *Hindoostan* your public conduct was for a long period, and until very lately, so oppressive to the miserable inhabitants, that persons of the first distinction in *Great Britain* branded it with the deepest shame. You have begun a reformation, at which every good man rejoices. Our conduct toward the *Aborigines* of our country, though scandalous, is far from being equally infamous with yours towards the *Hindoos*:

and the name of *Harrison* will go down to posterity with less infamy, than those of *Clive*, and *Sykes*. But, in this respect, you have begun to reform: we have not.

Very unpleasant tales hang upon the private character of *Mr. Jefferson*; but he never sacrificed his own daughter, as *James the 1st.* did the wife of the *Elector Palatine*; nor his own friend, as the same miserable prince did *Sir Walter Raleigh*: and his life, with the utmost enormities attributed to it, cannot be placed by the side of that brute in human shape, *Charles the 2d.* Nor did he more directly, more universally, or more wantonly, sacrifice the interests of the country, which he governed. It has not yet been proved, that he was a pensioner of *France*; nor was his servile dependence on *Bonaparte* so servile as that of *Charles* on *Louis 14th.* Nor is the war, in which we are now involved, more despicable, or more directly injurious to our interests, than the second *Dutch* war, carried on by *Charles* in obedience to *Louis*, was to those of *Great Britain.* *Charles's* whole private life was a mere mass of putrefaction.

While we are on this subject, let me turn your attention for a moment to the behaviour of some of the members of the present reigning Family. Recal to your remembrance for a single moment the story of *Mrs. Fitzherbert*; the present situation of the Princess of *Wales*; the story of "*The Book*;" the history of the Marchioness of *Yarmouth*; and a few other items, of the same unfortunate nature; particularly the whole history of the Duke of *York.* It is enough for me to direct the eye of an *Englishman* to these objects. I shall not insist upon them.

To these, however, I could, as you very easily know, add a terrible list, if I were to go back through the history of your Government. To say nothing of the infernal spirit of *Mary the 1st*, the capricious and brutal violence of her Father, and the enormous avarice of her Grandfather; what do you think of the execution of *Mary, Queen of Scots*, and the barbarous treatment of several of her own subjects, by your "good queen *Bess*." If the character of rulers is to stamp that of a nation; there are, I fear, very few periods of your history, which will bear an examination. How few of your *Edwards* and *Henrys*, of whom you boast so much, although several of them possessed great talents, were men of even a decent character. Antecedently to the present reigning Family, three or four princes will, I suspect, be all, whom you would choose to name as persons of unblemished reputation.

You cannot but observe, Sir, the tenderness, with which I have treated your country, nor failed to have remarked the contrast, exhibited in it to the brutal *Billingsgate*, with which you have insulted mine. The facts, which you have alleged, you have drawn almost wholly from British travellers; who, with a few exceptions, have either from ignorance, or dishonesty, or both, so extensively violated truth, as to persuade the inhabitants of this country to doubt the soundness of all books of travels. The proverbial language, here, concerning this subject is, "What reason have we to suppose, that other travellers are more honest than these; or that they are better informed? Both their mistakes, and their falsehoods, are innumerable. Their works, instead of being portraits of this country, are caricatures. If they have drawn other countries in the same manner; we know them from these writ-

ings, only as we know the character of a man from the calumnies of his enemies, or the ribaldry of his satirists."

There is, however, another source of error, from which both they and you, take occasion to indulge the love, and the malignity of misrepresentation, with some advantage to yourselves, and gross injustice to us. Your travellers lay hold on a news-paper paragraph, an abusive pamphlet, or a scandalous tale, which they heard recited in conversation; and from one or other of these sources derive some fact, or facts, which have really existed. The facts themselves, in which only one, or a few individuals were concerned, you attribute to classes of men; and derive from them conclusions, which you fasten on the whole *American* people.

With the same equity you seize upon a custom, or characteristic, existing in a greater or less degree in some part of this country, and without qualification attribute it to the inhabitants universally. With equal truth might you ascribe the manners of *Kamschatka* to the people of *St. Petersburg*, and those of the *Cornwall wreckers* to the citizens of *Westminster*. In this manner what is originally true in your details is changed into falsehood; and facts are perverted to the purposes of slander.

Your second attack is made on our *National Legislature*. You sift the character of the Electors, and their Representatives; and inform us from *Peter Porcupine*, (Pray, Sir, did you go to the gaol, in which he lay confined by one of your courts of justice, for libelling your Government, to get this tale from him?) that "in *America* the man of the people is one, who frequents the grog-shops, smokes a cigar, and harangues the pop-

ulace with violent abuse of the hostile faction." You then tell us of a man, "who had married a free black-woman in the *West Indies*, had several children by her, robbed and left her, went to the U. S. married another wife, and, "with all these blushing honours thick upon him," was elected a member of the Senate." We have undoubtedly scandalous members in our Congress. "Pray, Sir, what think you of *John Wilkes*, elected into your Parliament by the proud city of *London*; of which you and your countrymen boast in much the same terms with those, in which *Nebuchadnezzar* boasted of *Babylon*; of *John Wilkes* elected a member of Parliament by the city of *London*; expelled by the House of Commons, and by the same city elected a second time; of *John Wilkes*, who wrote the *Essay on Woman*, a mass of corruption and impiety, such as probably the world never saw before; of *John Wilkes*, elected at the very time when this putrid production came to light, and thus sanctioned and supported, in this stupendous iniquity, by the public voice of that great city? What think you of *Sykes*, who was elected member of your Parliament, after having starved in *India* one million of people by purchasing the rice, on which alone they were to live, and refusing to sell it again till he could obtain the price, put upon it by his own avarice? What think you of *Sir Francis Burdett*, the representative of your polite city of *Westminster*? For his character I need not refer you to the books, whence I have learned it. I refer you to your own knowledge. Now, Sir, permit me to ask, Do you believe, that any scoundrels in the *American Congress* are greater scoundrels than these; or that any Orator of a stump in the *Southern States*, or any backwoodsman in

Kentucky, Ohio, or Tennessee, ever deserved to be hanged half as many times?

Let me remind you, also, that this custom of haranguing a mob, as means of obtaining an election, is derived from *Great Britain*; that the names of *Fox*, and *Burke*, are enrolled, as well as those of *Wilkes* and *Burdett*, among your field orators; and that although they did not mount a hogshead, or a stump, the difference of the rostrum makes no difference in the practice, to the eye either of morality, or taste; that, although they were probably more eloquent than the *Ciceros* of *Kentucky*, or *Tennessee*, and somewhat more learned; and thus were able, like *Virgil*, "to toss about their dung with an air of majesty;" yet the superiority of their character serves only to display the conduct with more deformity; and that the higher your claims of intelligence and refinement are, the deeper is your disgrace on account of this barbarism. Permit me further to inform you, that this practice has no existence north of *Maryland*.

You observe that "every free man in *America*, aye and *free woman too*, is a voter, and every one is free, who declares himself to be worth fifty pounds;" and, you add, "None thinks of boggling, if required, to swear to this qualification; none more expert at an evasion or equivocation than a citizen of the United States."

These declarations, Sir, are, it must be owned, very candid, and very gentlemanly. Some of them I will examine here: others I shall notice in the sequel. You say that every freeman in *America* is a voter. If you intend, that every man is a voter who is not a slave, the assertion is a falsehood, supremely scandalous to you, because it is hardly possible, that you

should not have known it to be false; and because such ignorance would be scarcely less disgraceful to a man of your political character than the untruth. If you intend, what the word is used to denote in this country, that every man who possesses the right of voting is a voter; the assertion is true: and I congratulate you on the profoundness of the discovery.

But you say "every free-woman in this country is a voter." In the Constitution of *New Jersey*, phraseology, admitted, as I understand, by mere inadvertency, was supposed by some of its inhabitants to give the right of voting to women: and in a very small number of instances,* and within very limited districts, women have acted as voters. This, Sir, is the only foundation on which rests your broad assertion, that every free-woman in *America* is a voter. From a person who sports with truth in this manner, what can be expected, but such a foul mass of falsehood and abuse, as is contained in the Review of the Letters of *Inchiquin*?

The terms on which men are admitted to the elective franchise in this country, are far from according with my own wishes. In some of the States they are better, and in others worse, than in *Great Britain*. In one respect they are immeasurably better. We give the right to men of every description, who possess the personal character, and the pecuniary qualifications, specified by the law. We do not confine the election to *particular trades*, nor to *particular spots of ground*. We have no *Old Sarums*, where one man sends two members to Parliament; and no *Birmingham*s, where eighty thousand do not send one. Every

* I know but one instance.

thirty five thousand freeborn inhabitants are empowered to send one member to Congress, and every man in this list, who possesses the personal character, and pecuniary qualifications, required by law, either has, or may at his option have, a right to vote for this member. Now, Sir, we *Americans* believe, that this is a more equitable method of conferring the right of election than that, which is adopted in *Great Britain*. That, as described by a writer,* to whose authority you will not object, is the following. "The House of Commons consists of five hundred and forty eight members; of whom two hundred are elected by seven thousand constituents: so that a majority of these seven thousand without any reasonable title to superior weight or influence in the state, may, under certain circumstances, decide a question against the opinion of as many millions. Or, to place the same object in another point of view: if my estate be situated in one county of the kingdom, I possess the ten thousandth part of a single representative; if in another the thousandth; if in a particular district; I may be one in twenty, who choose two representatives; if in a still more favored spot, I may enjoy the right of appointing two, myself. Or thirdly, to describe the state of national representation as it exists in reality, it may be affirmed, I believe, with truth, that *about one half of the House of Commons obtain their seats in that assembly by the election of the people; the other half by purchase, or by the nomination of single proprietors of great estates.*" This picture, Sir, is deformed: the original cannot be very beautiful. It may be beyond *your* power to adopt a better mode. It was within ours; and we adopted it.

* Paley's Mor. Phil.

Yet you say, "The popular representation in the United States is a great fallacy, and a complete fraud, on the people: and we agree with him, (the Jesuit,) that the *Turkish* Constitution, which calls a leader to his post by acclamation, may just as well be called a popular representation." And do you really believe, Sir, that our representation is not as fair, as that, in which the one half of the representatives obtain their seats by purchase or by the nomination of single proprietors of great estates? I should not have thought that even a Reviewer, accustomed as he is to say every thing, which may gratify the passions and prejudices of himself, and his party, could have said this without recalling, at least for one moment, the blush, so long exiled from his cheeks.

If our people are not as fairly represented as those of *England*, the want of fairness must be derived, not from the principle, but from abuses of it in the practice. That we are guilty of many such abuses, I am not disposed to question.

Read, if you please, Sir, the following account of an election in *Coventry*, in the year 1805; written by a gentleman of more respectability than all your travelers in *America* united. "I had heard much of *English* elections, and thought myself very fortunate in having an opportunity to see the bustle of such an occasion. But I am quite satisfied with one exhibition of the kind; nor do I wish ever to behold another. For *never before did I witness such a scene of drunkenness, uproar, and riot.* The genius of Mac Fingal, or of Hudibras, alone could convey to you an adequate idea of a state of things, in which was most forcibly exhibited the majesty of the sovereign people, exercising the right of unbiassed suffrage."

“It seems, that the voters at *English* elections do not necessarily reside on the spot; many live in remote towns; and, when the period of election arrives, are transported to the place by the candidates, whose cause they espouse, and are maintained by them free of expense during the contest, which frequently lasts two or three weeks. It is stated in extenuation of this practice, that some of the electors, and especially mechanics and labourers, cannot afford to leave their homes, and pursuits, to travel to a distant county, and remain at their own charge during a contested election; and that, therefore, it is but reasonable, that the candidates should sustain this expense. However plausible this statement may appear, it is certain, that it is only an apology for an indirect species of bribery, not less effectual than the direct giving of money. For under the pretence of maintaining their voters, the candidates buy them with wine, whiskey, and dinners: for he is always the best patriot, who gives the people the most good things.”

“The poll was held in a building, which appeared to be the market; and the respective parties were striving, each to prevent the other from getting up to the poll, to give their votes. For this purpose they did not hesitate to use every degree of violence, short of blows. The contest was principally in *pushing*. The two contending parties were arranged in opposition like two armies. When they came up to the poll, the two fronts met; and in every instance a violent contest ensued: hands to hands, face to face, and shoulder to shoulder: and when one party gave way, the other would press tumultuously on till all fell in a promiscuous heap. Then the victorious party rising from off their fallen antagonists, would shout, vociferating

huzzas, throwing their hats into the air, and making it ring with *Mills! Mills!* or *Parry! Parry!* according as one or the other prevailed. In these contests, which appeared to be in the main rather good natured, individuals occasionally kindled into a rage; and bloody noses and torn coats and shirts were usually the consequence. I saw one man who had lost half his coat, and half his shirt; and his bleeding back and face were marked with the talons of some rival voter."

Such, Sir, is the description of one of your elections. Were such an one to exist in New England; it would form an æra in our history; would cover with infamy both the electors and the candidates; and so long as it was remembered, would scandalize their posterity. I have lived long in this country; and have never yet known a single shilling given to purchase a vote. That it may have been done in solitary instances, since the æra of Mr. *Jefferson's* inauguration may be true: but the instances must have been very few. Compare this with the following declaration of the same gentleman. "The parties were very nearly equal in numbers: the contest had already continued several days: and it was thought it would cost Mr. *Parry* twenty thousand pounds." You will remember, that this is not one of those elections, "which," *Dr. Paley* informs us, "are obtained by purchase."

But we are not at the end of our progress. The writer goes on: "I know not whether this election is to be regarded as a fair sample of similar things in *England*; but I heard a gentleman say, at *Liverpool*, that these contests sometimes end in blood; that he had seen them on some occasions unpave a whole street; when every window, and lamp, would fly to pieces."

And again: "The mob were all monarchs: for they were all noisy, and all drunk." "The alternate victors, in the intervals of the contests, sung a kind of chorus, with loud acclamations, frantic gestures, and convulsive expressions of joy in their features. The bottle went round merrily over the heads of the populace; and it was amusing enough to see the address, used to get it to the mouth. The crowd was so great, and such the eagerness to seize the bottle, that it was constantly held up at arm's length above the head: and thus it was moved on in the air; one man wrestling it from another: and sometimes half a dozen had hold of it at once. At length some one, more resolute than his neighbours, or less drunk than they, would grasp the bottle; and, when with much effort it had acquired a determination towards a particular throat, so great was the jostling, and shoving, that the wide-mouthed expectant would sometimes make several unsuccessful attempts to close his lips upon the nozzle; and in the mean time the liquor would be running in streams into his face and bosom."

You should not complain of *American* rudeness: you live in a glass house.

Still we are not at the end of our progress. The same Writer goes on: "Even the softer sex seemed to be inspired with the madness of the occasion. They were to be seen standing on heads of barrels, on the street railings, and wherever else they could find situations a little more elevated, and secure, than the ground: and occasionally they mixed with the crowd, joined in the strife and acclamations, and encouraged their husbands, brothers, and lovers, by reproaches and praises, frowns and applauses, according as the

parties whose cause they favoured, were victorious or defeated."

It seems, Sir, that although *the free women of Coventry* are not voters, they esteem it no impropriety to appear at your elections; are seen *standing on heads of barrels* like the *American orators*, whom you mentioned above; that *they climb the street railings*, and take other positions of the like delicate nature; that occasionally they mix with the crowd, join in the strife and acclamations, and encourage their husbands, brothers, and lovers, by reproaches and praises, frowns and applauses. Certainly, Sir, you ought to have summoned a little prudence, if not a little truth to your aid before you put this unfortunate declaration upon your paper: "Every free woman in *America* is a voter." *No free woman in America "stands, Sir, on the head of a barrel; climbs a street railing; mixes with a drunken crowd, over the heads of which a bottle moves on in the air, until one less drunk than his neighbours grasps it, and gives it a determined direction towards his own throat; or, being disappointed, turns the stream into his face and bosom."* *Coventry*, Sir, is one of your cities; not a frontier settlement in the wilds of *America*. It is the see of a Bishop. If these are the manners of its citizens; if this is a *Coventry* election; if such is the conduct of the free women in *Coventry*; what are we to suppose concerning those of your villages?

The *American* free women do not seat themselves in their coaches, (for coaches really exist in this barbarous land, and free women sometimes ride in them,) and ride through the streets of *Philadelphia, New York, or Boston*, to beg votes for a candidate, as did *the Duchess of Devonshire* through the streets of *Westmin-*

ster to solicit them for the right honourable *Charles J. Fox*: nor, when solicitations fail, do they present their lily hands, much less their ruby lips to be kissed by a butcher; as did the same beautiful spouse of one of your prime Nobility. Really, Sir, you should not have meddled with this subject. Let me advise you, the next time you take up the employment of bespattering the people of the *United States*, to let their elections, and their free women, alone.

Permit me now to inform you in what manner elections are conducted in *New England*: the part of the *United States*, with which I am best acquainted. On the morning of an election day the electors assemble either in a church, or a town-house, in the centre of the township, of which they are inhabitants.

The business of the day is sometimes introduced by a sermon, and very often by public prayer. A Moderator is chosen: the votes are given in with strict decency; without a single debate; without noise, or disorder, or drink; and with not a little of the sobriety, seen in religious assemblies. The meeting is then dissolved; the inhabitants retire quietly to their homes, and have neither battles, nor disputes. Pray, Sir, have you any such elections, as these? We have very many. Probably, all are not such: but we have no *Coventry* elections. Nor do I believe, that a single woman, bond or free, ever appeared at an election in *New England* since the colonization of the country. It would be as much, as her character was worth. Indeed, Sir, you should not have meddled with this subject.

But, lest you should think I am not warranted to rely on *American* testimony concerning British transactions, I will present you with a few passages from

a writer of your own. In the 44th Letter of *Espriella*, you will find the following observations.

“*Electioneering*, as they call it, is a game, at which every kind of deceit seems to be lawful. On these occasions men, who at other times regard it as a duty to speak truth, and think their honour implicated in their word, scruple not at asserting the grossest and most impudent falsehoods, if thereby they can obtain a momentary advantage over the hostile party. A striking instance of this has occurred with respect to the election for Nottingham, a considerable town in the middle of England, where the contest has been violent, because party spirit has always been carried to a high degree there. Some years ago the mob ducked those who were most obnoxious to them, and killed some of them in the operation. This was not forgotten. The opposite party had the ascendancy now, and those who were noted as having been active in this outrageous cruelty were severely handled. In such cases of summary justice the innocent are liable to suffer with the guilty; and the rabble, when they had got the power, abused it. Whoever voted for the obnoxious candidate, had the skirts of his coat cut off, and it was well if he escaped without further injury.”

After reciting the false story, told by an advocate of the unsuccessful party, *Espriella* styles it “a pious fraud to answer a party purpose,” and observes, “On such occasions no frauds pious or impious are scrupled.”

Again, “Any thing like election in the plain sense of the word, is unknown in England. Some seats are private property; that is, the right of voting belongs to a few householders, sometimes not more than half

a dozen; and of course these voters are commanded by the owner of the estate. The fewer they are, the more easily they are managed. Great part of a borough in the west of *England* was consumed some years ago by fire, and the lord of the manor would not suffer the houses to be rebuilt for this reason. It is not uncommon to see a seat in a certain house advertised for in the public newspapers. In this manner are a majority of the members returned."

"In other places, where the number of voters is something greater, so as to be too many for this kind of quiet and absolute controul, the business is more difficult, and sometimes more expensive. The candidate then, instead of paying a settled sum to the lord of the borough, must deal individually with the constituents, who sell themselves to the highest bidder. Remember that an oath against bribery is required! A common mode of evading the letter of the oath, is to lay a wager. "I will bet so much," says the agent of the candidate, "that you do not vote for us." "Done," says the voter freeman,—goes to the hustings, gives his voice, and returns to receive the money; not as the price of his suffrage, but as the bet which he has won!! It is said, that at *Aylesbury* a punch bowl full of guineas stood upon the table, in the committee room, and the voters were helped out of it. The price of voters varies according to their numbers. In some places it is as low as forty shillings, in others, at *Ilchester* for instance, it is thirty pounds. A set of such constituents once waited upon the member whom they had chosen, to request that he would vote against the minister. "D—m you!" was his answer. "What! have not I bought you? And do you think that I will not sell you?"

“A great proportion of the inferiour voters are necessarily under the absolute controul of their employers; but *there are always many, who are to be influenced by weighty arguments, applied to the palm of the hand*; and the struggle for these, when the parties happen to be well balanced, leads to a thousand devices. The moment one party can lay hold on a voter of this description, *they endeavour to keep him constantly drunk till the time of the election, and never to lose sight of him.*”

“The qualification for voting differs at different places. At *Bristol* a freeman’s daughter conveys it by marriage. *Women enter into the heat of party even more eagerly than men, and when the mob is more than usually mischievous are sure to be at the head of it.* In one election for that city, which was violently disputed, *it was common for the same woman to marry several men.* The mode of divorce was, that as soon as the ceremony was over, and the parties came out of church, they went into the church yard, and shaking hands over a grave, cried, Now “*death us do part*”—away then went the man to vote, with his new qualification, *and the woman, to qualify another husband at another church.*

“The house of Commons *has not, and cannot have, its proportion of talents.* Its members are wholly chosen from among persons of great fortune. It is known both at schools and at universities, that the students of the privileged classes are generally remiss in their studies, and inferior in information, for that reason, to their contemporaries; there is therefore less chance for finding a due proportion of knowledge among them.”

“There are two ways in which men of talents, who are not men of fortune, find their way into parliament. The minister sometimes picks out a few promising plants from the university, and forces them in his hotbed. They are chosen so young, that they cannot by any possibility have acquired information to fit them for their situations; they are so flattered by the choice, that they are puffed up with conceit, and so fettered by it, that they must be at the beck of their patron. The other method is *by way of the law*. But men, who make their way up by legal practice, learn in the course of that practice to disregard right and wrong, and to consider themselves entirely as pleaders on the one side. They continue to be pleaders, and partisans, in the legislature; and never become statesmen.”*

After several very coarse, and false assertions concerning the lawyers, “who,” you say, “principally compose the House of Representatives,” you tell us *the story of a rencounter between Mr. Griswold and*

* If Mr. Southey is the author of the Review of *Inchiquin's Letters*, the passages, here quoted from *Espriella*, must cover his face with crimson. The Review is principally a comparison of *British* respectability with *American* baseness and degradation. Yet here he informs us, that *Englishmen* regard all kinds of deceit as lawful in electioneering; that they scruple not at asserting the grossest and most impudent falsehoods; that at a *Nottingham* election the mob ducked some, and killed others; that on such occasions no frauds, pious or impious, are scrupled; that any thing like an election in the plain sense of the word is unknown in England; that a Majority of the Members of the House of Commons are returned by the most corrupt influence; that seats in that House are not uncommonly advertised in newspapers; that, although oaths are required of the voters, they are evaded by the grossest means; that votes are publicly bought and sold; and that the House of Commons has not, and cannot have, its proportion of talents.

If these things are true; where is the country, whose elections in a comparison with those of *England* will not become white? What sober man must not suppose the author of these assertions to have been delirious, when attempting such a comparison?

Matthew Lyon. This rencounter was disgraceful to our country, and to the Congressional House of Representatives. It was supremely disgraceful to *Lyon*; but it was not disgraceful to *Mr. Griswold*. This I could easily prove to *you*, with all your prejudices against the United States. *Mr. Griswold* is since dead. Few men possess superiour talents; and none more noble, honourable, or delicate sentiments, probably in the world: and no man is more respectfully remembered by all, who knew him. The story, told with truth and justice, would be too long to be inserted here: it may perhaps be told hereafter. As it is exhibited in *Ashe's* travels, it is almost merely a collection of falsehoods.

Lyon was an *Irishman*. It is not strange that an ill-bred man, who comes to this country, should bring with him his ill breeding. That this man was found in the list of National Representatives was owing to the same party spirit, which put Sir *Francis Burdett* into your House of Commons, a man in every respect more unfit for the place than *Matthew Lyon*. Indeed, you do not very often send us men, so respectable, as *Matthew Lyon*; gross and brutal as was this outrage upon decency.

You next attack us on the *score of Duels*. One would think this subject ought not to have been mentioned by a man, *who himself had so lately fought a duel with Lord Castlereagh*, and had thus assumed, to the eye of God and of his own conscience, (if his conscience has an eye left,) the character, and the guilt, of a wilful murderer. You ought, Sir, to have remembered, that *Mr. Pitt* had very lately fought a duel with *Mr. Tierney*; that *Mr. Fox*, the other great man of your nation, fought a duel with *Mr. Adam*;

and that the *Duke of York* fought another with Col. *Lenox*. When duels are fought by the most splendid Orators and Statesmen, of *Great Britain*; nay, at the side of your throne; and when those, who were parties in them, are elevated to the stations of Ambassadors and prime Ministers; is it strange that the example should be contagious? Is it not strange, that in the midst of these scenes of assassination, and infamy, a man should be found looking on, and himself a primary Actor, who should yet turn his eye coolly off, to mark the stains of others. Look, Sir, at the rencounter between Col. *Montgomery* and Capt. *Mac Namara*: each of whom hazarded, and one of whom lost, his life, to finish a quarrel between two dogs. Look back, Sir, to the duel, fought by Mr. *Anderson* and Mr. *Stephens*, because the one insisted, that a window sash should be shoved up, and the other, that it should be pulled down. Look at the duel between Lord *Camelford* and Mr. *Best*, which issued in the death of the former, and which was produced by the intrigues of a prostitute, who had lived as the mistress of them both. I acknowledge all the guilt, and all the shame, which can attach to my countrymen from duels. Load them with as many imputations, as you please; and I will subjoin, Amen. At the same time, Sir, forget not those of yourself, your statesmen, and your princes: and let the brand be burnt equally deep on your own forehead, theirs, and ours. Until this is done, I think the pot ought to treat the kettle with rather more civility.

In *New England*, before the year 1812, there were eight duels fought: one by two servants of the *Plymouth Company*, within the first year after they landed; one by two *West Indian* youths, who were at school

in *Stratford*, in *Connecticut*; one by two officers of the *American* army in the State of *Rhode Island*: three by young men of *Boston* and the vicinity; one by an officer of the navy and a young man of *Boston*; and one by two citizens of *New York*, who crossed the line into *Connecticut*, in order to avoid the sentence of law in their own State. Thus in 192 years there have been but five duels fought in New England by its own inhabitants. Since the year 1812, it has been said, (whether truly or not I am ignorant,) that one or more duels were fought in the neighbourhood of *New London*, by some of the officers, or the Midshipmen, of the frigates blocked up in the *Thames*. These, also, were strangers. Will *Great Britain* furnish you with an opportunity of telling the same story concerning any part of her territory?

You next attack *our Courts of Justice*; and assert, that our judges are not independent of the Executive power. The assertion is partially just. In *Connecticut*, *Rhode Island*, and *Vermont*, and, I believe, in one or two of the Western States, the judges are dependent, not on the Executive, but the Legislature. So far as this defect extends, it is a very serious one; and is lamented by all the wise and good men of this country. In *Connecticut*, however, the injury, naturally derived from this source, has not been felt.

The judges have been invariably elected until their death, or resignation, except in one or two cases of supposed, or real, misbehaviour; not, indeed, in their official character, but in some transactions aside from their professional business.

In all the other States, the judges are independent; holding their offices during good behaviour, and being secured in their salaries while they continue in office. The salaries, also, are generally ample.

The judges of the United States, (those, to whom you evidently refer,) are appointed by the President and Senate, as you suppose; but their office is holden during good behaviour; and they cannot be removed from it, except by an impeachment, of which the House of Representatives are the authors, and a subsequent condemnation by the Senate. Their "Salaries" also, "are adequate, and permanent, as contended for by *Mr. Hamilton.*" They are, therefore, not "the creatures of the President and Senate." Your information concerning this subject has been erroneous, and your eloquence, lost.

Generally, our Courts are both learned and upright. Some of them, I have no doubt, are defective in both particulars: and a very few of them, I believe to have been scandalously so. In the great body of them the Community confides without suspicion, as well as without complaint.

Permit me to remind you, that your tribunals have not always been unstained. Look if you please at the trial of the seven Bishops; at the tribunal of the Star chamber; at the history of *Jeffries*. We shall not blush at the comparison. How long, Sir, did your nation struggle before its Judges were made independent? *Porcupine* had the same reason to complain of our Courts, as of yours. One of our Courts fined him 5,000 dollars for a libel on *Dr. Rush*; yours, beside fining, imprisoned him for libelling your Governme...

That our Courts have at times done injustice, and that our legislatures have at times been oppressive in their laws, is certain. The treatment of the Quakers at *Boston*, and of the Witches at *Danvers*, cannot be vindicated: but if you will look back to the reigns of *Charles II*, and *James II*, you will find more acts of

injustice done within a little period, than would be done by our Courts and Legislatures in a thousand years, if they were to sustain the same character, which they have sustained hitherto, and were to pursue similar conduct. You ejected, imprisoned, reduced to beggary, and banished, within a small part of this little period, more than two thousand nonconformist Ministers; many of them among the first ornaments of your nation; and that, after his Majesty had thus solemnly said, "We do declare a liberty to tender consciences, and that no man shall be disquieted, or called in question, for differences of opinion, which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom."

What think you, Sir, of the conventicle Act? which enacted—that every person above sixteen years of age, present at any meeting under pretence of any exercise of religion in other manner than is the practice of the church of England, where there are five persons more than the household, shall for the first offence by a Justice of the peace be recorded, and sent to gaol three months, till he pay five pounds; and, for the second offence six months, till he pay ten pounds; and the third time, being convicted by a jury, shall be banished to some of the *American* plantations, excepting *New England*, or *Virginia*." The very people, Sir, who were banished by this Act, and by the preceding and succeeding furious measures of your Government, came to *New England*, and planted it at an immense expense of toil, treasure, and blood. At all times they allowed the most absolute toleration to the Episcopalians, the authors of all their sufferings; and, after they became independent, placed the Episcopalians, and all other classes of religious on the same foundation of absolute ecclesiastical liberty with themselves. Were

such a tale, as this, to be found in your history; it would be boasted of by every *Briton* as the glory of his country; as you now boast of the toleration, actually exercised by your Government. To tolerate, is, perhaps, all that you can do: happily, we can do more.

“The justices of the peace,” you say, “are not, as with us, respectable country gentlemen. No such character, in fact, is known in *America*.” We have no entailed estates in *America*; and no eldest sons, residing upon them, who inherit by law the whole landed property of their fathers: but we have many gentlemen residing in our country towns, who are magistrates: men, as much superiour to your numerous list of fox hunters, who in your language are country gentlemen, and form a large part of your justices of the peace, as these country gentlemen are to scavengers; superiour in intelligence, in knowledge of law, in morals, and in manners. Your country gentlemen have been so often described; and so many Americans have seen them in England; that we are not ignorant of their character, even on this side of the *Atlantic*. As to the scheme of obtaining this office, subjoined to the above quoted declaration; it has no existence, but in your own imagination.

You mention with severity *Mr. Jefferson’s interference in the business of Miranda*. With my consent you may say what you please concerning *Mr. Jefferson*; and, when you have done, you may, also, set down by the side of *Miranda*, the expedition to *Copenhagen*; and ask a discreet *Dane*, which of them was the most dishonourable to human nature.

You observe in the following page, that “for any of these callings, (Law, Physic, Surgery, and Divinity,) no preparatory course of study, no testimonial of com-

petency, no kind of examination, no particular qualifications, no diploma of license, are required." You should not have made these assertions, Sir, in this round manner, without better foundation.

In most, and, I believe, in all the States, Lawyers are obliged to study, in some two, and in others three years, before they can be admitted to practice. They then undergo an examination. This I know to be strict in some States: and believe it to be so in others. There are two regular law schools in this country; and the instruction, given in them, is given with a degree of ability, and skill, which would not discredit *England* itself.

There are at least eight Medical Institutions, and if I mistake not, nine, in the Union; in which almost all the physicians are educated. The lectures, read in them, are given by learned and able men. I presume that they are inferiour to the similar Institutions of *London* and *Edinburgh*. Still they are useful, and honourable, to the country; as honourable, the date of our colonization being considered, as those of *Great Britain* are to her. No physician, so far as my information extends, is empowered by law, except in two or three of the States, to collect his debts for Medical practice, unless he has been educated in one of these Institutions.

Concerning the education of persons, destined for the Ministry, I shall make some observations hereafter.

We will now, Sir, see the estimation, in which some of the lawyers of your own country are held, at least by one of your Nobility. In the house of Lords, June 17, 1794, Lord *Abingdon* said, "The reform I allude to is that of *those locusts in the law*, the pettifogging attornies of this country; who, like the locusts

in *Africa*, fall like a cloud upon the earth, and eat up every thing they meet with." Again, "I, as a member of this House, am led to invoke the aid, and to excite the endeavours, of your Lordships in assisting me to stop the progress of this growing evil; the evil of all others, perhaps the very only one in the State, most assuredly the most crying evil in the State, that calls for and requires reform." Again, "The greater, the higher, the richer, you are, the more prone are you to its consequences, and the surer of becoming sooner or later the victims of its all devouring avarice." Once more, "*Hic niger est*, my Lords; but black as this *quintam* gentleman is, and still blacker could I make him, he is not half so black as those rotten limbs of the law, who have aided and assisted him in this political conspiracy, conducted by pettifogging artifice."

Had my *Lord Abingdon* lived in this country, I am persuaded he would never have made, nor ever have found any reason to make, such lamentations as these. Lawyers in this country, whatever information you may have received concerning them, are an honourable, and liberal-minded, class of men; and are considered by their countrymen as sustaining a very fair and unimpeachable character. Among them there are undoubtedly rogues; resembling those complained of by *Lord Abingdon*: generally they possess a fair reputation.

You tell us a story concerning "a set of fellows, who got into *Parkinson's* garden, and began to pluck the fruit." This *Parkinson*, Sir, has told the world, professedly from *Mr. Jefferson*, that *an acre of wheat in Virginia, yields only two bushels and a half*. Did you believe this story? If you did; you supposed that a *Virginian* farmer ploughed an acre of land, and

then sowed a bushel and a half of wheat, in order to gain another bushel. How long did you imagine, that this profitable agriculture could go on? You knew that this story was a lie; and that the man, who told a lie, in a case so palpable, would lie in every other case, where he found any inducement. Why did you quote from such an authority?

That there are people in *Baltimore*, and in other places, who would take fruit unlawfully, I have not a doubt. In a country, where fruit abounds as it does in this, and where it is often given away in large quantities; and, when it is not, is often, in large quantities also, made the food of swine; it is no unnatural thing for persons in humble life, unpossessed of nice moral feelings, or distinct apprehensions of what Morality demands, to suppose, that they may take fruit, to some extent, without any great offence. In *England*, where fruit is comparatively scarce, and both the law and the landholder hedge it about with great care, it may well be supposed, that such license would be less frequently permitted. At the same time, you hang a man for stealing thirteen pence halfpenny. We value life at a higher price; although your laws have determined, that the life of an *Englishman* is worth only this sum.

Still, thefts are far less common here than they are with you. The business of your Magistrates in preventing and punishing, what you call poaching, is more extensive than that of the whole criminal police of this country; and, unhappily, is the business of a part of your *Clergymen*, as well as of Lay magistrates.

In speaking concerning *the separation of Church and State*, you say, "It is almost needless to add, that this divorce has been productive of a pretty numerous

crop of illegitimate* sects; all equally thriving under the salutary and fostering neglect of the parent State. To recount them would be endless. Presbyterians baptists, methodists, universalists, episcopalians* and congregationalists, quakers and moravians, dunkers and shakers; with a multitude of others, whose names it would be as unprofitable to enumerate, as it would be difficult to assign their characteristic differences of doctrine or disbelief; exhibit all together as satisfactory a view as can be desired, of the fanatical extravagancies, to which the bulk of mankind would be driven by the raptures of visionaries, or the arts of impostors, or by the mere necessity, and craving, of the human mind for some intercourse with its Creator—in the absence of a national church and an established worship.”

Now, Sir, if you will please to look at the 29th of *Espriella's* letters, you will find all these sects, declared by one of your own countrymen to exist at the present time in *England*, and sixteen more; sixteen, I mean, beside those, which, to make out his list of forty-three specified, and the indefinite number, included under his *et ceteras*, he has blended together with intentional inaccuracy. Yet in *Great Britain* the Church is not divorced from the State. Pray, Sir, whence came this numerous train of sectarians in your own country? Is it true, that the union of the Church with the State, and the separation of the Church from the State, produce exactly the same effects? This has not usually been the operation of opposite causes.

To us, Sir, all these sects came from *Great Britain*. They are your own offspring. From you came to

* Are Episcopalian an illegitimate Sect?

this country Presbyterians, Baptists, Methodists, Universalists, Episcopalians, and Congregationalists, Quakers, and Moravians, Dunkers, and Shakers, "together with a multitude of others, whose names it would be unprofitable to enumerate."

The *Camp-meetings*, of which you make such eloquent mention, are derived from *Great Britain*. The very Bishops of Methodism, whom you sent over to this country, the travelling ministers, who came from *England*, have given birth to these shameful extravagancies: and these extravagancies, notwithstanding their public, solemn declarations to the contrary, are, with the highest probability, secretly cherished and supported by the leading Methodists in *Great Britain*. Here, by the great body of sober men, they are held in contempt and abhorrence. But they have been means of indulging the spirit of propagandism; and have actually contributed to swell the muster-roll of Methodism, by adding to it, annually, a considerable number of miserable wretches, easily made victims through their profound ignorance, the dictates of a vivid imagination, and ardent feelings, to the vociferation, and anathemas, of their itinerant exhorters. I doubt not, that the sober and virtuous men of this class, (for such, it is fairly presumed, there are,) really disapprove of these excesses; and are reluctantly induced to wink at them, from the mere spirit of propagandism: a spirit, which, when once imbibed, is too powerful to be resisted by any ordinary human virtue.

The real effect of what you are pleased to call the divorce of Church and State in this country, is to make all men feel, that they possess the same religious rights; to induce them from this consideration to feel

the same interest in the prosperity of the government which equally protects them all; and to live quietly and pleasantly by the side of each other.

Please now, Sir, to turn for a moment to the letters of *Espriella*; and cast your eye over the story of *John Wright* and *William Bryan*, and their visit to the prophets of *Avignon*. Thence proceed through the story of *Richard Brothers*, and of Mr. *Halhed*, a member of your Parliament, and a man of no despicable talents, a convert to the phrenzy of *Brothers*. Thence proceed to the next chapter; in which you will find the story of *Joanna Southcot*: and then say whether you believe, that any country, even the United States, ever produced specimens of religious delirium, equal to these. Remember, that among her early believers were three clergymen; one of them a man of fashion, fortune, and noble family: not dissenting Ministers; not Presbyterian Clergymen: but Clergymen of your own Church. Did you recollect, Sir, when the Review, which is the subject of these strictures, was written, and particularly the paragraphs immediately under consideration, that *Joanna Southcot* was an *English* woman, that her rude, vulgar rhapsodies; "*the vilest string of words, in the vilest doggerel verse; which has no other connection than what the vilest rhymes have suggested;*" were believed by several thousand persons, besides these Clergymen; that She was believed to be commissioned "to destroy the devil," and "was ordered to set down all his blasphemies, and show to the world what the language of hell is;" that she announced herself to be *the female Redeemer of mankind; a bone from Christ, the second Adam; the Bride of the Apocalypse; the promised Seed, who is to bruise the serpent's head;*

that she disputed with the devil, and wrote down the conversation; and that she seals those, who in the Apocalypse are styled the hundred and forty four thousand servants of God. If you did recollect these facts, could you fail of subscribing the following declaration of *Espriella*? “We must acknowledge, that there never was any age, or any country, so favourable to the success of imposture, or the growth of superstition, as this very age, and this very *England*.”

I promised to take some notice of *the Education, in this country, of persons, intended for the Ministry of the Gospel*. You say, that “the office of Judge in the supreme and district courts, is conferred upon persons, who have not gone through any previous discipline, or practice, to qualify them for discharging it; and that the same holds good with regard to those, who are destined to be lawyers, physicians, surgeons, and *teachers of the divine word*. For all or any of these callings,” you say, “no preparatory course of study, no testimonial of competency, no kind of examination, no particular qualifications, no diploma, or license, are required.”

The justice of these declarations I will now examine. All the students in our colleges, unless some of the new ones are excepted, and some, I know not how many, in the Southern States, are taught Theology in form as a science. In addition to this, every individual, admitted to a license in the Congregational and Presbyterian Churches, and, I presume, in the Episcopalian also, studies Theology professionally; either with a Professor of Divinity, or with some Clergyman of reputation. At the termination of these studies, the candidate for a license, in the two former Churches, is regularly examined, before he can receive

it, by an Association of Ministers, or a Presbytery, until the examiners are satisfied of his competency, and, let me add, of his piety also. This has been the state of things with respect to this subject from the first colonization of *New England*. When he becomes a candidate for ordination, he is examined again, in both respects, in the same manner; and usually by another Presbytery, or Association. There is, however, one exception. A body of divines, how numerous I am ignorant, but small in proportion to that, whose conduct has been here described, does not, as I am informed, usually insist on such examinations. These are chiefly found on the eastern shores of *New England*. But these, and all others, require the study, and ample testimonials of the competency and general character of the candidate: and a diploma is almost absolutely indispensable.

Thus, Sir, this business was established from the beginning. In modern times four Theological Seminaries have been founded in this country: one at *Andover* in *Massachusetts*, by Congregationalists; one in *New York*, by the Associate Scotch Reformed; one at *New Brunswick* in *New Jersey*, by the Dutch Church; and one at *Princeton*, in *New Jersey* also, by the Presbyterian Church. At *Andover*, students are never admitted, except in extraordinary cases, unless they have been liberally educated; nor without certificates of an irreproachable character; nor without a formal examination.

After admission they are placed under the tuition of three Professors; of Theology, of Sacred Literature, and of Sacred Rhetoric. Their term of study is three years. In each of these years they are publicly, and critically examined. Then, in order to obtain

a license, and afterwards, to be admitted to ordination; they must in each case pass through the Associational, or Presbyterial examination, mentioned above. What is true of the Seminary at *Andover*, is believed to be true, substantially, of all the other Institutions of this nature.

I ought to add, that the foundation of a Theological Seminary is begun in the city of *New York*, for the professional education of young men destined to the Ministry in the Episcopal Church.

Now let me request you to look back to the paragraph, which has occasioned these remarks; and to ask, What am I, and what is the World, to think of the assertions, which you have made; assertions, without any foundation in truth, and without any appearance of decency. I think you yourself cannot but admit, that they are rash and unhappy. Of the same nature are very many of the other declarations, which are contained in the review of *Inchiquin's Letters*.

We will now, if you please, turn our attention to the manner, in which young men are educated for the *Evangelical Ministry in England*, and in your own Church.

In the *Christian Observer* for November 1811, is a Review of "The state of the Established Church, in a Series of Letters to the Right Hon. *Spencer Perceval*, Chancellor of the Exchequer," &c. As I have not the Letters, I shall take my quotations and references out of the Review, and such parts of the Letters as are transcribed.

On the state of your Universities, the author makes the following statements. "I believe, Sir, you cannot be ignorant of the manner, in which those systems are carried into effect, or rather are neglected; that

the example of too many among the preceptors, and the looseness of conduct suffered among the students, prove how widely our colleges have departed from the intentions of the founders; so that, instead of religion, they too often confer habits, and opinions, destructive to the individuals, and baneful to those, whose eternal happiness is hereafter to be entrusted to persons, so little qualified, or accustomed, to appreciate their own." p. 1.

Again. "*There are more vice and profligacy countenanced at our universities, where a direct and obvious check exists, than would be suffered to take place among its members afterwards, when they arrive at situations in life, which present no positive restraints; and the scenes of riot and debauchery, which pass unnoticed (or at least are ineffectually noticed) by those, who cannot be ignorant of them, would, in this metropolis, subject the perpetrators to the correction of the police."* p. 20.

The Christian Observer proceeds, "Religion the author conceives to be equally neglected." "Christianity forms little or no part in the regular plan of instruction. Contrary to our experience in every other profession, candidates for our Ministry are taught every branch of science, but that in which they are to practice. Chapel is not attended till it is half over. Many go there intoxicated as to a kind of roll call: and though the assumption of the Lord's supper is peremptory upon the students, no care is taken to teach them its importance," &c. p. 22.

Letter III opens with similar statements in respect to examination for orders. "Our future clergyman, having taken his degree, (to which the principles of religion form at Cambridge no step whatever, and at

Oxford a very trifling one,) and having, often by Euclid alone, attained that object, announces himself a candidate for holy orders." Then "so very lax has become the examination for orders, that there is no man, who has taken a degree at the university, who cannot reckon on ordination as a certainty, whatever his attainments in learning, morals, or religion, &c."—"Speaking generally, I believe the only qualifications are to construe a chapter in the Greek Testament, and answer a few questions out of Grotius." A specimen of these answers is then given in the answer of a young man to the question, *Who was the Mediator between God and man?* Answer. "The Archbishop of Canterbury." pp. 24—26. Speaking of the difficulties, he would, on the contrary, oppose to the attainment of orders, he says, "I shall, perhaps, be answered, "How hard to throw a young man back upon the world! that school learning is not of so much consequence, as the moral character of a minister, &c." To which he replies 1st. by hoping, that, if a change in the mode of examination were once known, candidates would come as well prepared for the latter, as now unprepared for the former; and that, 2dly, it is actually "the want of attention to moral character, which is at present most to be deplored, and which he could wish to see commence even before the time of ordination, &c." This cursory wish, with a single page in Letter X, is the whole of the remedy, our writer has to propose for the cure of such numerous, inveterate, and complicated disorders. "The first step to a reform in the church establishment," he tells us, "should be an entire and total revision of the system of our universities. A knowledge and rigid practice of the duties of religion should be rendered indis-

pensable. *Vice should be not only checked, but made after a certain limit a positive obstacle to ordination. A preparation, and examination for orders should be a part of the collegiate system, not left to Bishops, or their chaplains; decent attendance on the church service prescribed; and young men, intended for the church, should declare such intention on their admission to the university.*" pp. 123—126.

You will please to remark, Sir, this account is substantially admitted by the Editors of the *Christian Observer*. For they say "We might have stirred to jealousy our English universities by a close comparison of the youth, there under tuition for holy orders, with those in foreign establishments. We might have referred our venerable pastors to that, which is daily asserted without contradiction, the incomparably greater learning, both literary, and more especially theological, to be found in the youth of our sister ministry in Scotland to that, found amongst our own. Their eyes might have been directed nearer home to instances of religious education, successfully conducted even in this our own land amongst a class, whom it is alike its own misfortune, and ours, that we must consider as in rivalry with ourselves; and they might have been intreated to consider what ground has been offered for others to assert that even a large majority of regularly educated dissenting ministers are better versed in the common places of theology, and that knowledge of their Bible, on which as a science it rests, than even a small minority of our rising ministry. Our address would then have humbly, but practically, suggested it to the conscience of each authorized instructor of youth, or superintendant of the church, how far the wished-for reform be not dependent, within its own

sphere, wholly and solely upon himself. We should have advised no waiting here for general regulations, for legislative innovations, or metropolitan societies for the education of the clergy on Dr. Bell's plan, to be simultaneously adopted throughout the kingdom. The change, we should have hinted, as in our minds the only practicable one, would be the private, and perhaps unperceived change, which each collegiate, or episcopal dignitary should at the very next recurrence of public examination think himself bound in duty to adopt in regard to his own charge. We should press upon them (with all due deference to an authority, whose difficulties can only be understood from its exercise) *the shameful instances of abuse in these respects, which we are constrained to fear, are often known to slip by those, who observe, and who might prevent, them, but do it not.* Upon the heads or tutors of colleges, or professors, might be urged the immense advantage, they respectively possess, for impressing on the minds of their pupils the nature of that holy office, into which many are to pass from their hands. And even on the most venerable order itself might be urged its own absolute and uncontrollable power, for repelling any, (if they please without a reason) who shall dare to approach them uninformed, unqualified for the sacred office, with lips untouched by the flame of holy zeal, or censers unhallowed, to bear incense in the house of the LORD. Some living example, to this effect, and some who live but in grateful recollection, might have been cited, whose salutary exertions *still rescue episcopal examination from absolute contempt.* And finally, we should have pointed to that great day "when the Chief Shepherd shall appear," and asked, if any temporal ease, or temporary applause for crimin-

al levity, in the discharge of their important duties would be well purchased by a burdened conscience in the recollection of past negligence, or by a single frown from His countenance, before whom "the heavens and the earth will flee away, and there will be found no place for them."

Nor, as it would seem, is this deplorable state of education for the Ministry in your Church any thing new. "By reason whereof," says *Hooker*, that is, "the rash and careless ordaining of every one, that hath but a friend to bestow some two or three words of ordinary commendation in his behalf; the church groweth burdened with silly creatures more than need; whose noted baseness and insufficiency bringeth their very order itself into contempt."

"Our Ember weeks," says *Bishop Burnet*, "are the burden and grief of my life. The much greater part of those, who come to be ordained, are ignorant to a degree, not to be apprehended by those, who are not obliged to know it. The easiest part of knowledge is that, to which they are the greatest strangers; I mean the plainest parts of the Scriptures, which, they say in excuse for their ignorance, that their tutors in the universities never mentioned the reading of to them; so that they can give no account, or at least a very imperfect one, of the contents even of the Gospel. Those, who have read some books, yet never seem to have read the Scriptures. Many cannot give a tolerable account even of the Catechism itself, how short and plain soever. They cry, and think it a sad disgrace to be denied orders, though the ignorance of some is such, that in a well regulated state of things they would appear *not knowing enough to be admitted to the holy sacrament.*"

I hope, Sir, that when you and your brother journalists shall have read these statements, we shall hear no more of the want of education, or of examinations, or of diplomas, or of testimonials of competency, or of any other qualifications, in the young men, destined to the Ministry in this country. I presume you have not read them hitherto, if you have, your attack upon us is as shameless, as it is unfounded.

That you may not suppose me to place an undue reliance on these testimonies, respectable as they are, I will point you to one or two others. In the 46th Letter of *Espriella*, you may find the following declarations. "There is to be found every where a great number of those persons, whom we cannot prove to be human beings, by any rational characteristic which they possess, but who must be admitted to be so by a sort of *reductio ad absurdum*, because they cannot possibly be any thing else. They pass for men in the world, because it has pleased God for wise purposes, however inscrutable to us, to set them upon two legs, instead of four; to give them smooth skins, and no tail; and to enable them to speak without having their tongues slit. They are like those weeds which will spring up, and thrive in every soil, and every climate; and which no favourable circumstance can improve into utility. It is of little consequence whether they shoot water fowl, attend horse races, frequent the brothel, and encourage the wine trade, in one place, or another; but as a few years of this kind of life usually satisfy a man for the rest of it, it is convenient that there should be a place appointed, where one of this description can pass through his course of studies out of sight of his relations, and without injuring his character, and from whence he can come with the advantage of

having been at the University, and a qualification, which enables him to undertake the cure of souls. The heretical bishops never inquire into the moral conduct of those, upon whom they lay their unhallowed hands: and as for the quantity of learning, which is required, Mr. Maillardet, who exhibits his *Androëides* in London, could put enough into an automaton."

As these letters are believed to have been written by one of the gentlemen, who write in the Quarterly Review; the testimony, which he gives on this subject, will be readily admitted by you. But what must be the men; what, particularly, the Clergymen; who merit this character; and who, secluded from the world, and "out of sight of their relations" spend their time, without injuring their character, in shooting water fowl, attending horse races, frequenting the brothel, and encouraging the wine trade?" And what must be "the quantity of learning, which is required to qualify them for ordination, when *Maillardet* could put as much into an automaton?" And what must be the Bishops, who never inquire into the moral conduct of those, upon whom they lay their hands?

On Monday, June 18, 1810, the Earl of *Harrowby* delivered a speech in the House of Lords upon a clause in the Appropriation act for granting the sum of 100,000 pounds for the relief of the poorer Clergy. In this speech is presented to the public an extensive, minute, and very melancholy view of the state of your parishes. Among the different painful exhibitions, made by his Lordship of this subject, that of the non-residence of your Clergy is I think the most painful. He informs us, that of incumbents, in eleven thousand one hundred and sixty-four benefices and dignities, there were only five thousand and forty legally or

virtually resident; and of course there were six thousand one hundred and twenty-four livings, on which the incumbents did not reside. In this land of barbarism, and blunders, it is difficult to avoid asking, Where were these six thousand one hundred and twenty-four Ministers of the Gospel? Every one of them declared, antecedently to his entrance into holy orders, that *he verily believed himself moved by the Holy Ghost* to assume the sacred office. For what did these men believe the Holy Ghost moved them to take upon themselves the Evangelical Ministry? Was it to assume the office, and forget its duties; professedly to take the charge of the flock, and then leave them to "strangers, who care not for them;" to gain a right to the living, without performing the service to which it is annexed; to spend their life in pleasure, and leave the souls of their congregation to perish?

The true reasons for this shameless violation of all their vows, this prostitution of their office, this abandonment of their duty, are, I strongly suspect, found in the following passage, in the Review of the Letters to Mr. *Perceval*.

"We presume to propose a similar style of address to the Clergy at large, upon the subject of another leading complaint, urged in this pamphlet—against their negligent discharge of the pastoral duties. But let us first hear, and offer a few remarks upon the language of this complaint itself. "A great proportion of our Clergy," he tells us, "*are a set of men, wrapt up in secular pursuits, with a total indifference to the spiritual duties of their calling.* Many of them seem to consider, that they are appointed to a life of sloth and inactivity, or merely to feed upon the fat of the land; and that in return for immense and growing

revenues they have only to gabble through a few formal offices," &c. Many exceptions indeed he speaks of, and congratulates us on the learning and piety of many in the higher offices of the church. "But for all this I fear a great proportion of the Clergy are the very reverse of these high examples—and betray an indifference of conduct, and dissoluteness of manners; which, whilst it is most shameful to them, would not be borne with in any other state of life." He then talks of "the reverend associates, and abettors, of public corruption and profligacy, walking about our streets, unsilenced, and unchastised. A horse race, a fox chase, or a boxing match, is never without its reverend attendants; and the man, who in the house of God hurries over the offices of devotion, as beneath his attention, will be seen the next day the noisy toast-master, or songster, of a club." "Their professional indolence, but one degree removed from positive misconduct," he next contrasts with "their occasional activity at a county election in a cathedral county town. You have the honour of finding yourself in such contests acting in concert with deans, chancellors, archdeacons, prebendaries, and minor-canons without number. On such occasions grave, very grave, persons are to be seen, shouting the chorus of some election ribaldry, whose zeal, or even common industry, upon more important topics he had never witnessed." pp 37—40.

After attributing the success of the dissenters to the luke-warmness of the established clergy, our writer proceeds, in page 60, to state "the great abuse of single duty—some-times only every other Sunday;" which he declares to be the case in as great a proportion of livings above, as below, five hundred pounds

per annum. Advertisements to this effect he mentions, though perfectly irregular, yet as appearing in the very face of the diocesan, &c." "Of the manner, and the time, also, in which single duty is performed, it is equally necessary to speak; often at ten, sometimes at nine, in the morning; leaving all the rest of the day to revelling and drunkenness, or, what is more common now, to the itinerant enthusiast. And as to manner; *A clergyman, who gallops to the church, gallops through the service, and gallops away again, is generally too unique in his ideas to conform to others, though sworn to obey them; and has of course a liturgy and a rubric of his own. The Decalogue is hurried over in the desk with as little ceremony, as the detail of a fox chase.* And in many parishes the whole morning service does not (including the sermon) occupy three quarters of an hour. The infrequency of the sacrament is likewise alluded to, and the excuse justly reprobated, that there are no communicants, which only implies a further neglect in the clergyman—also the neglect of catechizing contrary to "the Methodists." There a great part of the Sabbath is set apart for the instruction of children in their particular tenets. And often, *while the parish priest is lolling on his sofa, after the imaginary fatigues of his unusual exertions, under his very nose are these intruders zealously undermining the establishment, which gives him bread.*" *Original composition,* it is next observed, *is scarcely known among them;* and even their selections are represented as injudicious, and so often repeated, as to be quite familiar to the audience. And finally, "pastoral visits are not only greatly neglected, or wholly discontinued, but even their obligation is denied; and the clergy are

convinced that the duties of hospitality, and of domestic instruction and consolation to the young, the de- praved, the decrepid, and the dying, form no part of the demands which their parishioners have upon them." pp. 68—70. To all which the state of the London clergy is represented as affording a faint, though laudable exception." p. 74, &c.

Now, Sir, when "the principles of religion form, at *Cambridge* no step whatever, and, at *Oxford*, a very trifling one, to a degree;" when the student has "often by *Euclid* alone attained that object, and become a candidate for holy orders;" when "*so very lax has become the examination for orders, that there is no man, who* has taken a degree at the university, who cannot reckon on ordination as a certainty, whatever his attainments in learning, morals, or religion;" when "the only qualifications are to be able to construe a chapter in the Greek Testament, and answer a few questions out of *Grotius*;" when one of these young men to the question, "Who was the Mediator between God and man?" answered "*The Archbishop of Canterbury*;" what must be the future character of the Clergy, thus inducted into their sacred office? Must not "a great proportion of them be, as asserted by this Letter-writer, "a set of men, wrapt up in secular pursuits, with a total indifference to the spiritual duties of their calling?" Is it strange, that "many of them seem to consider that they *are appointed to a life of sloth and inactivity, or merely to feed upon the fat of the land*; and that in return for immense and growing revenues they have only to *gabble through a few formal offices*? Can we be surprised that *the reverend associates, and abettors, of public corruption and profligacy* walk about your streets, unsilenced

and unchastised; that a horse race, a fox chase, or a boxing match," which I suppose are in the list of clerical amusements in *Great Britain*, "is never without its reverend attendants, and that the man, who in the house of God hurries over the offices of devotion, as beneath his attention, will be seen the next day, *the noisy toast-master, or songster of a club?*" Are we to be astonished, when we consider "*their professional indolence, but one degree removed from positive misconduct, as a contrast to their occasional activity at a county election in a cathedral county town; or that in such contests you have the honour of finding yourself acting in concert with deans, chancellors, archdeacons, prebendaries and minor-canons without number; or that on such occasions grave, very grave, persons are to be seen, shouting the chorus of some election ribaldry?*"

Can you, Sir, can any *Englishman*, wonder, that, when such is the manner of induction into the sacred office, "single duty should be sometimes performed only every other Sunday, at ten, or even at nine, in the morning, leaving all the rest of the day to revelling and drunkenness; or that a Clergyman, *who gallops to the church, gallops through the service, and gallops away again; that he has a liturgy and rubric of his own; that the Decalogue is hurried over in the desk with as little ceremony as the detail of a fox chase; that in many parishes the whole morning service does not (including the sermon) occupy three quarters of an hour; that the sacrament should be unfrequently administered, and that it should be alleged, as an excuse, that there are no communicants; or that original composition is scarcely known among these Ministers; that even their selections are injudicious, and so*

often repeated, as to be quite familiar to the audience; or that pastoral visits should not only be greatly neglected, or wholly discontinued, but even their obligation be denied; or that the Clergy should be convinced, that the duties of hospitality and of domestic instruction and consolation to the young, the depraved, the decrepid, and the dying, form no part of the demand, which their parishioners have upon them?"

To these remarks, the Letter-writer mentions the London Clergy as affording a faint, though laudable exception. Is it, then, true, Sir, that the London Clergy furnish *the only exception*, found in any considerable body of your ministers, to such a story as this? And is that only exception *a faint one*? What man, Sir, besides a Reviewer, and he, sheltered under his anonymous character, could ever be induced, with this picture of the Clergy in his own country before him, to attack, or even to censure, those of any other country? Where is the country, of which this story could be truly told a second time?

With these things in view, the account of Lord *Harroxy*, in itself apparently surpassing all belief, is easily explained. It ceases to be a matter of astonishment, that many of your Clergy should be non-residents. We should not, indeed, suspect, nor without the most authentic and decisive information believe, that the number of unprincipled Clergymen, so forcibly characterized by the Letter-writer, could, out of eleven thousand one hundred and sixty-four, be six thousand one hundred and twenty-four. The fact is wonderful. The number of instances, to which it is extended, is portentous. Most ardently must every good man wish, that it may be rapidly diminished.

In answer to all these observations you may possibly ask how great a proportion of Ministers are non-residents in the United States. In *New England* there is not one: there never was one: and, so far as my knowledge extends, there is not one in any part of the *American Union*. I speak of regular and settled Ministers, and not of Methodists, and other wandering preachers, professedly unsettled. Our Ministers, also, perform all the duties, which the Letter-writer complains of, as being neglected by yours. They preach sermons, composed by themselves, twice every Sabbath. They are not guilty of what the Christian Observer calls "*that very pernicious ministerial delinquency; preaching habitually other compositions than their own.*" "*This practice,*" says the able Reviewer of the Letters above mentioned, "*fraught with every deadening principle, and whose only excuse is that which intimates a man to be no credit to his profession, is, we verily think, the only means, by which the last degree of ignorance and insensibility can be made compatible with the sacred office.*" This practice, Sir, would ruin any man, who appeared in the desk, and has neither credit, nor place, here.

"*The Merchants of the United States, with the exception of New England,*" you say, "*are a very different class of men from those, who follow that profession in Europe.*" As a Yankee, I might fairly excuse myself from paying any attention to this subject; and leave it to the merchants in the other parts of the Union to defend themselves. I will, however, make a few observations concerning this professedly superior character of your merchants.

Liverpool, the second trading town in *England*, has derived a great part of its wealth, and even of its

existence, from the most abominable of all traffic; that which is charged upon *Babylon*, in the *Apocalypse*, as one of its tremendous crimes; *dealing "in slaves, and the souls of men."* You will perhaps say, and may undoubtedly say with truth, that the *Americans* have been guilty of the same traffic. But, Sir, this traffic has here been confined to a few spots, and a very few hands; and, since we have had power to punish it, to such hands only as the diligence of law could not seize: an evil, which will certainly create no surprise in a country, where smuggling is so extensively carried on, as in *Great Britain*. Your little finger has been thicker than our loins. Such has been the fact from the date of our independence.

Of the trade, which about the year 1810 you carried on with *France*, your own writers declare,* that *"it was carried on by means avowedly fraudulent; with false oaths and forged certificates; and diffused profligacy and corruption through the different ranks of the mercantile world; that those employed in it, were a various and motley race of men, possessing, many of them, a strange ubiquity of character; were Jews and Gentiles; traders who were at once Englishmen and Americans; transforming themselves into every imaginable shape, as the occasion might require."* They say, "this commerce was carried on through the medium of false custom-house entries, or declarations, made either by the merchants, or those employed by them." "Many of the captains, employed by your merchants," they say, "were placed in the unhappy predicament of being obliged to substantiate, by oath, any false declaration, which had been previ-

* Christian Observer.

ously made concerning the subject of commerce." They also say, that the practice of using false papers, at sea, was another subject for animadversion: and one of your writers says, he had heard, that "*a manufactory of these documents was carried on to a prodigious extent by certain individuals, who were well skilled in the art of forging them.*" He subjoins, "*there are a thousand other frauds, subterfuges, and contrivances, by which commercial objects are pursued in these unhappy days* of the mutual prohibition of traffic among nations. Property, it is pleaded, must be covered. He, that pushes *British* manufactures into the Continent, is called a benefactor to his country; but there is *a whole mystery of iniquity* which involves many of these transactions; and few, as I fear, among our foreign merchants, are now able to say, that they "have the testimony of their consciences, that in simplicity, and godly sincerity, they have their conversation in the world." "

Circumstanced as this subject is, it will be sufficient to have made these observations. What would have been its appearance, had you traced its serpentine progress, through all the various windings, with the same spirit, with which you have attacked the people of the United States?

From your collection of travellers, you then proceed to give an account of *the Morals, and Manners*, of the inhabitants of this country. Your first complaint is of our *Landjobbers*. In behalf of these men, I have little to say; and concerning most of them entertain an opinion, as unfavourable as yours. The number of them is inconsiderable. Some of them are probably, indeed I know some of them to be, men of irreproachable characters. Others are rogues: and your

countrymen, as well as mine, have suffered severely from their frauds. Both have, therefore, a right to complain, without any animadversion from me. At the same time *you* have no lands for sale, by the purchase of which men can become landjobbers; and, therefore, are on this score safe from any censure. But, Sir, from this inconsiderable number of men, amounting probably to less than five hundred in the United States, you ought not to have taken the character of a nation.

You then inform us, that "the moment a foreigner sets his foot on the quay, he is surrounded by a set of idlers, who very familiarly ask him a thousand questions," of which you give us a string sufficiently long. Permit me to inform you, Sir, that if you believe this tale of a cock and a bull, your confidence has been abused; and that such a set of questions was never asked of any foreigner, in these circumstances, since *America* was discovered. Foreigners are here treated with more civility than they ordinarily meet with in *England*, and with incomparably more than most of those, who visit us, deserve.

"The unfortunate man," you then inform us, "hastens to make his escape to the tavern. Here," you say, "he is forthwith beset by a swarm of speculators, of a superiour order. Having run the gauntlet through these, he is left, but, alas! not to a quiet fireside, and a solitary meal. His landlord and landlady," you say, in language, sufficiently coarse, "seat themselves at table with him, together with their dirty children, and perhaps too with their servants; and the children seize the stranger's drink, *slobber in it*, and often snatch a dainty bit from his plate." More quotations are, I presume, unnecessary.

All this you have said with *Lambert* in your hands: for you have quoted from him a passage, which you thought might aid your attempts to scandalize this country. Had you possessed the least candour, you could not, I think, have failed, (in the midst of the numerous aspersions, which you have heaped together from every dirty source, within your reach,) to quote the following passages from that sensible and fair-minded writer.

“Much has been said by former travellers of the familiarity, and rudeness, of the *American* people. I will not attempt to contradict their assertions; but for myself I must declare, in justice to the *American* character; that I experienced the utmost civility and even politeness from the inhabitants in every part of the country through which I travelled. The coachmen were civil, and the tavern-keepers attentive; and wherever I had occasion to mix with the country people, I never met with the least rudeness, or shadow of impertinence on any occasion: on the contrary, they were civil and obliging.”

“At the taverns and farm houses, where we rested on the road, we found the people extremely civil and attentive. We were treated with as much respect, as if we had been at our own houses: and the landlord, his wife, and daughters, waited on us in the most obliging manner. I do not mention this as a solitary instance: it was general, at every house, where we stopped. Neither have I drawn my conclusions merely from the reception, I met with at taverns, and other places of public resort, but from my observations upon the people in general, with whom I had frequent opportunities of mixing, whether they belonged to the highest, or the lowest, orders of the community. I believe it

is generally allowed, that for a traveller, who wishes to make himself master of the real character and disposition of a people, it is not sufficient, that he associates only with the *grandees* of a nation. He must mix with the *plebeians*: otherwise he acquires but false ideas of the country, and its inhabitants. "The great mass of nations," says Dr. Johnson, "are neither rich nor gay. They, whose aggregate constitutes the people, are found in the streets and the villages, in the shops and the farms: and from them, collectively considered, must the measure of general prosperity be taken." From these I have judged of the real character of the Americans; and I found it as difficult to discover a single particle of rudeness, in the behaviour of the men, as it was to discover an ugly face, or bad teeth among the young women.*

I hope, Sir, these testimonies from the only British traveller in the U. S. within my information, who has united intelligence, candour, and veracity, will be admitted even by you, as a proof that the senseless, and brutal calumnies, which you have assembled with so much diligence, are not a just representation even of American taverns.

Our inns, I feel assured, are inferiour to yours;† but I am informed by authority, which, if I were to name it, even you would respect, that they are superiour to those of any country on the European Continent. At

* Lambert, vol. iii, p. 98.

† "It is not common to find poor inns in England; but in this instance we were served with miserable tea, and miserable bread, and attended by a surly waiter. I came to the house with extreme fatigue, and left it with extreme disgust." *Sill. Journ.* See on this subject the travels of M. Morier, a Prussian Clergyman. The truth is; the inns in England are good wherever there is sufficient travelling, (and that of wealthy people,) to support the expense of costly accommodations: where there is not, they are bad; as in other countries.

the same time your inns are enormously expensive; and may well afford to furnish many gratifications to an epicure; which are not found, because they cannot be afforded, in ours. Our inn-keepers cannot build so large houses, and of course cannot furnish such a multitude of rooms; nor can they keep such a train of servants. Travellers, here, are not generally rich enough, to be at the expense of such costly accommodations.

Concerning the food in our inns, take, if you please, the account given by *Lambert*.* “We put up for the night at a very good tavern, where we were supplied with an excellent supper, composed of as great a variety as we met with for breakfast at *Shelburne*, and which is customary at all the taverns throughout the northern States.”

Again. “At the better sort of *American* taverns, or hotels, very excellent dinners are provided, consisting of almost every thing in season. The hour is from two to three o’clock; and there are three meals in a day. They breakfast at eight o’clock, on rump-steaks, fish, eggs, and a variety of cakes, with tea or coffee. The last meal is at seven in the evening; and consists of as substantial fare as the breakfast, with the addition of cold fowl, or ham, &c. The price of boarding at these houses is from a dollar and a half to two dollars per day. Brandy, hollands, and other spirits, are allowed at dinner; but every other liquor is paid for extra. *English breakfasts, and teas*, generally speaking, are meagre repasts, compared with those of *America*: and, as far as I had an opportunity of observing, the people live, with respect to eating, in a much more

* Vol. ii, p. 122.

*luxurious manner than we do; particularly in the great towns and their neighbourhoods.**

The price of your accommodations would certainly furnish very genteel living in this country. They are stated by the *American* traveller, whose Journal I have several times quoted, at the following rates;

	<i>l. s. d.</i>
Bed, - - - - -	0 1 6
Breakfast of tea, or coffee, with toast, and an egg, - - - - -	0 1 8
Tea at evening, - - - - -	0 1 8
Dinner, of two dishes, with a frugal desert,	0 5 0
Glass of beer, - - - - -	0 0 8
Bottle of Sherry, - - - - -	0 6 0
Of Port, - - - - -	0 5 0
Of Madeira, - - - - -	0 9 0
Waiter, <i>3d</i> a meal, - - - - -	0 0 9
Chambermaid, each night, for making your bed,	0 0 6
<i>Boots</i> , for every pair of shoes, and boots, which he brushes, - - - - -	0 0 2
Ostler, each night, - - - - -	0 0 6
Porter for carrying baggage, in and out,	0 0 6

And these are the lowest rates, which a gentleman can possibly pay; and none of them can be refused.

I have stated these rates, also, at the lowest estimates, mentioned by this gentleman. This, Sir, makes the ordinary expense of a traveller, with one horse, and without a servant, a guinea a day at a moderate computation; or more than one thousand seven hundred dollars a year. This sum, in *America*, at least in *New England*, would purchase a very liberal supply of Epicurean enjoyments for a large family.

* Lambert, vol. ii, p. 132.

Less than half of it does actually purchase them for a single traveller.

But there is another fact, which illustrates this subject in a different manner. "The servants at the public houses in *England*," says the gentleman, mentioned above, "are paid by the guests, and not by their employers. They not only receive no wages, but many of them pay a premium for their places: that is, the masters of the hotels farm out to their servants *the privilege of levying contributions*; and the consideration is their service. At our hotel (*The Liverpool Arms*) the chief waiter assured us, that he paid one hundred pounds per annum for his place, besides paying two under waiters, and finding all the clothes-brushes, and some other et ceteras of the house. He had moreover, if we might credit his story, a wife and five children to support. The head waiters are commonly young men of a genteel appearance, and often dress as well as gentlemen."*

Were the servants in our inns *to pay for their places*, we might undoubtedly be furnished with an assortment of them for every inn upon very easy terms. But the custom of taxing travellers in this manner is unworthy of the character of a civilized nation; a despicable mode of plundering strangers by a set of harpies.

The remaining part of your Review, Sir, is chiefly made up of attacks, founded on the Works of *Ashe*, *Janson*, *Porcupine*, and *Priest*. I am not in possession of *Priest's Travels*; and can, therefore, say nothing concerning them. With *Porcupine* you are sufficiently acquainted. The works of the other writers

* Sill. Journ. vol. i.

are as little entitled to credit as those of Sir *John Mandeville*, of whom I remember to have seen this character given, when I was a boy, that *he was the greatest traveller and the greatest liar*, in the world.

You accuse us of having *civil and military officers for our inn-keepers*. I admit the charge, that such persons are in some instances found in this list. Pray, Sir, will you please to inform me what there is in the fact, disgraceful either to them, or to the country. Inn-keepers are, here, generally men of very fair reputation; and why they may not hold these offices, and keep inns, at the same time, cannot be explained; unless you can prove that your manners, only, are right, and that we are obliged to conform to them.*

Your attack on *the Women of this country* is equally false, and brutal. I have heard an advantageous character of the women of *Great Britain*; and believe it to be just: but I fear not the result of a comparison between the fair sex in this country and in any other. There is no country on the globe, where women are more unspotted, more delicate, or more amiable. Had you resided here long enough to form an opinion, you would blush, to your dying day, for the foul treatment, which they have received from you. A countryman of yours has characterized them in the following manner.

“The females of the *New England States* are conspicuous for their domestic virtues. Every thing in their houses has an air of cleanliness, order, and œcon-

* In a debate in the House of Commons, June 1805, Col. *Crawford*, in a laboured attack on *the Volunteer system*, sneered at the Officers of the Volunteer corps because they were frequently taken from humble life. A *London Pastry Cook*, he declared, was, within his knowledge, a *Colonel of Volunteers*. Lord *Castlereagh*, who replied to him, did not deny the fact. It would be difficult to assign a reason, why an *American Inn-keeper* may not command a regiment of militia with as much propriety as an *English Pastry Cook*.

omy, that display the female character to the greatest advantage. The young women are really handsome. They have almost all fair complexions, often tinged with the rosy bloom of health. They have generally good, and sometimes excellent teeth. Nor did I see more instances to the contrary among the young women of *America* than are to be met with in *England*. Their light hair is tastefully turned up behind in the modern style, and fastened with a comb. Their dress is neat, simple, and genteel; usually consisting of a printed cotton jacket with long sleeves, a petticoat of the same, with a coloured cotton apron, or pin cloth, without sleeves, tied tight, and covering the lower part of the bosom. This seemed to be the prevailing dress in the country places. Their manners are easy, affable, and polite, and free from all uncouth rusticity. Indeed they appear to be as polished and well bred, as the ladies in the cities, although they may not possess their highly finished education.”*

These observations are unquestionably just, and fall, in various respects, not a little short of the truth. Domestic happiness, if the accounts given to mankind of the state of society on the Eastern Continent, by writers of acknowledged respectability, are to be credited, does not exist in any part of the Transatlantic world so generally, or in so high a degree, as in this country. Whatever faults may attach to the male inhabitants of the United States, the female sex merit the highest estimation for all those attributes, which render women deserving and lovely.

Your next remarks are on *the slavery of the Blacks in the Southern States*: a subject, which you have

* Lambert, vol. iii. p. 105.

touched upon before, and in the mention of which you must be confessed to be unhappy: I do not mean in censuring the *African* slave trade, or the manner in which the slaves are treated.* To these subjects I make you cordially welcome. They are the proper themes of every moralist: and no severity, with which they are treated, will draw from me a single animadversion. It is the attribution of these iniquities to the *Americans*, with an intention to make them a characteristic disgrace peculiar to *them*, of which I complain. Surely when you wrote this passage you forgot how lately you have begun to wash yourselves clean from this smoke of the bottomless pit. Please, Sir, to take a short trip to *Liverpool*, and survey the hulks, which, probably in great numbers, are even now rotting in the docks of that emporium of *African* commerce. Then look around upon the numerous splendid buildings, public and private. Next, exclaim, "These ships were the prisons, in which hundreds of thousands of miserable *Africans*, after having been kidnapped by avarice and cruelty, or taken captive in war, kindled by the same insatiable spirit, and torn for ever from their parents, husbands, wives, and children, were transported across the *Atlantic*, to bondage, and misery, interminable but by death. In these floating dungeons, one fourth, one third, or one half, of the unhappy victims to this infernal avarice perished under the pressure of chains, or rotted in the pestilential steams, embosoming, as a vapour bath, the niches, in which they were manacled. This work of

* The Southern Planter, who receives slaves from his parent by inheritance, certainly deserves no censure for holding them. He has no agency in procuring them: and the law does not permit him to set them free. If he treats them with humanity, and faithfully endeavours to Christianize them, he fulfils his duty, so long as his present situation continues.

death has been carried on, also, a century and a half. What must have been the waste of mankind, which it has accomplished! These houses, these public edifices, nay, these temples, devoted to the worship of the eternal GOD, with all their splendour, were built of human bones, and cemented with human blood. Rise, *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*; and whiten by the side of men, baptized "in the name of the FATHER, and of the SON, and of the HOLY GHOST."

Are you at a loss, Sir, concerning the justice of this representation? The records of your own Parliament will furnish you with abundant and terrible evidence. Look to the Report of the Committee of the House of Commons. Look to the account, written by the excellent *Clarkson*. Look to the speeches of Mr. *Wilberforce*, the glory of your Parliament, and of your country. Read the speech, which he delivered, April 2d, 1792. You will there read, "*Europeans* came on the coast of *Africa*, and hovered like vultures, and like vultures lived on blood. They ensnared at times, and at times by force took away, the natives, and sold them for slaves." Read the examples of villainy, recited by him on this occasion, too long to be quoted by me, and too dreadful to admit of a comment. He there will tell you, that of six hundred and fifty slaves, on board of one ship in the year 1788, one hundred and fifty-five died; of four hundred and five in another, two hundred died; of four hundred and fifty in another, two hundred died; of four hundred and two in another, seventy three died.

From all these sources learn, also, the immense extent of this foul business; the amazing numbers of unhappy wretches, who perished in it; the amazing numbers who lived, only to be made miserable; the

portentous iniquity, with which it was carried on; and the vast difficulty, with which it was broken up. You probably were present, as a member of your Parliament, during most, if not the whole, of the long struggle, made by many of your Nobles, of high rank; by your enlightened Statesmen; and by a numerous train of your Gentlemen; not the fox-hunters, mentioned above, but men of education, of enlightened and superiour minds, and possessed of an honourable character among their countrymen; against the glorious effort, made by Mr. *Wilberforce* and his coadjutors to terminate this demoniacal traffic.

But, Sir, in your zeal to heap scandal upon the *Americans*, you appear to have forgotten, that you have Colonies of your own; and that in these colonies slavery exists in forms, and degrees, incomparably more horrid, than in the Southern *American* States. You have forgotten, that the enormous crimes perpetrated in this system, are committed by native *Britons* under your own eye, and beneath the controul of your own Parliament. I shall take the liberty to refresh your memory concerning this subject.

“To the disgrace of *Great Britain* and her colonies,” says the *Christian Observer* for July 1811, “the *British slave-code* is more severe in its provisions than perhaps any other. Compared with it, the code, promulgated by the Spanish government, is freedom itself.”

Will you please, Sir, to cast your eye upon the fifth report of the Directors of the *African Institution*, read to the subscribers, March 27th, 1811. You will there find, substantiated by evidence, which precludes all doubt concerning the facts, that a Mr. *Huggins*, a distinguished planter in *Nevis*, “went January 23d.

1810, attended by two of his sons on horseback, with upwards of twenty slaves, men and women, in the custody of drivers, through the streets of *Charlestown* to the market place, and there proceeded to indulge his cruelty to the utmost, during more than two hours in the face of day, and in the sight and hearing, not only of free persons, but of magistrates, who offered him no interruption."

To one negro man he gave, by the hands of expert drivers, lashes no less than	-	-	-	365;
To a second,	-	-	-	115;
To a third,	-	-	-	165;
To a fourth,	-	-	-	252;
To a fifth,	-	-	-	212;
To a sixth,	-	-	-	181;
To a seventh,	-	-	-	187;
To a woman,	-	-	-	110;
To a second,	-	-	-	58;
To a third,	-	-	-	97;
To a fourth,	-	-	-	212;
To a fifth,	-	-	-	291;
To a sixth,	-	-	-	83;
To a seventh,	-	-	-	89;

The number of victims, thus specified, was 14. The seven *men* received 1477 lashes; or 211 each, at an average. The seven women received 940, or 134 each. All these were inflicted with a cart-whip. The whole number of lashes was 2417; inflicted by expert drivers; within the compass of somewhat more than two hours; at the command, and under the eye, of this devil in human shape, and of his two sons, whom he brought to be witnesses of their father's character. Even this is not all: "for he administered," says the

Report, "to various other women and men, various other cruel measures of the same punishment, at the same time." One of these miserable sufferers died, soon after, of this merciless treatment.

Nor is this all. There were at this time seven magistrates in *Charlestown*. Two of them, the Reverend *William Green*, and the Reverend *Samuel Lions*, each holding two livings in the Island, were within hearing of the lash; and must have known of the cruel and illegal cause; yet did not interpose. The same was true of Dr. *Cassin*, a surgeon in that Island, who was present at a part of this scene, and after having counted 236 lashes, given to one negro, coolly said he thought it was enough. Another Magistrate, Mr. *Edward Huggins jun.* looked on, the greatest part of the time.

If you will read a little farther, you will find, that Mr. *Huggins*, the master, was acquitted by a jury, although the facts were proved beyond a doubt, so as not to be disputed, and although the slaves had been guilty of no offence, of any importance. In addition to this, the printer of the Gazette in *St. Christopher's* was prosecuted by him for inserting in his paper the minutes concerning this subject, sent to him by order of the Assembly; was found guilty of publishing a libel, issued by the House of the Assembly of *Nevis*, and was sentenced to a month's imprisonment, and to find bail, to keep the peace for three years.

In the same Report you will find an account of a man, that is a human body animated by a demon; a planter of *Tortola*, named *Hodge*. This infernal agent whipped twelve of his slaves so, that they died. Down the throats of two females he poured a quantity of boiling water. A child he ordered to be dipped

in a copper of boiling liquor. Frequently he caused the children on his estate to be taken up by the heels, and dipped into tubs of water with their heads downwards, and kept there till they were stifled; then to be taken out, and suffered to recover and breathe: when they were again treated in the same manner: and so repeatedly, until they have been seen to stagger, and fall. On this he has ordered them to be taken up and suspended to a tree by their hands tied together, and in this situation cart-whipped. Among others, a Mulatto child, *reputed his own*, named *Bella*, was repeatedly whipped by his order: and he was also seen repeatedly to strike the child with a stick on the head, so as to break her head.

I presume, Sir, you are tired of this tale. So am I. I will only add, that, to the unspeakable joy of every honest man, who has heard, or who ever will hear of it, this wretch, after many obstacles had been thrown into the way of justice, was at last convicted, and hanged. Amen, and Amen.

I hope, Sir, we shall never more hear any comparison made between your slave-holders and ours. Stigmatize both as severely as you please: but let your journalists, and your travellers, when they are branding ours with infamy, remember *Hodge and Huggins*.

Permit me, at the end of this recital, to return my most cordial thanks to the members of the *African Institution* for their noble effort in behalf of these abused people. The hand of God be with them, and make their way prosperous.

Your next topic of scandal is *the state of those, whom you call Redemptioners*; persons, who, wishing to come to *America*, and not having sufficient proper-

ty to pay their passage, agree with the captain of the ship to become bound, as servants, for such a period of time as that their service will amount to the sum, which they have engaged to pay. These men are usually, though not always, inhabitants of *Ireland*. If you really think their case a hard one, why do you not prohibit it by your laws? Nothing is easier. Make the transaction penal on the part of the captains. The *Americans* will thank you for such a law. Whatever you may think, Sir, we are not gratified by the transportation of these people into our country.

But, Sir, you totally mistake the facts in your apprehensions concerning the condition of these people in *America*. They are neither more nor less than hired men and women; no more slaves; no more oppressed; nor in any respect treated with any more unkindness. In all respects they are as well situated as hired *Americans*; and have as little reason to complain of their circumstances, as any hired people in the world. Believe me, Sir, your lamentations over them are lost. They would only laugh at you for your pains.

Another thing, which you attribute to us, is the use of strong drink. From Mr. *Lambert* you take an account, given to him by Mr. *Bradley*, (of the *American Senate*,) which he applied exclusively to the *Virginians*; and with the customary candour of your journalists, and travellers, when speaking of *America*, you apply it to the whole people of the United States. Had Mr. *Lambert* known Mr. *Bradley*, he would have perceived, that the whole story was no more than a piece of characteristical sport, intended merely to amuse his fellow travellers.

But I readily acknowledge, that far more spirits, both fermented and distilled, are drunk in this country than any man can justify. I hesitate not to pronounce the practice, in the degree in which it exists, both shameful and sinful. Yet nothing is more unjust than your assertion, that "the love of ardent spirits prevails pretty generally throughout all classes," or, (as you prefer the language,) "throughout the whole unclassified, and indivisible community." The inhabitants of *New England*, for example, are, I strongly suspect, much more temperate than those of *Old England*; at least than those who come thence to America. I have seen many representations on this subject, made by your own countrymen; and have heard many, made by mine. These could not be made with truth concerning the inhabitants of *New England*. But we need not have recourse to these, in order to settle this point to our mutual satisfaction. I will barely turn your attention to the "Stranger's Guide through *London*." Here you will find, consumed annually in that Metropolis, of Spirituous Liquors,

	Gallons 11,146,782;
Wine,	Tons, 32,000, or Gallons, 8,064,000;
Ale and Porter,	Bls. 1,113,500, or Gallons, 35,632,000

The number of inhabitants in *London*, may, in round numbers, be estimated at 1,000,000. Every one of these, if we average the quantity consumed, drinks more than eleven gallons of Spirits, more than eight of Wine, and more than thirty five of Ale and Porter. More than half of this number is, however, composed of children, and of such women as drink none. Accordingly, the estimate to each individual of the re-

maining 500,000, is twenty two gallons of Spirits, sixteen of Wine, and seventy of Ale and Porter; or one hundred and eight gallons of strong drink to every individual.

The whole quantity of ardent Spirits, supposed by the highest estimate to be imported into this country, or manufactured by its inhabitants, was, in the year 1810, 33,000,000 of gallons. The number of inhabitants was, according to the census of the same year, 7,289,903. Dropping the fraction, and stating the number of inhabitants at seven millions, the number of gallons, consumed by each individual, will, at an average be rather more than four and a half; or, (as half drink no ardent spirits,) rather more than nine to each individual in the remaining half. The quantity of Wine, consumed in this country, is not so much as a fourth of the quantity of ardent Spirits; and that of Ale and Porter is trifling in its amount. Two gallons to an individual, of both, will be an ample allowance. We have, then, rather more than eleven gallons of strong drink to each individual in the United States; and 108 gallons to each *Londoner*: viz. nine gallons of ardent Spirits to the *American*, and twenty two to the *Londoner*; one gallon and a half of Wine to the *American*, and sixteen to the *Londoner*; half of a gallon of Ale and Porter to the *American*, and seventy to the *Londoner*.

At the same time it is to be remembered, that one third of the inhabitants of this country have no other drink beside ardent spirits, and water; and, therefore, are justified to some extent in drinking spirits. The people of the Northern States drink cider, as their common beverage; but you need not be informed, that cider is a weak liquor, compared with Ale or Porter.

I presume, Sir, we shall hereafter hear no more concerning the intemperance of the *Americans* from an *Englishman*. Yet I acknowledge, that there is much intemperance in this country; and that it deserves severe reprobation, and demands the vigorous resistance, as well as discountenance, of all good men. But nothing is more untrue than your assertion, that "the love of ardent spirits prevails pretty generally through all classes." The farmers and mechanics of this country, and the gentlemen, (for such, permit me to say, there are in great numbers; as were you to reside here a little time, you would be obliged to confess;) are as sober and temperate a body of people, as can be found in the world, unless perhaps in *France*, and possibly in some of the countries lying under a hot climate. You will remember, that I am here speaking of the Northern States. Of the temperance, or intemperance, of the others I have very little knowledge, except what is derived from the estimate above.

After your eloquent account of our intemperance, you summon up again the story of *Gouging*. *Gouging* is as infamous and abominable a practice, as even you can paint it; and you have my consent to attack it as often, and as severely, as you please. So far as I know, it has never crossed the *Potomac*. As *Maryland* is a slave State I will, for the present, throw it out of the computation. From *Maryland* northward, where, it is presumed, not an instance of gouging has happened since the first colonization of this country, the free population amounts to 3,758,851. South of this line the same population amounts to 2,258,430. Let those, who are included in the latter sum, cleanse their hands from the guilt and disgrace of this prac-

tice, as well as they can. Among those, included in the former sum, it is unknown: and therefore, the authority of *Weld* and Gen. *Bradley* notwithstanding, "gouging, kicking, and biting, are" not "allowed in all our fights."

Of the number of our *fights* I will leave you to judge, when I have informed you, that I am advanced far in life, and that I have travelled through a considerable part of the Northern States, in both the old and new settlements, in all directions, and that very extensively; that I began this course at an early period of life, and that I have mixed freely, from the beginning, with men of most descriptions; and yet never saw but one quarrel between two adult individuals, which came to blows, during the whole progress of my life. Compare with this fact, Sir, your rencounters between *Crib* and *Molyneaux*, *Mendoza* and *Humphrey*, and a long train of other champions of the fist; with your Gentlemen, Nobles, and Princes, assembled to look on. Compare it with your bull-baiting; and remember, if you please, the debate on this subject in your Parliament; and the speech of Mr. *Windham* on this occasion. Remember also the decision of that august Body, sanctioning a practice, at which both nature and decency revolt.

Let me inform you, Sir, that there never was a bull-baiting in this country;* and that the inhabitants regard the practice itself, the cold-blooded eloquence of Mr. *Windham*, and the barbarous decision of your Parliament with indignation and horror.

* Since these Remarks were finished, I have been informed, that a considerable number of years since, there was a bull-baiting in *New York*, and another somewhere in *Pennsylvania*.

I could pursue this subject, Sir, and several others connected with it, much farther; but it is unnecessary. I will, therefore, now proceed to take another view of the general one of *Morals and Manners*; and in doing this, will exhibit *your* *Morals and Manners*, as you yourselves have presented them to the world.

The gentleman, whose Journal I have several times quoted, speaking of *Manchester*, says, "The wages of the labouring manufacturers are high at present; but so few of them lead sober and frugal lives, that they are generally mere dependents on daily labour. *Most of the men are said to be drunkards, and the women dissolute.*"*

Espriella, speaking of *Manchester*, says, "These children, then, said I, have no time to receive instruction. That, Sir, he replied, is the evil, which we have found. Girls are employed here from the age you see them, till they marry; and then they know nothing about domestic work, not even how to mend a stocking, or boil a potatoe. But we are remedying this now; and send the children to school for an hour after they are done work. I asked if so much confinement did not injure their health. "No," he replied; "they are as healthy, as any children in the world could be." To be sure, many of them, as they grew up, went off in consumptions; but consumption was the disease of the *English*. I ventured to inquire afterwards concerning the morals of the people, who were trained up in this monstrous manner; and found what was to be expected, that in consequence of herding together such numbers of both sexes, who were

* *Silk Journal*, vol. i.

utterly uninstructed in the commonest principles of religion and morality, *they were as debauched and profligate, as human beings, under the influence of such circumstances, must inevitably be; the men drunken, the women dissolute;* that, however high the wages they earned, they were too improvident ever to lay by for a time of need; and that, though the parish was not at the expense of maintaining them when children, it had to provide for them in diseases, induced by their mode of life, and in premature debility and old age. The poor rates were oppressively high, and the hospitals and work-houses always full and overflowing. I inquired how many persons were employed in the manufactory; and was told, children and all, about two hundred. What was the firm of the house?—There were two partners. So, thought I—a hundred to one.”*

The same writer, speaking of *Birmingham*, says, “Our earth was designed to be a seminary for young angels: but *the devil has certainly fixed upon this spot for his own nursery garden and hot-house.*”

“When we look at gold, we do not think of the poor slaves, who dug it from the caverns of the earth; but I shall never think of the wealth of *England*, without remembering that I have been in the mines. Not that the labourers repine at their lot; it is not the least evil of the system, that they are perfectly well satisfied to be poisoned, soul and body. Foresight is not a human instinct: the more unwholesome the employment, the higher of course are the wages, paid to the workmen; and, incredible as it may seem, a trifling addition to their weekly pay makes these short-

* Esp. Letter 38.

sighted wretches contend for work, which they certainly know will, in a very few years, produce disease and death, or cripple them for the remainder of their existence."

"I cannot pretend to say, what is the consumption, here, of the two-legged beasts of labour; commerce sends in no returns of its killed and wounded. Neither can I say, that the people look sickly, having seen no other complexion in the place, than what is composed of oil and dust, smoke dried. Every man, whom I met, stinks of train oil and emery. Some I have seen with red eyes and green hair; the eyes affected by the fires to which they are exposed, and the hair turned green by the brass-works. You would not, however, discover any other resemblance to a triton in them, for water is an element, with the use of which, except to supply steam engines, they seem to be unacquainted."

"The noise of *Birmingham* is beyond description. The hammers seem never to be at rest. The filth is sickening. Filthy as some of our own old towns may be, their dirt is inoffensive: it lies in heaps, which annoy none, but those who walk within the little reach of their effluvia. But here it is active, and moving; a living principle of mischief which fills the whole atmosphere, and penetrates every where; spotting and staining every thing, and getting into the pores and nostrils. I feel as if my throat wanted sweeping, like an *English* chimney."

Again. "A regular branch of trade here, is the manufacture of guns for the *African* market. They are made for about a dollar and a half: *the barrel is filled with water; and, if the water does not come through, it is thought proof sufficient: of course they*

burst, when fired, and mangle the wretched negro, who has purchased them upon the credit of English faith, and received them, most probably, as the price of human flesh! No secret is made of this abominable trade; yet the government never interferes; and the persons concerned in it are not marked, and shunned as infamous."

"In some parts of *Italy* the criminal, who can prove himself the best workman at any business, is favoured, *in favorem artis*, unless his crime has been coin-ing: a useful sort of benefit of clergy. If ingenuity were admitted as an excuse for guilt in this country, the *Birmingham* rogues might defy the gallows. Even as it is, they set justice at defiance, and carry on the most illegal practices almost with impunity. Some spoons, which had been stolen here, were traced immediately to the receiver's house: "I know what you are come for," said he to the persons, who entered the room in search of them; "you are come for the spoons:" and he tossed over the crucible into the fire, because they were not entirely melted. The officers of justice had received intelligence of a gang of coiners; the building, to which they were directed, stood within a court-yard; and, when they reached it, they found, that the only door was on the upper story, and could not be reached without a ladder. A ladder was procured: it was then sometime before the door could be forced; and they heard the people within mocking them all this while. When at last they effected their entrance, the coiners pointed to a furnace, in which all the dies, and whatever else could criminate them, had been consumed during this delay. *The coins of any country, with which England carries on any intercourse, whether in Europe, Asia, or America, are*

counterfeited here, and exported. An inexhaustible supply of half pence was made for home consumption, till the new coinage put a stop to this manufactory: it was the common practice of the dealers in this article to fry a pan full every night after supper for the next day's delivery, thus darkening, to make them look as if they had been in circulation."

"*Assignats* were forged here during the late war; but this is less to be imputed to the *Birmingham* speculators than to those wise politicians, who devised so many wise means of ruining France. The forgery of their own bank-notes is carried on with systematic precautions, which will surprise you. Information of a set of forgers had been obtained, and the officers entered the house: they found no person on any of the lower floors; but when they reached the garret, one man was at work upon the plates in the farthest room, who could see them as soon as they had ascended the stairs. Immediately he opened a trap-door, and descended to the floor below; before they could reach the spot to follow him, he had opened the second, and the descent was impracticable for them, on account of its depth: there they stood, and beheld him drop from floor to floor, till he reached the cellar, and effected his escape by a subterraneous passage."

"You may well imagine what such people as these would be in times of popular commotion. It was exemplified in 1791. Their fury, by good luck, was in favour of the Government; they set fire to all the houses of all the opulent Dissenters, whom they suspected of disaffection, and searched every where for the heresiarch *Priestley*, carrying a spit about, on which they intended to roast him alive. Happily for

himself, and for the national character, he had taken an alarm, and withdrawn in time."*

These observations, Sir, are said to have been made by a gentleman, reported, generally, to be one of the writers in the Quarterly Review: their truth, therefore, will hardly be disputed by you.

I might pursue the same course of illustration through many other writers, and extend my quotations to the size of a volume; but the tale would be too tedious to be read, as well as too burdensome to be written. I will, therefore, hasten it to a conclusion.

In *Colquhoun's Police of London*, a summary is given to the world of the sorts of villainy, regularly carried on in the Capital of the *British Empire*; the boast, as well as the pride, of every *Englishman*. This summary, as I, although an *American*, have providentially had the means of knowing, was the result of the best information, which the nature of the case will admit; better, probably, than ever was possessed by any other man; and is therefore to be regarded as authentic. Let me invite you to look at the following table, copied from this very intelligent Work. It contains the sorts of villains, which, like spirits from the nether world, haunt that great city, making it a second *Pandæmonium*; and annexes to each sort the number of wretches which it contains.

1. Professed thieves, burglars, highway robbers, pickpockets, and river-pirates,	2,000
2. Professed receivers of stolen goods,	60
3. Coiners, &c. of base money,	3,000
	<hr/>
Carried forward,	5,060

* Esp. Letter 36.

	Brought forward,	5,060
4.	Thieves, living partly by depredation, and partly by their own labour,	8,000
5.	River pilferers,	2,500
6.	Itinerant Jews, employed in tempting others to steal,	2,000
7.	Receivers of stolen goods from petty pilferers,	4,000
8.	Suspicious characters, who live partly by pilfering and passing base money,	1,000
9.	Mentals, who defraud their employers in a little way, so as generally to elude detection, estimated at	3,500
10.	Swindlers, cheats, and low gamblers, living chiefly by fraudulent transactions in the lottery,	7,440
11.	Other classes of cheats, not included in the above,	1,000
12.	Dissolute publicans, who make their houses rendezvous for thieves, swindlers, and dealers in base money,	1,000
13.	Inferior officers in the Customs and Excise, including supernumeraries and glutmen, sharing the pillage, and frauds, committed on the revenue, estimated at	1,000
14.	Persons keeping chandlers' shops for the sale of provisions to the poor, and cheating their customers by false weights,	3,500
15.	Suspicious servants out of place, principally from ill-behaviour and loss of character, about	10,000
	Carried forward,	<u>50,000</u>

	Brought forward,	50,000
16.	Black-legs, or proselytes to gaming, as a trade,	2,000
17.	Spendthrifts, and other profligate men, seducing others to intemperance, lewdness, debauchery, gambling, and excess, estimated at	3,000
18.	Foreigners, who live chiefly by gambling,	5,000
19.	Bawds, who keep houses of ill-fame, &c.	2,000
20.	Females, who support themselves chiefly, or wholly, by prostitution,*	50,000
21.	Dishonest strangers, out of employment,	1,000
22.	Strolling minstrels, ballad-singers, showmen, trumpeters, and gypsies,	1,500
23.	Grubbers, and a long train of other low pilferers,	2,000
24.	Common beggars,	3,000
	Total,	119,500

“This shocking catalogue,” says the intelligent magistrate, “does not include every fraud and dishonesty which is practised.” Yet here, Sir, is a list, which holds out more than one ninth of the population of your great city, as living by fraud, villainy, and pollution. What must be your feelings, Sir, when walking through the streets of *London*, to know that one person, out of every nine whom you meet, is of this character?

In the year, from September 1790, to September 1791, including 445 prisoners delivered over by the Sheriffs of the preceding year, 1,533 were tried at the

* This is worse, Sir, than voting.

Old Bailey. Of these, 711 were acquitted, and 822 condemned.

Of these there were

10	for Murders,
4	Arson,
10	Forgeries,
9	Dealing in, and uttering, base money,
1	Sodomy,
2	Piracies,
4	Rapes,
642	Grand Larcenies,
32	Stealing privately from persons,
13	Shop-lifting, under five shillings,
16	Ripping and stealing Lead,
12	Stealing Pewter Pots,
22	Stealing from furnished Lodgings,
1	Stealing Letters,
1	Stealing a Child,
22	Receiving stolen goods,
7	Bigamy,
6	Perjuries,
6	Conspiracies,
3	Fraudulent Bankrupts,
15	Frauds,
9	Misdemeanours,
1	Assaulting, and cutting Clothes,
1	Smuggling,
7	Obstructing Revenue Officers,
1	Wounding a Horse maliciously,
38	Assaults.

895 Total.

Of these, thirty-two were executed: more, I suspect, than have been executed for the same crimes in

New England since the first Colonists landed at *Plymouth*. Yet Mr. Colquhoun says, that *this melancholy catalogue does not contain above one tenth part of the offences, which were actually committed*; so that the real number of high crimes, actually perpetrated, was at least 10,880. Yet *London* contains but a million of people; and *New England*, a million and a half. A capital conviction is, here, a solitary thing; existing but once in a considerable series of years.

You may possibly think, that the execution of our laws is lax. You say this concerning the United States at large: but it is not true concerning *New England*. The disadvantage lies wholly on your side. A century to come will hardly furnish such a list of criminals in *New England*, as that which is here disclosed. A single fact will show you the character of its inhabitants, as to their honesty. It is believed, that more than one half of the families ordinarily go to bed without bolting, or locking, their doors. Of what other country can this be said?

I have observed, that executions are here solitary events. Let me add, that a great proportion of the miserable objects, who suffer capitally, are foreigners.

You ridicule *Inchiquin* for saying, that "there is no populace in the United States, no Patrician, no Plebeian, no third or middle class." I need not inform you, although you seem to be willingly ignorant of it, that in every civilized country there must of necessity be persons, and families, distinguished for superiority of character, wealth, intelligence, refinement, station, and influence. I presume, that *Inchiquin* intended nothing more, than that we had no Nobles and no Peasantry. With his meaning, however, I have no concern; but, understood in this sense, the declaration is

substantially true. In our larger towns we have a number of people, who are styled *day-labourers*; and a very small number of these are thinly dispersed throughout the country; but the whole amount is inconsiderable. The public paupers in our country towns do not, I am persuaded, exceed one in three hundred of the inhabitants. In a number of these towns there has never been an individual of this class. Every man, with the exception of this inconsiderable number, and a very few others, holds his lands in fee-simple. Tenants are almost unknown. The people are, as a body, what you call yeomanry; possessing estates, on which they live in the enjoyment of competence, and independence. These circumstances are announced in the Scriptures as the safest, and happiest, for man: and with their testimony that of the ancient Philosophers and poets, and that of the wise men in your own Island, perfectly coincide. *New England* furnishes no reason to distrust its truth.

Lands are here obtained with comparative ease; and subsistence, both agreeable and abundant, is within the reach of every person possessing health and honesty, and even a moderate share of industry and economy. Very few therefore are poor; and even those, who are styled such, are rich, in comparison with the poor of *Europe*. Rarely are they without tea or coffee for their breakfast, or without animal food, once, twice, or thrice every day.

At the same time, all these people can read, and write, and keep accompts. There is scarcely a beggar, or a black, who cannot. In this important particular, even *you* will acknowledge our superiority. Recollect what efforts you have made to establish Sunday schools in your Island; the associations, form-

Education of the Poor.

ed for their establishment; the difficulties, which they had to overcome; and the exultation, which has echoed throughout *England* upon the success, with which they have been attended. I give your countrymen full credit for this Institution; and for the good sense, liberality, perseverance, and patriotism, with which it has been originated, and supported. The authors, and friends, of it I hold in the highest honour; and cordially wish them the richest blessings of Heaven. But I need not inform you, that the existence of these schools; the discussions concerning their nature, and use; the difficulties, which were to be overcome; the numerous, and noble, efforts, to which they have given birth; and the triumph of wisdom and benevolence, which they have furnished; while they reflect immortal honour upon the name of Hannah More, one of the brightest ornaments of the human race, and upon all her illustrious coadjutors, declare, also, in the strongest manner, the extreme necessity of extending this education to the *English* poor, because they were before without education.

If you will cast your eye on *Dr. Currie's* Life of *Burns*, you will see, that he has mentioned *New England* as one of the few privileged countries, in which the education of *parochial schools* is communicated to the inhabitants universally. The King, and the Nobles, Gentry and Clergy of *Scotland*, occupied a century in establishing this Institution in that country. The ancestors of *New England* commenced, and finished, it in a day; and their descendants have maintained, and extended, it to the present hour.

I believe the Nobility of *Great Britain* are indispensable to the continuance of its government, safety, and peace. But you cannot be ignorant of *the disso-*

luteness of manners, which so extensively prevails among those, who form this distinguished order; and is so often complained of by your writers, of high respectability, and so often evidenced in your courts of justice, in other causes, beside those of *Crim. Con.* which are numerous, and deeply humiliating to your national character. It cannot be necessary for me to remind you of the private character of Mr. *Fox*; himself, indeed, not a nobleman, yet of noble birth; or of the imputations on Lord *Melville*. The history of your Nobility, although there are many honourable exceptions, is certainly not such, as to flatter the feelings of a virtuous *Englishman*. Look at the Letters of *Junius*. Look at the train of kept mistresses, at this moment, and at every other in your history, which they, and your Gentry, in great numbers, hold up to the eye of the public, without a blush, or even an apology: and then permit me to inform you, that I do not know two persons, of this character, in *New England*.

The Mediocrity of our circumstances has often been an object of ridicule, as well as of contempt, with *Englishmen*. Here, however, it is believed to be a source of no small happiness to the inhabitants. There is, it must be acknowledged, much less splendour; much less to admire; much less to boast of. There are fewer palaces; fewer stupendous public buildings; fewer magnificent public works. - But, Sir, one rich man is always surrounded by many who are poor; and one great man, by many who are little. Wretchedness always follows in the train of pomp, and rags and beggary haunt the mansions, as well as the walks of pride and grandeur. If we have not many opulent inhabitants; we have few, that are indi-

gent. If we have not palaces; we have few cottages. One would think, that a benevolent man would feel some satisfaction in looking around him, and seeing competence and enjoyment diffused universally; in believing, that, exclusively of the unavoidable calamities of this world, the *multitude*, and not merely *a few persons possessed of princely fortunes*, were fed, and clad, and lodged in a pleasant and desirable manner. To me, no prospect, confined to this world, has been so delightful, as that, which I am always sure to find, when travelling in this country; the great body of the inhabitants enjoying all the pleasure, furnished by these very circumstances. Surely, Sir, even you must be willing, that there should be one country of which these things may be said with truth.

You may not unnaturally think this account an exaggeration. Perhaps the following observations of one of your own countrymen may convince you, that it is not.

“Throughout the States of *Connecticut*, *Massachusetts*, and *New York*, a remarkably neat, and indeed elegant style of Architecture and decoration seems to pervade all the buildings in the towns and villages; and, I understand, is more or less prevalent in the rest of the Northern and Middle States. The houses in the small towns and villages are mostly built of wood; generally one or two stories above the ground floor: The sides are neatly clap-boarded and painted white. The sloping roofs are covered with shingles and painted of a state colour; and, with sash windows, green *Venetian* shades outside, neat white railings, and steps, have a pretty effect. Sometimes the entrance is ornamented with a portico. The churches, or as they are oftener termed meetings, (meeting houses,) are con-

structed of similar materials, painted white, and frequently decorated, like the houses, with sash windows and green *Venetian* shades outside. The building is also surmounted by a handsome spire or steeple, with one or two bells. A small town composed of these neat and ornamental edifices, and situated in the neighbourhood of well cultivated farms, large fields, orchards, and gardens, produces a most agreeable effect, and gives the traveller a high opinion of the prosperity of the country, and of the wealth of its inhabitants. Indeed, those parts of the Northern and Middle States, through which I travelled, have the appearance of old, well settled countries. The towns and villages are populous; provisions cheap and abundant; the farms appear in excellent order: and the inhabitants sober, industrious, religious, and happy.*

Permit me to add another short paragraph from the same traveller.

“Through the whole of this journey of 240 miles, from *New York* to *Boston*, I had passed over a most beautiful tract of country, which, from the manners of its inhabitants, the excellent order of its towns, villages, and buildings, its farms, and orchards, gardens, pasture and meadow lands, together with the face of the country, undulated with mountains, hills, plains, and vallies, watered by a number of rivers, small lakes, and streams, afforded a variety of the most beautiful landscapes, and strongly reminded me of *English* scenery.”†

Your next attack is upon a subject, which, I believe, no *British* Journalist, who has meddled at all with *America*, and scarcely a single *British* traveller,

* Lambert, vol. iii, p. 89, 90.

† Lambert, vol. iii, p. 98.

who has visited its shores, has passed by: *the Genius and Learning of this country*. The observations, made by those among your writers, who first handled this part of the American character, have been regularly thrummed over by all, who have followed them. The story, Sir, has become absolutely stale: and, if you will permit me to advise, you will not repeat it again until twelve months shall have fairly finished their circle. It was a pleasant story enough at first, I acknowledge; but a perpetual reiteration of the same thing, however good it may be, will become rather dull. Lest I should become so too, my strictures upon them shall not be delayed by a long preface.

The observation, which you have quoted from the *Abbe Raynal*, which has been written off in a succession, not much less repetitious, or protracted, than that, in which school-boys of former times wrote "*Command you may your mind from play*," is a proof of the Abbe's ignorance, or a specimen of his customary indifference to truth. The two *Edwardses*, father and son, have exhibited as high metaphysical powers, as *Europe* can boast; and have thrown more light on several abstruse subjects, of the highest importance, than all the Philosophers of that continent and your own Island, united.

With Mr. *Barlow's Columbiad* you have a right to take any decent liberty. He has treated your country in such a manner, as to be lawful game to a *Briton*. I shall, therefore, leave him in your hands.

After disposing of him, you say, "to Mr. *Barlow's* Epic may be joined a Poem by a Mr. *Fingal*. No escendant," you say, "we believe, of the *Caledonian* bard of that name." You are perfectly right, Sir, in your conjecture. The author is not a descendant of

Ossian, the *Caledonian* bard, to whom, I suppose you refer, and who left no descendants. At least I see not how he could have sprung from this bard, unless by a *Hybernian* figure of speech. Nor was he a descendant of the real *Fingal*; the father of this same bard. The author, Sir, is a Mr. *Trumbull*, one of the judges of the Supreme Court, of the State of *Connecticut*. It was written, when he was a young man, in the year 1775. The name of the *Poem*, Sir, is *Mac Fingal*. On this subject, as unhappily on many others, which you have thought proper to handle, you have not been well informed. Were you to read it, which from your observations it is evident you have not done, you would find, that it is a work, displaying fine talents, a degree of wit, and of humour, also, rarely rivalled; little inferiour in these respects to your celebrated *Hudibras*; and in every other, far superiour. It is true the sprightly excursions of the poet are sometimes directed against *Great Britain*; as those of *Butler* are against *Presbyterians*; but as I, a *Presbyterian*, can laugh very heartily with *Butler*, so, undoubtedly, will you be able to do with *Trumbull*; especially as the prejudices of an *American Presbyterian* must be very strong; and those of an *English Episcopalian* barely exist; if, indeed, it can be truly said, that they exist at all. At all events, Sir, read this poem, before you write about it again; and, at least, learn its true name.

Concerning Dr. *Franklin* I shall make no other observations than that a multitude of your own writers, and a multitude of others, in *France* and *Germany*, have spoken of him in a very different manner from that, in which you have chosen to speak, and that you must permit me to believe, from the re-

marks which you have made, you are ignorant both of the history, and of the science, of electricity.

Concerning Dr. *Rittenhouse*, your strictures are eminently unfortunate. You say, that "*Rittenhouse* was an *Englishman*, not an *American*." Dr. *Rittenhouse* was born in *Germantown*, seven miles from *Philadelphia*; and was descended from ancestors, who came into this country from *Holland*. He was bred to the business of a plain farmer; and, while he was employed, when a boy, in the common pursuits of agriculture, indicated a peculiar propensity to Mathematical science by numerous Geometrical figures, which, for want of better materials, he drew upon his plough, upon the fences, surrounding the field of his labour, and even upon the stones, which it contained. A delicate constitution compelled him to leave the farm, and to betake himself to the business of making clocks, and mathematical instruments. In both these arts he was his own instructor. He invented the science of Fluxions; and for a considerable time did not know, that it had any other author. Finding an English translation of *Newton's Principia*, he made himself master of this abstruse work, when he could scarcely be said to have reached manhood.

You say some hard, and impertinent, things of Mr. *Jefferson*, because he asserted, that "*Dr. Rittenhouse*, by imitation, approached nearer to the Maker of the world than any other man; and that his model of the planetary system has the plagiary appellation of an *Orrery*." I suspect, that you mistake the meaning of the latter assertion. Mr. *Jefferson* intended, not that preceding imitations of the planetary system had not been named *Orreries*, but that Dr. *Rittenhouse's* planetarium was a work, so different from the *Orreries* of

Europe, so superiour to them, and so entirely an invention of his own, that it was an error to call it by that name. Had you seen it, I am persuaded you would have adopted Mr. *Jefferson's* opinion.

You subjoin—"All that posterity knows about him is, that as President of a democratic club at *Philadelphia*, afterwards called The Philosophical Society, he signed some inflammatory resolutions, tending to abet the Western insurrection; and that he was a good measurer of land."

This, Sir, may be all that *English* posterity knows about Dr. *Rittenhouse*: and a part of this must be known by the aid of peculiar optics, because it is not true. The Philosophical Society of *Philadelphia* was never a democratic club, nor a political club in any sense. It was instituted in the year 1769, long before democracy was heard of in this country; and has ever been engaged, and with a considerable degree of success, in promoting science: and this has been its only employment.

But *American* posterity knows much more about this Gentleman.—He is known, here, by several curious Astronomical calculations, and observations; particularly of the transits of *Venus* and *Mercury*, in 1769; and by his very useful labours in settling, to the general satisfaction, territorial lines between different States. For thirteen years he was treasurer of the State of *Pennsylvania*; and was regularly chosen by an annual and unanimous vote of the Legislature. Soon after he resigned this office, he was appointed the first Director of the *American* Mint; and held that office until bad health compelled him to resign it. Permit me to add, Sir, that he preserved, through life, a character unstained and irreproachable; was holden in high

esteem by the best men in this country, and among others by *Washington*; and died in the full belief of the Christian system, and the strong hope of realizing its blessings in the future world. What may, perhaps, be in your view of more importance than all, he was a Fellow of the Royal Society in London. In your next edition of this train of observations on *American* genius and literature, which I shall look for in some one of your numbers for the year 1815, I hope for your own sake, you will treat *Dr. Rittenhouse* with a little more civility.

In your account of *Hadley's Quadrant* you are equally unhappy. It was invented, notwithstanding you are pleased to challenge the honour of the invention, as belonging to *Hadley*, whom you call "your ingenious countryman," by a *Mr. Godfrey* of *Philadelphia*. Permit me to tell you the story.

A considerable premium had been offered in *London* for the invention of a Quadrant possessing the properties, which were ultimately attained in this. *Godfrey*, a poor but ingenious man, applied himself diligently to the business of forming one, which should answer the description given in these proposals, and succeeded. To acquire the premium, and the honour of the invention, he engaged a passage to *England* in a ship, just ready to sail from *Philadelphia*. *John Hadley*, Esq. then commanded a ship, lying also in the *Delaware*; and invited the Captain, with whom *Godfrey* was to sail, to dine with him. After dinner he brought out a Quadrant, which he considered as superior to those in common use. His guest told him, that if he would dine with *him* the next day, he would shew him one, lately invented by a *Philadelphian*, which was much superior to his own. *Hadley* con-

sented; and came the next day, provided with the means of taking an exact description of the new quadrant. After they had dined, the quadrant was produced; and *Hadley* took a description of it. His ship being ready to sail, he fell down the river that night; and, having a very short passage to *England*, procured a quadrant to be made of the same structure. Some weeks afterwards the ship, in which *Godfrey* sailed, arrived in *England*. Here he found among that class of people, who were interested in such a subject, much conversation about *Hadley's* quadrant, as being a new and very happy invention, and much superiour to any, which had before been known. He procured a sight of the instrument, and found it exactly the same with his own. You may suppose, that he was astonished at this discovery. The captain, scarcely less astonished at the grossness of the fraud, and deeply wounded by this proof of his own indiscretion, explained the mystery to *Godfrey*. The unhappy man became a maniac. *Your countryman* was, indeed, *ingenious*, Sir. I wish he had been honest.

Your observations concerning the City of *Washington* are sufficiently contemptuous; and I acknowledge, that there is some foundation for a part of the ridicule, which they throw upon it. The Comedy has, however, had a tragical catastrophe. Your Officers have blown up the *Capitol*, and burnt the *President's house*. They cost a million and a half of dollars; and both were esteemed fine pieces of Architecture by respectable *Europeans*, as well as by the people of this country. But whatever distinction they might claim; or whether they could, or could not, claim any; they are now no more. Probably you may enjoy more

pleasure in recollecting this fact, than most travellers will, in surveying the ruins.

You next indulge your spleen upon our *Naval efforts*. Really, Sir, if I may judge from the information, which reaches this country from *Great Britain*, the exploits of our seamen awaken no very pleasant sensations in the minds of your countrymen.* From the pains, which you take, on all occasions, *to magnify our force much beyond its real amount, and to diminish yours much beneath it*; and that, in various instances, *in defiance of the vessels, and guns, and men, actually in our possession; when you make such laborious, and formal calculations on the subject; when you so solemnly inquire why the Americans fire so much more rapidly than your own people; and when you exult so much in the capture of the Chesapeake; an exploit, much less brilliant than you make it*; I cannot help suspecting, that you think more highly of the *American* seamen than you are willing to express. If you do not; you are the only nation in the world, which does not. We, at least, are satisfied with both their bravery and their conduct: much more so, if I mistake not, than you are. Let me add, that you have not been accustomed to make

* From *Cobbett's Register*. "I have from the first expressed my apprehension as to the end of the war. I used my utmost endeavors to prevent it.—At last the war took place, and the disgrace, which we suffered at sea, completed the madness of the nation, who seemed to have no other feeling than that of mortification and revenge. What! should the people be suffered to live; should they be suffered to exist in the world; who had defeated, and captured, a British frigate! should those, who had caused the British flag to be hauled down, not be exterminated! Disappointment; fury! The nation was mad. "Rule Britannia," the constant call of the boasting rabble at places of public resort, was no longer called for with such eagerness, and was heard with less rapture. The heroes in blue and buff carried their heads less lofty. Their voices seemed to become more faint, and their port less majestic. They seemed to feel, as men of honour would, upon such an occasion. In short, we all felt, that a new era had taken place in the naval annals of the world."

this ado about your naval rencounters with any other nation.

At the close of these observations you mention a silly speech made by *Mr. Wright* of *Maryland*, a member of Congress. You had before given a very contemptuous account of the persons, who constitute the House of Representatives; and of the indecent manner, in which their debates are conducted. With regard to the last of these articles I observe, that, though I do not think very highly of the manner, in which the debates of our Representatives are carried on, yet the adventure of *Matthew Lyon* did not exist during the time, when the House was in Session; and therefore does not affect the manner of conducting their debates. It is, I believe, bare justice to our House of Representatives to say, that, while in session, they are at least as decorous, as your House of Commons; and that the Houses of Representatives in *Connecticut* and *Massachusetts* are incomparably more so.

Please, Sir, to read the following transcript from your *Parliamentary Chronicle*, reciting some transactions in your House of Lords.

June 17th, 1794. "The Lord Chancellor then proceeded to read Lord *Grenville's* original Motion of Thanks; when he was interrupted by

Lord *Lauderdale*; who insisted that he had a right first to propose a Motion of Thanks to Colonel *Villette* for his meritorious services at *Corsica*: Colonel *Villette* being equally entitled to them as Lord *Hood*.

The interposition of the Noble Earl being contrary to all the established Rules of Parliament, he was called to Order by the whole House.

The Noble Earl, however, persisted in what he called his right.

The Lord Chancellor stood up, and said, he spoke to Order from the Woolsack.

Lord *Lauderdale*, notwithstanding this, attempted to proceed, though the voices of "The Chair, The Chair," echoed from all sides.

Lord *Hawkesbury* declared, he had sat thirty-five years in Parliament, and never witnessed such unruly and disorderly behaviour in any Member. He called upon their Lordships to support the Chair; or *all that was decent, and orderly, in the Senate, would be annihilated.*

Lord Lauderdale never sat down the whole time; and, as soon as Lord *Hawkesbury* finished, again attempted to interrupt the Chancellor, who was also on his legs.

The House at length prevailed; and the united voice of their Lordships in a peremptory manner compelled the Noble Lord to desist.

Is it then true, Sir, that your Peers of the Realm, assembled in the House of Lords, and proceeding in the solemn business of Legislation, behave in this manner? Is it true, that one of them, of high name, and great consequence, trespassed so grossly on the established rules of order, that another of similar distinction, felt himself obliged to call upon the House to support the Lord Chancellor; and to declare, that, *if they did not, all, that was decent and orderly in the Senate, would be annihilated?* and was this Nobleman so disorderly that *he could not be reduced to order, until the whole House of Peers, uniting their voices in a peremptory manner, compelled him to desist?* Had you been a member of the American Senate from its commencement to the present hour; you yourself would say, that all the indecorums, which

have taken place in it, would not amount to one such scene, as this.

As to silly speeches, I think you have your share of them. Permit me to make a few extracts.

Earl Stanhope—“The learned Lord has said, that the *aristocrat* tradesmen [In this land of blunders we should have said *aristocratic* tradesmen.] approved their conduct: the only persons, who disapproved thereof, were the *Sans-Culottes*. I am a *Sans-Culotte* citizen; a *Sans-Culotte* individual; one of that swinish multitude, who think their proceedings unjust and illegal.”

Permit me to ask, whether the noble Earl at this time appeared in the House of Peers without his small clothes?

April 15, 1794.

Again. Sir Gregory Page Turner—whom I take to be one of the *country Gentlemen, who are unlike any thing, found throughout the whole range of the United States*.

“He said, he had not opened his mouth before this session, though *he had constantly supported the war in the strongest manner with a silent vote*. He was both willing, and ready to submit to any taxation, *the Minister should be pleased to impose*; and for that purpose, would, in concert with the other Gentlemen of that House, deliver in an exact and regular detail of his property. He did not mean to compliment Mr. Pitt, but he certainly had a high opinion of his integrity, and accordingly pronounced a long and irregular eulogium thereon. What was equalization? The *French* had talked of equalization: but in truth he supposed they wanted to make an equal partition of property. Every body knew he had not much

anded property, but what he had he should not like to share with these fellows. He was an insignificant Member, as the House supposed him to be; and could not say much to the purpose; but *he had two or three good coats which he supposed the French also would like to take, and leave him only one.* He supposed too, that men, who had no money, would scramble for all they could get; *and those who had but ten pounds, might want a hundred, or perhaps two hundred: he could not tell.* (During the whole of this diverting Peroration, the House was convulsed with laughter; and the Speaker was obliged to force an air of gravity, to command order.) *The Honourable Baronet wondered why the Gentlemen enjoyed his speech so much, since he did not pretend to humour.* These were his real sentiments, *which are—*~~which are—~~*which are—*(another fit of laughter.) *The War—Much had been said of the War. It is the War of Europe. It is—a War!!!* We had engaged in this War, not for attack, but defence; to secure our property, our lives and honours.” March 6, 1794.

I am so pleased with the speeches of this Gentleman, that I must be permitted to copy another specimen of his Oratorical powers, exhibited May 26, 1796.

“Sir Gregory Page Turner,” says the Parliamentary Chronicle, “craved the indulgence of the House for a few observations which he had to make. When he stood up in the morning, or when he lay down at night, *he always felt for the Constitution.* (A laugh.) On this question he never had but one opinion. When he came first into Parliament, he remembered, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer proposed a Reform; but *he saw it was wrong, and he opposed it.*

Would it not be madness to change what had existed sound from the days of his father? (Loud laughter.) Were Gentlemen to make changes in their Constitution, as they altered the cut of a coat, for the fashion, or as a lady fancied a new head dress? (Burst of laughter.) When questions of such a dangerous nature, as the present, was brought forward, he could not sleep quietly on his peaceful pillow. Gentlemen spoke of places and pensions. He had neither place nor pension; and therefore he was at issue with them on the score of independence. Did *Birmingham* and *Manchester* bring forward propositions for a Reform? No. They were brought forward by Gentlemen, high in talents, and high in Opposition. Did Gentlemen expect to stop bribery, and corruption, in our Government? He never had such an idea. It was all one, whether the House consisted of 5000, or 500. They had not to consider who the Electors were, but who the elected are."

Now for Lord *Stanhope* again.

"I am a friend to liberty, to *French* liberty, so far as it respects the rights of individuals; and I will go so far as to add, that, if the fortune of war so ordain it, I shall glory to be hanged in such a cause: for it is the cause of Mankind, and of Philosophy."

Now, Sir, if his Lordship had really a strong wish to be hanged, I must be permitted to say, that any attempts on the part of the House of Peers, to prevent his Lordship from going to the gallows, must have been an unseemly, and perhaps an untimely, interference. For the cause of Mankind, *peradventure some one might even dare to die*; but for the cause of Philosophy *scarcely would any man die*. Since, then, a martyr has been actually found, ready to venture his

neck in this cause, the man must be very little of a philosopher, who would step between his Lordship and the gallows; but should his Lordship actually be hanged in this cause, I should humbly advise him not to appear on the gallows in his favourite character of a Sans Culotte.

Mr. Drake, jun. "I applaud the Honourable Gentleman, that has just sat down, who defended, with sublime, astonishing, and angelic eloquence, the measure approved by his Majesty. Immortal thanks to him for the honesty, and manliness of his declarations. I shall always be proud to have the honour of uniting with a man, so characterized, and so immortalized! I shall be proud to join him, to overturn the *enemies* of our glorious Constitution. I shall fight for this wonderful fabric to the last drop of my blood! He that entertains, and propagates, contrary opinions, is the greatest enemy to mortal man! For my part, I had rather *die a Loyalist*, than *live a Republican*. Oh! then, Sir, let us draw ourselves out in *battle array for the peace of the country*. Oh! Sir, I will not declare—Yes, Sir, I will declare, what delight it gave me to hear the Noble Lord over the way, (Lord Titchfield,) express himself as he did. I love that Noble Marquis; I love him in my heart, for the speech, he delivered this night. Oh! Sir, this country loves the *Bentincks* and the *Cavendishes*. Come now, ye valiant defenders of the glorious Revolution, assist me in my honourable endeavours to immortalize that wonderful event."

Really, Sir, this is very fine; and is no unhappy specimen of that "sublime, astonishing, and angelic eloquence," which Mr. Drake applauded so fervently in Mr. Anstruther. Why, Sir, this outdoes Mr.

Wright himself; and approaches near to *thunder-and-lightning-Williams*. But we are not yet come to the acme of Mr. *Drake's* eloquence: and far be it from me to do injustice, even in thought, to such a rival of *Cicero*, by failing on this occasion to quote his most pre-eminent effusions. Here they are.

“Mr. *Drake* then—in the most emphatic terms conjured his *Honourable, ever Honourable, and right Honourable, friends* to unite heart and hand in suppressing, and extirpating, *the very semen of a Revolution, which was but too evident in the volcanic, subterranean, infernal, diabolical, eloquence of his inimical friends*; who—(Here an immoderate peal of laughter.) The Honourable Member went on, “I have been interrupted in one of the most essential privileges of a British Senator: to wit, the freedom of speech; which, I hope, the Speaker has not omitted to demand of his Majesty in the present session of Parliament. If it has been obtained, I, in common with other Members, have a right to avail myself of it. In order to conciliate the attention of the House, I lament that it is necessary for Members to detail their political creeds. Whatever that of others may be, mine is loyalty to my King, fidelity to my Country, and love to the Constitution.” (Great animation.)

Mr. *Drake*—“*if by theatrical gesticulation I have betrayed an excess of animation, it was but the ebullitions of my heart, which oblige me to exclaim with Hamlet, that*

“I have that within, which passeth shew;
These but the trappings, that the seat, of woe.”

Pray, Sir, is Mr. *Drake* now alive? If he is, could you not persuade him to take a short trip across the

Atlantic, and teach by his example our Senators and Representatives a little eloquence? I do not mean, Sir, "the volcanic, subterranean, infernal, diabolical eloquence of his inimical friends;" I mean his own eloquence, and somewhat of that "theatrical gesticulation," and that "excess of animation," one or both of which "is but the ebullitions of the heart." Who knows, Sir, but such a measure, as this, would improve the Honourable Mr. Clopton, the Honourable Mr. Widgery, and even the Honourable Willis Alston. Indeed, Sir, it is difficult to conceive how much good it might do.

Turn we now again to the House of Lords, November 13, 1796.

The Earl of Abingdon—"The Noble Secretary of State has on a former night said a good deal about Lord Clarendon. Since that debate, I have met with a book, which gives a full account of Lord Clarendon. I will read some passages from that book, to show your Lordships what kind of a man that celebrated character was. In the first place, I have to observe, that Lord Clarendon was a very superstitious fellow, and believed in ghosts. But I will read a very curious dialogue out of this book about him." (Here some of their Lordships asked the name of the book.) Lord Abingdon. "It is a book of good authority. It is an hundred years old: and I bought it at a stall. Before I proceed to read this passage, I wish to observe, that I think the old doctrine of Passive Obedience and Non Resistance is revived. I was in hopes it had been quite buried, since *James the Second's* reign. I wish to ask the Reverend Prelate (Bishop of Rochester*) whether *Vox Populi* is not *Vox Dei*. I will prove it

* Bishop Horsley,

is; and that God Almighty always inspires the People on such occasions, and will do so still. I will prove this by authors as old as *Methusalem*;* though I am not prepared now: but when I am, I mean to come down with a very severe Phillippic upon the subject."

Bishop of Rochester. "Never having had the good fortune of meeting with any author, as old as *Methusalem*, I cannot meet the Noble Lord upon the subject."

Earl of Abingdon. "As I am not prepared now, I will prove it clearly some other time. I however inform the Bench of Bishops, and your Lordships, that every one of you, who believe in the doctrine of *Passive Obedience and Non-Resistance*, will be damned without redemption; because it is against the *Revolution principles*."

Again. "I have written against Mr. *Burke*. I have published against him: and yet he never would answer me. I have begged him to cut me up, to flea me alive; (an American would have said flay;) so as he would but answer me: but not a line could I get from him." *The debate at the third reading of the bill for the preservation of his Majesty's Person and Government.*

I do not believe, Sir, that Mr. *Wright* himself, when he was a Senator of the United States, and delivered a secret Message (made secret at his own request,) before a crowded gallery in the House of Representatives, could have excelled this display of Lord *Abingdon's* oratorical powers. But his Lordship, as we learn from the same source, appears as a Divine, as well as an Orator.

* Our Bibles read *Methuselah*.

On January 6, 1796, in a debate on the Resolution that *Great Britain* "ought not and would not, interfere in the internal affairs of *France*," the Earl of *Abingdon* observed, "Does not the Noble Lord (Earl *Stanhope*) know, that *retaliation, an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, is the law of the Gospel?*—And how is this to be accounted for, but that the Noble Lord does not believe in *the law of retaliation; although founded upon that Christian-like principle of returning good for evil? He does not therefore believe in the Gospel.*"

Now, Sir, I verily believe, that there is not a Clergyman in the United States, who, however studious, or however advanced in years, knew, before his Lordship discovered it, that "an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, was the law of the Gospel;" or "that the law of retaliation is founded on that Christian-like principle of returning good for evil." In this land of barbarism it has been supposed, that the principle of returning good for evil was, *in reality*, a Christian principle; and of very serious importance in the system of the Gospel; and not merely "Christian-like." But what, better than this, could be expected in these *Transatlantic* regions?

It is time that these extracts should be terminated. Let me ask, Sir, what are we to think of the morals, what of the honour, cherished by the Members of your House of Commons, when we read, in the Parliamentary Chronicle for 1796, the debate on *the franking of letters*; and find it publicly averred by the Minister as a reason for curtailing this privilege of the Members, that *they were in the habit of farming it out at the highest price, and thus shamelessly defrauded the Revenue*; when we find a law passed, that *no Member*

shall frank more than ten letters, or receive more than fifteen, in one day; and that all above this number shall be charged to him? What are we to suppose, when in another section of the same law, we find *Members forbidden to frank letters at any Post Office, which is more than twenty five miles distant from the places, where they severally were on the day of franking;* and when in another, we see them *forbidden to delegate their right of franking to more than one individual at a time?*

Look at the case of Sir Thomas Cochrane, commonly called Lord Cochrane, a member of your House of Commons. While your abuse of our Congress was yet issuing from the press, this man was impeached for a *swindling conspiracy*; that is, he was charged with conspiring with his cousin the Honourable Cochrane Johnston, and others, to fabricate and circulate a false report with a view to profit by a sudden rise in the funds; and, after fabricating and circulating such a report, with having in connexion with his associates, sold out stocks, which had been purchased for that very purpose, to the amount of nearly a *million sterling*; thereby putting in their own pockets *twenty or thirty thousand pounds*, which they had thus filched from the pockets of unsuspecting purchasers. Of this crime he was impeached by a large committee, who were appointed to examine into the circumstances of the case, and who published to the world their names, and the reasons on which their opinion was founded. He then published, under the solemnity of an oath, a full, positive, and unequivocal assertion of his innocence. Still he was indicted by a grand jury, brought before your Court of King's Bench as a culprit, found guilty by a petit jury, and

sentenced by the Court to be fined, imprisoned, and stand one hour in the pillory, in one of the most public streets of London. At the opening of Parliament, and before the House had time to expel him, he grossly abused the persons who had impeached him, the jury who had found him guilty, and the judge who had sentenced him. He was, however, soon expelled; but the tale does not end here: you would rejoice if it did. As his place was vacant, writs were issued for a new election. Lord Cochrane had the hardihood to offer himself as a candidate; he addressed the electors; he bawled as loudly as ever, I presume, against *corruption*; he assumed that he was one of the *genuine friends of the People*; and, can it be believed! was returned as a Member of the House of Commons, by a majority of electors in a populous part of your proud metropolis. He of course takes his seat, and both votes and debates, if he pleases, on all questions relating to the public maintenance of religion, to *good morals*, and good government. Either Lord Cochrane is guilty of one of the vilest frauds, of a gross perjury in order to conceal it, and of gross slander of those, who impeached, condemned, and expelled him, or your honourable merchants, your boasted courts and juries, and your national Legislature, have most iniquitously proscribed and punished an innocent man, of high standing in society. I mention this alternative, not because I have doubts respecting his guilt; but merely to show, that there is no possible way of evading the disgrace attached to this transaction.

Such things could not take place in this country, while our present standard of morals remains. It has been remarked by judicious men, here, that no person could retain a particle of influence, even among the

lowest and worst classes of the community, after he had been legally convicted of an infamous crime. Our villains, particularly those in high life, are obliged to abscond when detected, even before conviction. Your *Wilkeses* and your *Cochranes*, though known to be infamously vile by every intelligent man; though tried as malefactors, condemned, punished, and expelled the House of Commons; are yet taken up by the people, made the idols of a party, again returned to Parliament, where with unparalleled effrontery they not only look honourable men in the face, but take an active part in legislating for a great nation.

Once more, Sir, let me ask, What are we to think of the decency, with which the debates of your Parliament are conducted, when in the House of Commons, we hear Mr. *Burke* (April 1794,) comparing the *River Scheldt* to the filthiest of all utensils, and that by name; or when, in the House of Lords, we hear the *Earl of Mansfield* translate the words *Sans Culotte*, used as an adjective, by the grossest phraseology, which he could have derived from a dog-kennel. These men were the lights of your country; and made *Europe*, and even these *Transatlantic* regions, resound with their fame. If such things were done by your leaders; what must we suppose to have been done by their followers?

To finish my remarks concerning your Parliament, I observe, that the most disgraceful Member of our Congress, (and we have had several, who were sufficiently disgraceful,) fell immeasurably behind the famous *John Elwes*, three times returned as a Member to your Parliament. Look at this man, Sir, then, in the possession of near 800,000 pounds sterling, after having expended eighteen pence for his election,

setting out from his seat on horseback, with two hard-boiled eggs in his pocket; shunning carefully every turnpike road lest he should be obliged to pay the fare; stopping under a hedge; feeding his horse upon the grass in the road, and himself upon the egg; wearing a wig, cast off by a beggar, and picked up by himself out of a kennel; and following from morning to night the carpenters, who were repairing his houses. View him again at his own seat, mending his windows with a piece of broken glass, or a bit of brown paper; glean- ing corn out of his tenants' fields; picking up stray chips, and bones, to carry to the fire in his pocket; *pulling down a crow's nest, to add to his stock of fuel; and then complaining of the extravagance, and waste, with which these creatures built their nests.* See him again, *stealing into the stable, and taking away the hay, which his servant had given to the horse of a friend who visited him; eating corrupt- ed meat, and the animals which had been bred in it; and devouring the small fry, taken by his net, in- stead of replacing them in the river until they should be grown, because he should never see them again.* Behold him hiding his money, wrapped up, a few guineas in a paper, and deposited in corners, and other secret places; and rising by night, as well as watching by day, to see whether it had been stolen. Finally, mark this man, *then worth a million sterling, and on the verge of death, crying out in his sleep, "I will keep my property: no man shall rob me of my property."*

When you have done this, muster, for a review, all that has been contemptible in the Congress of the United States; and say whether you believe, that an- other such human being was ever born out of *Great Britain*

There is another subject intimately connected with your Government, much more intimately than I could wish, which demands a few additional remarks. "Your Lordships will remember," said the Bishop of *Rochester*, on the 11th of March, 1796, "that you have had cases before you, where *Ladies of high rank have been guilty with their menial servants*: if they are to be entitled to settlements upon Divorce, what is it, but to hold forth rewards to *Postillions, &c. to debauch their Ladies?* There have been, also stated, cases, where the usage of the husband has been pleaded in extenuation. In such cases the proper remedy will be, to refuse him his bill of Divorce; where, for instance, an old and debilitated man courted a young girl to his arms, *he ought to abide the event, for he takes her, with his eyes open to the consequences.* In the particular case before us, I see nothing that can be urged in mitigation;—*an old woman, forty years of age, having ten children, took to her bed a Scoundrel of a French Emigrant.*"

This, Sir, is a most melancholy story; as the subject of it is a most disgraceful theme of legislative deliberation: disgraceful, I mean, not to the Legislature, but to the country, which has made the debate necessary. Happily for *New England*, this story cannot, so far as my knowledge extends, be told of its inhabitants. No similar occurrence, within the limits of my information, has been found here. In two of the *New England States*,* there are laws permitting Divorces by their Supreme Judicial Courts: laws, immeasurably dishonourable to those States, and fitted only to diffuse pollution. Yet such is the character

* *Connecticut and Vermont.*

of the *New England* people, that even these laws have hitherto drawn no such cases, as those mentioned by the good Bishop, in their train. Should they continue in force, there can be no reasonable doubt, that their consequences will be baleful to the purity of individuals, the peace of families, and the welfare of the public. Hitherto, their effects, although only pernicious, have been very limited.

With you, Sir, this most malignant species of corruption is of long standing; and appears to have pervaded your country throughout its early, as well as its later history. A great part of your Comedies, and of your Novels, a multitude of your Songs, and other Poems, and many other still graver Publications, have been scandalously obscene and polluted.* A *Godwin*, defending gravely his licentious concubinage with a *Wolstoncraft*, would, here, have been hissed in the streets by the inhabitants of every village, through which he passed.

This evil spreads throughout a great part of the higher classes in your country. It enters the palace: often it has ascended the throne. Look over one of your Court Registers; and see whether you cannot find proofs of it in the very names of your Dukes. Look at your present Royal Family; at the history of *Mrs. Clarke*. But I will stop: for, although you have driven me to these remarks, I have no pleasure in lessening the reputation of your Royal Family.

Perhaps, Sir, a plea may be made for this licentiousness by some others of your countrymen, which has already been made by the *Edinburgh* Reviewers.

* I have never known an obscene book published in the *American* States.

“The passion of Monarchs for their Mistresses,” says a writer in the forty-fourth number of that redoubtable Work, “is not always fatal to their own honour, or to the happiness of their people. *La Belle Gabrielle*, *Madame de la Valliere*, and other instances, might be quoted in favour of this opinion. But the monarchs, and their mistresses, were of that age, when a mutual passion gave to each a paramount interest in the glory and happiness of the other. The moment, when a nation most dreads and abhors the dominion of a mistress, is when they see in it the result of luxurious habits, rather than of passion—the feverish want of a decayed constitution, rather than the honest demands of nature and imagination.”

Pray, Sir, is not the Conductor of the *Edinburgh Review* a descendant of those cattle, who, according to Lord *Monboddoo*, were the first ancestors of the human race; *who wore tails*, and lived in the near neighbourhood of our Cousin *Ourang Outangs*? I presume his Lordship must have formed this part of his Philosophical System under impressions made upon his mind by the appearance, and character, of those around him. He must have seen, I think, mental characteristics, which, he supposed, ought to belong to those only, who had once worn tails; and their appearance was probably such, as induced him to believe, that they had not long been freed from this ornamental appendage. This Conductor was, I suppose, born in the vicinity of his Lordship: and, if the proper investigation were to be made, it would, I presume, be found, that the tail had lately fallen off from the man, or that the man had fallen off from his tail: for it is doubtful which was the

principal part of the composition. To this conclusion I am irresistibly led by the paragraph, which has just been quoted. "*The passion of Monarchs for their mistresses is not always fatal to their own honour, or to the happiness of their people!*" Very honourable, indeed, must be the character of that Monarch, who is an *adulterer*; and great the happiness of his people, especially of those, who are intelligent and virtuous, when they find this to be his character. "*The moment, when a nation most dreads, and abhors, the dominion of a mistress, is when they see in it the result of luxurious habits, rather than of passion; the feverish want of a decayed constitution, rather than the honest demands of nature and imagination.*" Lewdness then, it seems, that putrefaction of the *human mind*; that sin of *Sodom*; that sin, to pour upon which the vengeance of an angry God, an angel summoned from heaven a storm of fire and brimstone, and emptied its terrible magazines of destruction upon that abandoned city; lewdness, raised to the infamous excess of adultery; lewdness, changed into an incurable habit of adultery; faced with bronze; and, in an open, shameless concubinage, proclaiming to the world its indelible, and hopeless infamy;" is, What? "*The honest demands of nature and imagination.*" Such is the decision of this Reviewer of *Sodom*. What is the sentence of his Creator? Of *the strange woman* he says, "None, that go in unto her, turn again; neither take they hold of the paths of life."

Surely, Sir, these declarations of Mr. Jeffrey could have come from the mouth of no man, except a descendant from this ancient and honourable family. The brute must have predominated, in the writer, over the man; and held the pen, as well as controuled

the heart, when this effusion of animalism was poured out upon the world.

I have some knowledge of this man, Sir. He formerly wrote a criticism on Lord *Byron's* "Hours of Idleness," in which are found the following observations.

"The poesy of this young Lord belongs to the class, which neither Gods nor men are said to permit. Indeed, we do not recollect to have seen a quantity of verse, with so few deviations from that exact standard. *His effusions are spread over a dead flat, and can no more get above or below the level, than if they were so much stagnant water.*"

Again. "With this view we must beg leave seriously to assure him, that the mere rhyming of the final syllable, even when accompanied by the presence of a certain number of feet; nay, although (which does not always happen) those feet should scan regularly, and have been all accurately counted on the fingers—is not the whole art of poetry. We should entreat him to believe, that a certain portion of liveliness, somewhat of fancy, is necessary to constitute a poem; and that a poem in the present day, to be read, must contain at least one thought, either in a little degree different from the ideas of former writers, or differently expressed."

And again. "But whatever judgment may be passed on the poems of this noble minor, it seems we must take them as we find them: for they are the last we shall ever have from him." [Poor *Jeffrey!* Happy, thrice happy wouldest thou have been, had thy prediction been fulfilled.] "Therefore we must take what we get, and be thankful. What right have we, poor devils, to be nice? We are well off to have got

so much from a man of this Lord's station, who does not live in a garret, but "has the sway" of *Newstead Abbey*. Again, we say, Let us be thankful; and with honest *Sancho*, bid God bless the giver, nor look the gift-horse in the mouth."

But alas! Lord *Byron* would not let the prophecy be fulfilled. In an ill-omened hour, when, I presume, the Raven was heard to flap his wing; and the Screech-Owl, lodged in the hollow of some oracular oak, uttered her shrill and melancholy cries; the Noble bard, moved by *Jeffrey's* evil genius, wrote the following cauterizing verses.

"Health to immortal *Jeffrey!* once, in name,
 England could boast a judge almost the same,
 In soul so like, so merciful, yet just,
 Some think that Satan had resigned his trust,
 And given the spirit to the world again,
 To sentence letters, as he sentenced men.
 With hand less mighty, but with heart as black,
 With voice, as willing to decree the rack;
 Bred in the court betimes, though all, that law
 As yet hath taught him, is to find a flaw.
 Since well instructed in the patriot school
 To rail at party, though a party tool,
 Who knows? if chance his patrons should restore
 Back to the sway, they forfeited before,
 His scribbling toils some recompense may meet,
 And raise this *Daniel* to the judgment seat.
 Let *Jeffries'* shade indulge the pious hope,
 And greeting thus, present him with a rope:
 "Heir to my virtues! man of equal mind!
 Skill'd to condemn, as to traduce Mankind,
 This cord receive! for thee reserv'd with care,
 To wield in judgment, and at length to wear."

"Health to great *Jeffrey!* Heaven preserve his life,
 To flourish on the fertile shores of Fife,

And guard it sacred in his future wars,
 Since authors sometimes seek the field of Mars!
 Can none remember that eventful day,
 That ever glorious, almost fatal fray,
 When *Little's* leadless pistol met his eye,
 And Bow-street myrmidons stood laughing by?
 Oh! day disastrous! on her firm-set rock,
 Dunedin's castle felt a secret shock;
 Dark rolled the sympathetic waves of Forth,
 Low groan'd the startled whirlwinds of the North,
 Tweed ruffled half his waves to form a tear,
 The other half pursued its calm career;
Arthur's steep summit nodded to its base,
 And surly Tolbooth scarcely kept her place;
 The Tolbooth felt, for marble sometimes can,
 On such occasions feel as much as man—
 The Tolbooth felt defrauded of her charms,
 If *Jeffrey* died, except within her arms;
 Nay, last not least, on that portentous morn
 The sixteenth story, where himself was born,
 His patrimonial garret fell to ground,
 And pale Edina shuddered at the sound;
 Strew'd were the streets around with milk-white reams,
 Flowed all the Canon-gate with inky streams;
 This of his candour seemed the sable dew;
 That of his valour show'd the bloodless hue;
 And all with justice deem'd the two combin'd
 The mingled emblems of his mighty mind.
 But Caledonia's goddess hovered o'er
 The field, and saved him from the wrath of *Moore*;
 From either pistol snatched the vengeful lead,
 And straight restored it to her favourite's head.
 The head, with greater than magnetic power,
 Caught it as Danae caught the golden shower,
 And, though the thickening dross will scarce refine,
 Augments it's ore, and is itself a mine.
 "My son," she cried, "ne'er thirst for gore again,
 Resign the pistol, and resume the pen;
 O'er politics and poesy preside;
 Boast of thy country, and Brittannia's guide!

For long as Albion's heedless sons submit,
 Or Scottish taste decides on English wit,
 So long shall last thine unmolested reign,
 Nor any dare to take thy name in vain." "

What was the consequence of this stinging application to the sensibilities of the redoubtable Reviewer? Learn it from his own words, in a subsequent Review on "Broughton's Letters from a Mahratta Camp," October, 1813.

"To publish verses is become a sort of evidence, that a man wants sense: which is repelled not by writing good verses, *but by writing excellent verses;—by doing what Lord Byron has done;—by displaying talents, great enough to overcome the disgust, which proceeds from satiety, and showing that all things may become new under the reviving touch of genius.*"

Pray, Sir, what do you think, was the reason of this wonderful change? Whence was it, that a Poet, *whose effusions were spread over a dead flat, and could no more get above or below the level than if they had been so much stagnant water,*" all at once "*possessed talents, great enough to overcome the disgust, which proceeds from satiety, and showed that all things may become new under the reviving touch of Genius?*" The answer to these queries is at hand. The Noble Poet had brandished his cat-o'-nine-tails with such force and dexterity, that this descendant of the ancient family feels the tingling to the present hour. Rely upon it, Sir, there was never one of this breed, who could be operated upon, to any valuable purpose, in any other manner. Insolent, and abusive, to all other men; barking at every stranger, whom they see; they will instantly drop their ears, and

smooth their shag, at the sight, and peculiarly under the administration, of a switch.

When this man, (I would fain call him a gentleman if I could do it with a clear conscience,) was in the United States, a little while since, having with Mr. *Madison* the reputation of being a thorough-going Jacobin, he was permitted to charter a ship, and return with it to *Europe*: a privilege, repeatedly refused by our liberal minded Government to native *Americans*, of unimpeachable character. On board this ship Col. *Barclay* proposed to send back to their native country a number of *British* prisoners. His right to do this was not disputed by our Champion; but he insisted, that he himself would select the persons. The Consul coolly told him, that this could not be permitted; but that they must be received according to their equitable claims. Our Reviewer replied by way of answer to Col. *Barclay's* declaration; "Sir, I am a man of Consideration in my own country. In my own country, Sir, I am a man of Consideration."

I did not for some time conjecture what was the meaning of this interesting declaration. I knew that our Champion was a lawyer by profession, and thought, that, perhaps he might be a lawyer of some eminence. But Lord *Byron* has said, and it is presumed, that no man, within the reach of his cat-o'-nine-tails, will dare to deny it; certainly not our Reviewer—

"All, that law
As yet hath taught him, is to find a flaw."

In this quandary I alighted upon the story of our Reviewer's duel with *Anacreon Moore*, alluded to in

the quotation above; which dispelled my perplexity at once. These two Champions of the quill, it seems, after a most chivalrous rencontre with their proper weapons, and making most formidable discharges of ink at each other, resolved to try their luck with weapons, in the use of which they were not such veterans. Accordingly, they appeared one morning at *Chalk Farm*; each with a brace of pistols. The *Bow-street* officers, having smelt the rat, were on the ground almost as soon, as the champions; and stayed, rudely I presume, all further proceedings. These interlopers had the curiosity to examine the pistols, and found them absolutely *bulletless*. "Now, Sir, it was "consideration" only; (I protest against every suspicion, that it was want of courage;) I say it was "consideration" only, that induced Mr. *Jeffrey* and Mr. *Moore* to fight a duel without bullets.

Thus, Sir, our Reviewer was "a man of Consideration in his own country:" and, had he fought a duel here; he would undoubtedly have been "a man of Consideration," also, in the United States.

I will close my business with Mr. *Jeffrey*, for the present, by subjoining one more quotation from Lord *Byron*. It is from the Postscript to his "English Bards and Scotch Reviewers." As Mr. *Jeffrey* has long since determined, that the *Americans* are destitute of genius, he certainly cannot find fault with us for making the best use we can of *British* genius, in our own defence. "My northern friends," says his Lordship, "have accused me, with justice, of personality towards their great literary Anthropophagus. *Jeffrey*; but what else was to be done with him, and his dirty pack, who feed by "lying and slandering," and slake their thirst by "evil speaking?" I have stated facts already well

known, and of *Jeffrey's* mind, I have stated my free opinion: nor has he thence sustained any injury. *What scavenger was ever soiled by being pelted with mud?*"

Your next attack, after quoting a paragraph in the *New England Palladium*, advertising a stolen book;* and making a few observations upon the impropriety of garbling editions of your books, and altering some of your plays, so as to suit the *American* taste; is upon the *Language of the United States*. By the way, do none of your countrymen ever steal books? If they do not; and we are to believe "*Colquhoun's Police of London*" and his "*Police of the Thames*;" books are the only things, which some or other of them do not steal. Here you accuse us of forming projects to get rid of the *English* language; "not," you say, "merely by barbarizing it, but by abolishing it altogether, and substituting a new language of our own." As specimens, you inform us, that "one person had recommended the adoption of the *Hebrew*; and another, a Scotchman, of the name of *Thornton*, had projected to murder the *English* orthography by turning the *e* topsy-turvy, dotting the *i* underneath, and adding a few pothooks and ladles, &c." Pray, Sir, do you think this story was worth telling? Do you believe the application of it to the people of the *United States* just? If not; can you vindicate yourself from the charge of dishonesty in insinuating, that they were concerned in such a project? From you have I first learned the existence of either of those projects: and I presume, that ninety-nine, out of a hundred, and

* Were I to glean the *English* character from the *London* newspapers, by picking out the scandalous articles, it would shame even slander herself to repeat it.

more probably nine hundred and ninety-nine, out of a thousand, *Americans*, never heard of either.

Are there no foolish projects in *Great Britain*? Did not good Bishop *Wilkins* project a scheme to fly? And are there not other Scotchmen, beside *Thornton*, who have acted like fools? Why, because this stupid Scotchman crossed the Atlantic, and had no more sense than to publish these effusions of weakness here, are his silly dreams to be imputed to the people of the United States. We are as little disposed to change our language as you can be.

But you charge us with *making some words*, and *using others in a peculiar sense*; and recite a short list, belonging to both these classes. Among others the word, *guess*, which has been mentioned by almost every *Englishman*, who has undertaken to criticise on our speech. To the first mention of it, or even the second, or third, I had no objection. The hundredth became wearisome. We use the word, *guess*, exactly as you do; with this single exception; that a moderate number of our vulgar people employ it as a *cant* word; and with full as much propriety, as vulgar *Englishmen*, and not a small number, who would disdain to be reckoned among the vulgar, use *damned* and *devilish*.

But "the President of *Yale College* talks of a *conflagrative brand*, and President *Jefferson*, of *belittling the productions of nature*." Be it so. The members of your Parliament, on the floor of debate, use the dignified words, *diddled* and *gullibility*.

We retain some words, which you have dropped; and you retain some, which we have dropped. We have made a small number of new ones. You have made

ten times more. Have not we the same rights in this respect, as you? If we have not; where is the proof?

On this subject you have been *the man*, and we, *the Lion*, in the fable. *The painting*, which is intended to prove your superiority, and our degradation, *has hitherto been done by you*. It is time, that the pencil had changed hands; and that justice should, at least in a single instance, be done to us.

The natives of the city of *London* may be supposed to use *English* as well, at least, as your people at large. Take the following specimens of their *English* from *Pegge's Anecdotes of the English Language*.

They say

Wulgularity for

Necessuated

Curoosity

Unpossible

Leastwise

Shay

Po-shay

Aggravate

A conquest (of people)

Commandement

Attackted

Gownd

Partender

Bachelor

Obstropolous

Argufy

Scrupulosity

Common-Garden

Pee-aches

Kingsington

Kiyer

Vulgarity,

Necessitated,

Curiosity,

Impossible,

At least,

Chaise,

Post-chaise,

Irritate,

A concourse,

Commandment,

Attacked,

Gown,

Partner,

Bachelor,

Obstreperous,

Signify,

Scruple,

Covent-garden,

Piazzas,

Kensington,

Cover,

Daater	for	Daughter,
Saace		Sauce,
Saacer		Saucer,
Saacy		Saucy,
Chimly		Chimney,
Perdigious		Prodigious,
Progidy		Prodigy,
Contagious		Contiguous,
For fraid of, instead of		For fear of,
Duberous		Dubious,
Musicianer		Musician,
Squits		Quit,
Pillord		Pilloried,
Scrowdge		Crowd, (the verb.)
Squeedge		Squeeze,
To Anger (a verb)		To make angry,
Whole-tote		The whole,
Vemon		Venom,
Vemonous		Venomous,
Sermont		Sermon,
Verment		Vermin,
Palaretic		Paralytic,
Postes and posteses		Posts,
Sitti-ation		Situation,
Portingal		Portugal,
Somewheres		Somewhere,
Oftens		Often,
Nowheres		Nowhere,
Mislest		Molest,
Scholard		Scholar,
Regiment		Regimen,
Contrāry		Contrāry,
Howsomdever		However,
Whatsomdever		Whatever,

Successfully	for	Successively,
Mayoraltry		Mayoralty,
Admiraltry		Admiralty,
Commonality		Commonalty,
Proprietor, owner		Proprietor,
Non-plush'd		Non-plus'd,
Unbethought		Recollected,
Discommode		Incommode,
Colloguing		Colleaguimg,
Docity		Docility,
Drownded		Drowned,
Despisable		Despicable,
An-otomy		A Skeleton,
Paragraft		Paragraph,
Stagnated		Stagger'd,
Disgruntled		Offended,
Ruinated		Ruin'd,
Solentary		Solitary,
Ingeniously		Ingenuously,
Eminent danger		Imminent danger,
Intosticated		Intoxicated,
Perwent		Prevent,
Skrimidge		Skirmish,
Refuge		Refuse,
Nisi prisi		Nisi prius,
Taters		Potatoes,
Vocation		Vacation,
Luxurious		Luxuriant,
Loveyer		Lover,
Humourous		Humoursome,
Pottecary		Apothecary,
Nyst and Nyster		Nice, and Nicer,
Clost and Closter		Close, and Closer,
Sinst		Since,

Wonst	for	Once,
Industerous		Industrious,
Sot		Sat,
Fraggs, i. e.		Fragments,
Charácter		Cháracter,
Moral		Model,
Jocotious or Jecotious		Jocose,
Hisn, Hern		His, and Her's,
Ourn, Yourn		Ours, and Your's,
The t'other		The other,
Every wheres,		
Any-wheres,		
Any-hows,		
Some-hows,		
No-hows,		
Nolus bolus	for	Nolens volens.

Add to these *weal* for *veal*, *winegar*, *wictuals*, &c; and *vicked*, *vig*, *vind*, *veather*, &c; *neighbourwood*, *widowwood*, *knightwood*; and a great multitude of others.

Such, Sir, is the language, daily uttered in the Metropolis of *Great Britain*. "But then," says Mr. *Pegge*, "every body understands the meaning of the *Londoners*, and their language is not like the *unintelligible gabble of nine tenths of the provincial inhabitants of the remoter parts of England, which none but the natives can understand*. Bring together two clowns from *Kent* and *Yorkshire*, and I will wager a ducat, that they will not be able to converse, for want of a dialect, common to them both."

Such is the account, which a man perfectly versed in this subject, gives in a letter to a brother Antiquari-

an. Its correctness you will not dispute. How great a part of the *English* nation must speak miserable *English*: For *Yorkshire* and *Kent* are not the only counties, which furnish specimens of unintelligible gabble. Your *West-country dialect* is still worse than those of these two counties.

In the United States there is not, I presume, a descendant of *English* ancestors, whose conversation is not easily, and perfectly intelligible to every other: and nothing like a dialect can be found in this country, unless you call by this name the *German*, *Dutch*, and other foreign languages, still spoken by the Colonists, derived from those nations.

Are you not ashamed, then, with these facts before you, with this barbarous jargon sounding in your ears, whenever you walk through the streets of *London*, and with a full knowledge of *the unintelligible gabble of nine tenths of your provincial inhabitants, in the parts of England remote from London*, to talk with so much parade about *our* blunders? Were you to spend your life in this country, you would be unable to make such a collection, as that which is here given by Mr. *Pegge*: and nothing, remotely resembling the language ascribed by this author to your provincial inhabitants, can be found in this country.

I will now, Sir, proceed to the consideration of one subject more, and will then finish my remarks; and that is the *Reviews published in Great Britain*.

“It would, however, be an act of injustice to our readers,” says a judicious writer in the *Picture of London*, published in 1807, “were we to omit to notice in this place *the gross abuse of public Confidence, and the imposition on credulity, systematically practised by the Reviews*, and other anonymous periodical

works, which pretend to give critical opinions on the merit, or demerit, of new Publications.

“While these professed Oracles of literature *spoke the language of good manners*, and confined their observations to *honest remarks* on the contents of the books, which they affected to notice, they deserved a qualified portion of public confidence; but *the race of Scurrility, in which they have lately begun to emulate each other, and the Insults, which they add ressto the persons, and private characters, of Authors. have rendered them at once a disgrace to the moral character of the country; a gross Abuse of the liberties of the press; a scourge of genius; and a Nuisance to literature.*”

“On ordinary occasions it would be sufficient, to refute calumny, to state, that *the author of it lurked in concealment*; but *the public have been so long imposed upon by anonymous critics*, and anonymous criticism has so long been received without suspicion by the unthinking, that *it will be necessary to pursue these Critical Assassins to their Retreats*, and to exhibit clear and correct views of the description of persons, among whom they are to be found.”

“We shall, in the first instance, mention as a point of fact, which no person can honestly controvert, that *every one of the Reviews published, with perhaps not more than a single exception, is the Property, or in the pay, of some Bookseller; and is carried on for the sole purpose of praising all his own Publications, and of damning, and vilifying all those which he considers as interfering with his interests.*

“The pretended criticisms, which appear in these anonymous publications, thus improperly and corruptly influenced, are fabricated in some of the following

ways, or under the influence of some of the following abuses.

“1st. *By rival authors.*—Persons, who have themselves written on the subject, treated in a new book, which is to be noticed, being supposed by the conductors of Reviews to understand the point better than mere general scholars, are frequently employed to review works in such circumstances. - *This is the best, and perhaps the most impartial, judgment which an author ever obtains;* and a Critique by a writer on the same subject always commands in the arrangement of a Review a place of distinction. It need scarcely be stated, that an author seldom undertakes to write an anonymous critique on a rival publication, who at the same time is not unprincipled enough to vent all his envy and malice against the book, and the person, of his rival; mean enough, also, to quote his own work, with applause; and impudently contrast it with the new one. One, at least, of such articles appears in every Review, that is published; but it generally carries with it characteristic marks of jealousy and alarm, which render it easy to be singled out by readers of ordinary discernment.

“2. *By literary Adventurers, lately arrived in London from the Provinces; or by youths from some Scotch University.*—Young men, who persuade themselves, that their great talents can only have adequate display in the Metropolis, often arrive in London, without any honest means of obtaining a livelihood; and, as a first resource, tender their service to some Bookseller, who publishes a Review. Here their stock of Latin and Greek is generally placed in requisition; and, till a more honourable mode of existence presents itself, these striplings hire themselves, at two

or three guineas per printed sheet of 16 pages, to write opinions on all manner of subjects; and under the mask of the important, and oracular, "WE" make the credulous part of the public believe them qualified to insult every man of genius and learning in the country.

"3. *By bankrupt Authors; the Inmates of Newgate, the Fleet, and the King's bench. Half of the anonymous Criticisms, which appear, are written in the Prisons of the Metropolis.* Some Reviews have been solely written, and conducted, by knots of imprisoned critics. No method of supporting existence in confinement is more easy, and more common, than the business of reviewing. It lately happened, that, during several months, the editors of two rival Reviews chummed together in one room in the Fleet prison; and by their respective efforts produced two critical journals of great authority among the opposite partizans of Aristocracy and Democracy: The late *Dr. Bisset*, who in the last years of his life had the misfortune to pass several months in the King's bench prison, boasted to the writer of this article, and to some other friends, that he could produce two sheets, or earn six guineas in a single day by reviewing; and that, as he had interest to obtain the insertion of different articles, relative to the same book, in various reviews, he could rely on an income from these labours of full six guineas per week during his confinement. One of his friends, who was not before in the secret of this trade, exclaimed, "But how can you read the books, Doctor; so as to write two sheets of criticism on them in a day?" "Read the books, man?" said the Doctor; "read them? Why do you think a re-

viewer reads the books? That shews you know nothing about the matter.”*

“4. *By personal Friends, or Enemies, of the different Authors.*—The system of anonymous reviewing renders every review a masked battery, which is played according to the party of those, who occupy it, either on an Author by his enemies, or on the public by his Friends. Any Author, who stoops to so wretched a degradation, may influence in his own favour every criticism, that appears respecting his work, by Concessions, by Bribery, or by employing some known reviewer to tender his services for the occasion among the various reviews.†

* If any corroboration of this point was requisite, in addition to the statement, which will be found in the note, in page 153, an appeal, at proper opportunities, might be made to those, who have, professionally, a peep in some small degree behind the curtain. A Review is a constant laughing stock in the office, where it is printed. Let any journey-man printer, who has been some months employed on one, tell how many of the books, noticed in it, have passed through his hands, in which, actually, none of the leaves had been cut open, except the very passages to be copied, the table of contents, and the index: or rather, what will be infinitely less troublesome to him, and may be comprised in a very few recollections, let him tell how many were not in that condition. Hence the eternal complaints in Reviews, whenever a volume is published without an index, or a table of contents.

The Reviewers are well acquainted with the remark made by *Pope*,

*“That index learning turns no student pale,
But holds the eel of science by the tail.”*

† A few months ago the writer of these remarks, who has himself played a principal part in this Farce of anonymous criticism, was applied to, on the following occasion, by an old friend, a physician in the west of *England*, who had some time previously published a medical work, of considerable merit and originality. Dr. *A.* had for several years practised in a large market town; and had secured the confidence of an extensive connexion. A young physioian from *Edinburgh*, had lately settled in the same place; who, having previously passed a winter in *London*, had there continued his acquaintance with some young fellow students, who from necessity had engaged themselves, at three guineas per sheet, to write in certain reviews. Dr. *A.* at the time of finding a competitor in this stripling, was engaged on the last chapter of a work, upon which he had been occupied, at intervals, for many years, and which was published in the following winter. The youth, who on account of the established reputation of Dr. *A.* had obtained little practice, rejoiced at the announcement of this work, as offering an opportunity, by

“On the contrary, any virulent enemy of an Author may wreak his malice by communicating gratuitous criticisms to the Reviewers; some of whom do not scruple to receive, and insert, such articles from per-

which he might avail himself of his reviewing connexion, so as to write down, and depreciate, the skill and science of Dr. A. He accordingly obtained from one of his friends a promise, that such articles, as he might send up, should be inserted in several of the Reviews. Dr. A. who had for many years unsuspectingly read the Reviews, as authorities not to be questioned, inspected them with particular anxiety after the appearance of his book. At length a number, which contained one of the articles written by his rival, fell in his way: and the worthy physician was overwhelmed with mortification to find himself treated as an Empiric, a Blockhead, and an Hypothesis-monger; as one, whose patients, if he had any, were objects of pity; and who was himself to be pitied for the injury, he had done himself and his family by such an exposure of his ignorance. It will be easier to conceive than to describe the mingled emotions of this worthy man, on finding himself so basely misrepresented; but let the reader imagine the anguish of his feelings, when one of his friends brought in a hand-bill, which had the same morning been circulated through the neighbourhood, containing an extract from this very criticism, and referring to the review, published in *London*, as the authority. He found, that the Apothecary, in connexion with the new Physician, had been very industrious in this business; but he was too little acquainted with the arcana of anonymous criticism, to suspect who might be the author. Like an ingenuous man of letters, he printed a reply: but this only made his case the worse; for the dark insinuations, and the broad and coarse assertions, of his concealed opponent were too strong, and too operative on the minds of those who read them, to be repelled by cool argument, and by the ordinary language of a well educated gentleman. In the mean time a literary friend of the Doctor's, who knew something of the profligacy of criticism, convinced him, that the article respecting his book was the production of some enemy; and that it would probably meet with similar treatment in some of the other Reviews, if he did not exert himself to prevent it. It was therefore determined as the securest plan to avoid the mischief, that the Doctor should visit the Metropolis, and through the means of his friends there, obtain an introduction to the proprietors, and publishers, of the Reviews. The first place, he drove to, was the house of the narrator of these facts; and they spent two days *in searching for, treating, and bribing, the hirelings, who write for, or superintend, those journals.* The result was, that *the Doctor obtained permission to send such accounts of his book, as might be written by himself, or his immediate friends.* The Doctor was now satisfied that the former article had been the production of some enemy; and, though his soul revolted at the task, he had undertaken, yet his endeavour to defeat the malice of such a wretch stimulated him to proceed. In the course of the inquiry it appeared, that one of the new Reviews was already in possession of an article, relative to the Doctor's book; and that the writer had treated it with great severity. This information afforded a clue for the discovery of the party; but the wary editor could not be prevailed upon to shew the manuscript; nor to promise, that it should not be printed. The Doctor invited him to dinner at his hotel; treated him sumptuously; and, after the bottle had been freely circulated, the article was sent for: when, after what has been stated, the reader will not be surprised at

sons wholly unknown to them; and instances have occurred, in which with unblushing profligacy the receipt of such anonymous criticisms has been thankfully acknowledged through the public Newspapers.

“5. *By the Authors becoming their own Reviewers.* It may be affirmed without the hazard of denial, that in every number of (a) Review, that is published, there is at least one article, written by an Author on his own work. As such criticisms never cost any thing; their insertion may frequently be obtained by a suitable application of the Author, or his friends. The proprietor himself, will, under certain circumstances, receive these full and able notices; but more commonly their admission is secured by the person, to whom the examination of the book has been assigned. The article itself values, in account with the proprietor, at a certain number of pounds, shillings, and pence; and is thought by a hungry reviewer to be a good hit; especially if accompanied by a bank note, or an invitation to dinner.

“6. *By traders in Criticism.*—In London there are persons, who probably gain as much by composing separate critiques for all the Reviews on the same book, as the author who wrote it. A man of this description is generally a smatterer in some particular art, or science; and, when a new book appears on his subject, if he be not applied to by the different conductors of Reviews, he generally tenders his services, which are

learning, that the hand writing was that of the young physician, who had for some time been the Doctor's insidious rival in the country. The manuscript was confided to the Doctor, on his promising to furnish another article of equal length gratis; and undertaking to pay for fifty of the — Review, for three months to come, which he was to circulate, and recommend, in his county. On his return home, the Doctor's solicitor immediately commenced a course of legal proceedings against the young Scotchman, who, finding that he was in the Doctor's power, agreed to leave that county, on their being discontinued.

always accepted with thanks. Thus *one and the same person assumes a dozen Identities*; and by varying his language and opinions, so as to meet the character, the views, and the party, of each of his employers, *he praises, and censures, and blows hot and cold, in the same instant*. Or perhaps a book of high price, or of considerable bulk, and erudition, makes its appearance; of which, at the common price of three or four guineas per sheet, a critic, who would live by his trade, could not repay himself for the cost, and for the labour of perusal, by a single criticism: he therefore accommodates various accounts of it to the passions, and parties, of the several Reviews; and thus the labours of the whole life of some learned and ingenious authors are wholly at the mercy of this wholesale dealer in criticism; perhaps an unprincipled and malicious character; who, if known to the world, would be the last man living, whose opinion would be received as an authority on this, or any other subject whatever.

“7. *By Contracting Critics, Master Critics, or those who review by the lump*.—Several of the reviews, to save trouble to the proprietors and publishers, are undertaken, or contracted for, by one person, at so much per sheet; and this man stands engaged either to write the entire Review himself, or to get it written by others. *Delegations, two or three deep, are very common in this species of criticism*. The contracting critic receives, himself, perhaps after the rate of seven guineas per sheet; but in paying his journeymen for occasional aid he gives but three or four guineas. *The journeyman too employs a species of labourer, whose province it is to skim the book, prepare the general heads of the analysis, mark the extracts, &c. &c.*: a business which is paid for by the job, or according to the size of the book.

“8. *By the profligate Calculations of the conductors.*—It is a maxim, which is constantly acted upon in the management of a Review, *that it will not please all palates, unless it be well seasoned;* or, in the technical language of the reviewing craft, “*The Review will not sell, unless a sufficient number of authors, and their books, be regularly cut up.*” It becomes, therefore, part of the ordinary business of every conductor to take care, that *there is no deficiency of Sauce;* and to engage a few *Miscreants, well versed in the language of Billingsgate.* Accordingly, then, to the degree of honour and feeling, possessed by the conductor, or as the Review is falling or rising, in sale, it will be arranged, whether *the proportion of half, a third, or a quarter, of the books, noticed in every number, are to be vilified.* This direct ratio between the fall in sale, and scurrility of language; and between the rise in sale, and decency of language; furnishes data, by which any person may, by counting the articles of each Character, calculate at any time the Healthiness, or the Decrepitude of any Review.

“9. *By the superficial view, which the hired, and anonymous, critic takes of the books, of which he gives an opinion.*—It is a fact, which will startle some readers of these observations, but which a little attention will confirm, that *the persons who write the Monthly Catalogue in most of the Reviews, do not see half the books, which they characterize; but write their flippant notices, solely from the advertisements in the newspapers.* The present or former conductors of certain reviews, may blush to see this “secret of their prison-house” go forth to the world; *but the writer pledges himself to give names, and other particulars, if the fact, to the extent he has stated, should be contradicted.* Let any person turn over the Monthly

Catalogue of various Reviews for a few months, and he will not fail to be struck with the imposition, which has been practised on him; by observing, that much above half of the silly Paragraphs, which are appended to the titles of Pamphlets, and of the other works in this part, would apply with as much propriety to most other articles in the list, as to those to which they are assigned. This is so palpable, that no more need be urged to prove the existence of this flagrant abuse of the name of Criticism. It may, however, be worth while to explain, that, as reviewers are paid by the sheet, at the rate of three, four, five, or six guineas per sixteen pages, according to their professional capacity, and experience; and, as the articles in the Monthly Catalogue seldom exceed a few lines each, these would not produce, on an average, more than eighteen pence, or two shillings, a piece; and sometimes not half of the smallest of these sums. It is absurd, therefore, to suppose, that, if Reviewers mean to gain a livelihood, they take the trouble to read, or even to seek, such unproductive trash.*

* A picture from the life will illustrate this abuse better than a multitude of observations. A principal Reviewer, possessed of more learning than prudence, had been surrendered by his bail to the custody of the Marshal of the Fleet. From one of the Attics of that Dormitory of disappointed enterprise, he addressed himself to his old Friend, the bookseller in Paternoster-row; who, knowing his talents, and fearing his resentment if neglected, sent a packet of eight or ten new publications for the next month's Review. The Critic, who always composed through the medium of an Amanuensis, caused an inquiry for one to be made in the prison; and presently a young man was enlisted in his service, who was not devoid of intelligence, but hitherto a total stranger to the Mysteries, in which he was speedily to be initiated. He seated himself with his pen in his hand; when the Reviewer untied the parcel of books; and, taking up a handsome Quarto, read the title page; and, giving the volume to the Amanuensis, desired him to copy the title. While this was performing, he took several turns in the room; and, having two or three times asked impatiently whether the title was finished, he ordered the Amanuensis to write. He then dictated an opening paragraph of considerable length; in which he abused without mercy the self-conceit of the Author in supposing himself qualified for such an undertaking; enumerated the attempts, that had been made by various other Persons in the same species of writing; ascribed this Work to overweening Vanity, &c. &c. The Amanuensis was struck

“Accordingly, the fact is, that this department of the review is committed to persons, kept on the establishment, as the manufacturing expression is; who are paid a small monthly allowance, (four or five guineas,) for executing it; which is divided among them, if more than one are employed; and is issued regularly, in weekly portions, by the bookseller, every Monday morning; being then frequently sent to some gaol,

with surprise: for he perceived that not a leaf of the book had been opened; and was sensible, that the Dictator had not, till that moment, seen the work. He was however staggered in this supposition, when he again heard himself commanded to write as follows:—“The ensuing passages alone will satisfy our readers of the justice of these conclusions; but if we chose to multiply examples of presumption and absurdity, we could fill our number with the dull conceits of this blockhead!” The Reviewer now took up the volume, to seek for the passages, which were to answer this prejudication, turned over its preface rapidly, and muttered: “*This fellow’s determined to give one all the trouble, he can—No contents I see!—Index perhaps? Nor that neither!—Dies hard; but must be damned for all that.*”—He then angrily turned over the leaves from beginning to end; read the heads of some of the chapters; and at length exclaimed, “Yes, I have it. Write, Sir. Begin page 273, “At the same instant, that,” to 278, at “hitherto proceeded.”” Now with the rapidity of lightning opening the volume further on, “Write,” he resumed, “This opinionated gentleman, not satisfied with differing from every writer, who has preceded him, from *Aristotle to Rousseau*, has chosen to refute all his own doctrine by the following whimsical positions. Peace to his spirit! We hope never to wade through such another Augean stable; but long-suffering is the lot of our fraternity.—Begin page 417, “with this view,” to page 420, at “broad basis.” And again, page 432, “It is well known,” to page 435, at “indispensably necessary.” We should have pitied the unfortunate publisher who ignorantly embarked his money in this wretched performance, if the fellow had not the impudence to fix the price of three half guineas on a volume, which, after a patient examination, we can pledge ourselves, is not worth three farthings.” Thus ended the Review of this work, which has since passed through several Editions; and the time, spent in this fatiguing and patient investigation, was exactly twenty-five minutes.

The Reviewer now took up the next book; which he praised as extravagantly, as he had abused the other; and thus proceeded through the parcel, cutting open not more than twenty pages of the whole, and praising, and damning, as his Caprice, or some secret Feeling, suggested; or just as it seemed to suit the humour of the moment. *The time, spent in thus characterizing, in dogmatical and vehement language, two Quartos, five Octavos, two Duodecimos, and two Pamphlets, was about two hours and half!* The Amanuensis, on turning afterwards to the highly reputed Review, in which these elaborate criticisms were displayed, found, that they occupied one third of the Number! He declined any further participation in so disgraceful an employment, and has since communicated the above Facts to various persons, and among others to the writer of these remarks.

like the creditors' sixpences, which become due on that day; or given to some of the upper assistants in the booksellers' shops, who are sometimes employed at this business in their spare hours. Such being a correct description of the persons, and the practices, of those who write anonymous criticisms, is it to be wondered at, that these people uniformly deny their craft; and that a greater insult cannot be offered to one of these pioneers of Grubstreet, than to insinuate, that he writes for any review? Not only is the practice disavowed by the whole fraternity, but if you knew a man to be a scribbler in reviews, and were to ask if he wrote an article, in itself meritorious, he would deem even this an insult, never to be forgiven! It is true that some reviewers are well known: but these are generally either young in the trade, and not yet acquainted with the infamy, attached to it; or coxcombs, whose vanity supersedes every other feeling. Boys at school, and half informed people in the country, consult these oracles with so much unsuspecting credulity, that a Stripling from a *Scotch* University, who is admitted to perform the lowest offices in these Temples of Imposition, considers himself as having become part of the Godhead, and gives himself *Airs* accordingly.*

“There is, however, one class of men, who give occasional countenance to Reviewers without intending the mischief, which they thus assist in perpetrating. *These are certain vain Pedants at our Universities*; who, knowing little of the world, consider Reviews as exactly what they appear to be; and having no readier means of displaying their knowledge of particular sub-

*A certain *Northern Review* is now written chiefly in *London* by young men, who have but just finished their attendance on their University Lectures; and the oldest of them is said not to exceed five and twenty years of age.

jects are often flattered by having some abstruse Work committed to them by the conductor of the Review. Tickled by this kind of compliment, they cannot conceal it from certain intimates, who circulate the fact in the university, that Dr. — writes for the — Review; and thus half the world are led to suppose, that Reviews are written, *con amore*, by men of real honour and learning. Professors in universities ought to beware of thus becoming the dupes of their vanity, by enlisting themselves *among a race of impostors, as base and unprincipled as ever disgraced society*. Their names, and their talents, ought to be reserved for worthier purposes, than that of giving countenance to *hired, and anonymous defamation*.

“Conclusion. The obvious inference from all, that has been stated, is this; that the great Vice of Reviewing exists in the concealment of the Writers; and that, while anonymous Criticism is tolerated, it is impossible even for a conductor, who is a man of integrity, to guard against its corruptions, and its abuse.

“*A learned and gentlemanly Critic* would be able, though he signed his name to his criticism, to perform ample justice to an author, and the public. *He could not adopt the impertinent, arrogant, and boasting style of the present contemptible race of Anonymous Reviewers*; but his Inferences and Opinions, would be received with Respect; the Public would be enlightened; and Error and Imposition would be corrected and exposed. Authors could assure themselves, *that their books were seen, and read, before they were decided upon*, and the public would appreciate justly the value of a decision, thus made, and thus guaranteed.

“Those, who contend that Critics, under such a system, dare not do their duty, either do not understand what is meant by the word Criticism; or do not con-

sider what was the object of Reviews. Our essayists, from *Addison* to *Cumberland* and *Knox*, afford specimens of criticism, such as no Man could have cause to disown, and such as would always be received with avidity by the public. *True literary Criticism in the hands of real Scholars is the opposite of every thing, that characterizes our modern Reviews;* it never searches for personal anecdotes of Authors, or confounds in its Disquisitions his Foibles, or Weaknesses, with the merits of his performance; it never magnifies blemishes, shuts its eye to beauties, becomes the tool of a party, either political or literary, misquotes, delights in abusive and violent epithets, or arrogates its own infallibility! It is, in a word, a liberal science, which no honest Man need be ashamed to exercise and avow; but in the hand of *a concealed assassin it may be, (and unfortunately is,) converted to the most destructive and diabolical purposes.* True Criticism, like Charity, "suffereth long and is kind; envieth not; vaunteth not itself; is not puffed up; doth not behave itself unseemly; seeketh not her own; (is not selfish;) is not easily provoked; thinketh no evil; rejoiceth not in iniquity, but rejoiceth in the truth."

"Yet as the vice exists chiefly in the anonymous character of the system, the moral views of the Conductor of every Review are not intended to be called in question. One or two of those gentlemen are known to be *men of character;* who would not wilfully participate in the grosser Abuses of the reviewing trade: but those Abuses are too inherent in the system to be successfully guarded against; and as these gentlemen must be perfectly sensible of this Truth, *it is a Duty which they owe to the world, to affix the names of those, who write in their critical journals, to their respective articles,* in order that the public may pos-

sess the only Guarantee, which can be given of the candour and integrity of such Writers; and also that their journals may secure a continuance of that Confidence and Support, which *has hitherto been unthinkingly, and ignorantly, reposed in them.*"*

"The author of the preceding statement of facts thinks it proper to add, that in drawing it up he has been solely actuated by a love of truth, a hatred of Imposture, and a sense of duty to the literary world, and the public. No honourable or conscientious Reviewer (though the writer believes that few men of that character can long continue the employment of writing anonymous opinions on others,) will be offended at this just exposition of the misconduct of those, who abuse their office. He hopes to live to see a reformation in the system; and that, if a respectable and independent body of literary characters cannot be persuaded to

* "Next in importance to the newspapers are the works of periodical criticism, which are here called *Reviews*. Of late years it has become impossible to place any reliance upon the opinions, given by these journals; because their party spirit now extends to every thing. Whatever be the object of a book, though as remote as possible from all topics of political dissention, it is judged of according to the politics of the author: for instance, one of these journals has pronounced it to be jacobinical to read Hebrew without points. There are other reasons, why there is so little fair criticism. Many, perhaps the majority, of these literary censors, are authors themselves; and as such in no very high estimation with the public. Baboons are said to have an antipathy to men; and *these, who are the baboons of literature, have the same sort of hatred to those, whose superiority they at once feel and deny*. You are not, however, to suppose, that the general character of these journals is that of undeserved severity: they have as many to praise as to blame; and their commendations are dealt upon the same principle, or want of principle, as their censures. England is but a little country; and the communication between all its parts is so rapid, the men of letters are so few, and the circulation of society brings them all so often to London, as the heart of the system, that they are all directly, or indirectly, known to each other. A writer is praised because he is a friend, or a friend's friend; or he must be condemned for a similar reason. *For the most part the praise of these critics is milk and water, and their censure sour small beer*. Sometimes, indeed, they deal in stronger materials; but then *the oil, which flattery lays on, is train oil, and it stinks: and the dirt which Malevolence throws, is ordure; and it sticks to her own fingers.*" *Espriella*. Letter 56.

If Mr. Southey wrote the Review of *Inchiquin*, I request him to read this passage in *Espriella* with attention.

sanction a Review by their names, *the public contempt of anonymous and systematic scurrility* will render it harmless and unprofitable."

How greatly are mankind indebted to this frank, honest-hearted writer for these disclosures; for opening to the day-light this den of *Cacus*; and exhibiting the deformed beings which it contains; the robberies, which they perpetrate upon the reputation, the peace, and the principles of their fellow men; the foul spirit, by which they are governed; and the fire and smoke poured out upon the world by these collections of banditti. What a story are we told, when we are informed by this Writer, that we are indebted to *bankrupts, and inmates of Newgate, the Fleet, and King's Bench prisons for half the anonymous criticisms, that is, for half of all, which is contained in the Reviews, published in Great Britain; and that some whole Works, under this name, have been solely written and conducted by knots of imprisoned critics: a set of scoundrels, whom the Justice of your country has driven from among mankind, and confined by bolts and grates. From such wretches what could a sober man expect but just such Reviews, as those, with which Great Britain deluges the world? I do not deny, that among these efforts there are now and then specimens of talents, and in a few instances of superiour talents; but those of candour, common honesty, and common decency are lamentably rare. Amid all the base reflections, cast upon the people of the United States, for their destitution of understanding, and worth, in these dirty-minded effusions of spite and ribaldry, there is not one, half so humiliating, as the fact, that the Edinburgh and Quarterly Reviews are republished in this country.*

Among the remarkable things, for which the world is indebted to this Writer, the information that *these dictators in the empire of learning and taste do not even read the books which they professedly review.* "Read the books, man?" said Dr Bisset to his friend; "read them? Why do you think that a Reviewer reads the books? That shews, that you know nothing about the matter." I hope my own countrymen will remember, that the accounts, so magisterially given in these receptacles of folly and falsehood concerning the various works, which they hash with so little decency, are given without reading the works themselves; sentences, pronounced before the cause is argued, the witnesses heard, or the prisoner even known, by a Jury, packed, bought, and perjured. How different from all this are the fair, upright, and gentlemanly, Reviews, published in the *Christian Observer*.

In the mean time, a great part of these efforts are, it seems, *the panegyrics of the personal friends, or the invectives of the personal enemies, of the different authors reviewed.* "Any author, who will stoop to so wretched a degradation, may influence in his own favour every criticism, that appears respecting his work, by concessions, and by bribery." These volumes of iniquity are, therefore, partly made up of the despicable flattery of Toad-eaters, and partly of the snaky virulence of anonymous hatred, pouring out its vindictive malice from the burrow, in which it has hidden itself from the public eye.

But this is not all. *The author himself becomes his own Reviewer.* "It may be affirmed," says this respectable Writer, "without the hazard of denial, that in every number of a Review, that is published, there is at least one article, written by an author on his own Work." Proh pudor! A pretty employment, in-

deed, for a decent man to peruse a series of panegyric observations upon a book, and to learn in the end, that they are the miserable, dishonest self-adulation of the author!

Nor is this all. These literary journals are conducted, to a considerable extent, by *traders in Criticism*; who compose separate Critiques on the same book, for different Reviews; praise and blame alternately; blow hot and cold with the same mouth, and at the same instant; and, if known to the world, would be the last men living, whose opinion would be received as an authority on any subject whatever.

Even all this is not enough. At all events, "*the Review is to be well seasoned, and will not sell, unless a sufficient number of authors, and their works, are cut up.*" Every conductor, it seems, as a part of his ordinary business "*takes care, that there is no deficiency of sauce; and engages a few miscreants, who are well versed in the language of Billingsgate.*" You, Sir, have the honour of being supposed to be the Patron of a Review. Permit me to ask how many of these miscreants you have engaged; or, if you have not engaged them, and this part of the business is done by a conductor under your patronage (as from your character, and station, I own I am induced to believe,) does it not seem to you, that it is time, that these miscreants were dismissed from their employment; at least that they should fight no longer behind your shield?

A considerable portion of the criticism, published in these Journals, is usually made up in a batch, styled *the Monthly Catalogue*. In the books named in this list, we are informed, "*the Reviewers do not even see one half.*" This, indeed, is only of a piece with the rest, and after what has been said demands no peculiar censure.

What a picture is here given of the literary Journals of *Great Britain?* for the *Edinburgh Review* is plainly included in the author's list, by the note, which he has added concerning it; and has too many internal proofs of belonging to this foul mass, to suffer a rational doubt of the justice of the inclusion. The whole story wears every mark of truth. The particularity, with which the iniquitous system is detailed, and the accordance of the several parts with each other, bear strong testimony to the truth of the representation. Besides, the Writer has openly defied a contradiction to his statement, and has promised, in answer to it, to *give names, and other particulars.* But no individual of this motley tribe has thought it proper to venture upon such dangerous ground. Until this shall be done, the account is to be admitted as true; and those, who are stigmatized by it, *whether in prison, or out of it,* are to be regarded as a despicable clan of marauders on the principles, the peace, and the happiness, of their fellow men.

Now, Sir, permit me to ask to which of these classes the Reviewer of *Inchiquin's* Letters belongs. Is he "*a literary Adventurer, lately arrived in London from the Provinces; or a Youth from some Scotch University?*" Is he a "*Bankrupt; an Inmate of the King's Bench, of the Fleet, or of Newgate?*" Is he "*a trader in Criticism; a Contracting critic; a Master critic;*" who employs journeymen and apprentices in his business; one of those, "*who review by the lump?*" Is he "*a Miscreant, well versed in the language of Billingsgate;*" "*a disgrace to the moral character of his country, and a nuisance to literature?*" Or has he passed through all these gradations; rolled on through the slough of scandal; and contracted continually more and deeper stains of baseness and prof-

ligacy? I will leave it to you, Sir, to answer these questions.

The remarks, which I have proposed to make on this shameful production are finished. Indulge me now in a few observations concerning the system of contempt, and abuse, so generally pursued by *English* travellers in this country, and reviewers in *Great Britain*.

Let me ask you in the first place, "*Cui bono erit?*" This question is with particular propriety addressed to you, Sir; a man of talents, a professed patriot, and a statesman. This writer asserts, that the *Americans* indulge an intense hatred towards *Great Britain*. Whence is the assertion derived? Is the proof found in the war, which our Government has declared against yours? That our Government, independently of this act, is hostile to yours, there can be no reasonable doubt, if by our Government we understand *Mr. Madison* and his minions. But even *they* did not declare war on this ground. *Mr. Madison* wanted a re-election. The *Georgians* wanted to lay hold on the *Floridas*, that they might no longer be an asylum for their runaway slaves. The people of *Tennessee* wanted to get possession of the river *Mobile*. — Those of *Kentucky* wanted to possess themselves of *Indian* lands; and those of *Ohio* wished to be delivered from the fear of savage incursions. The people of *Virginia* wished to preserve the reigning Dynasty, and to keep the throne in the regular *Virginian* succession. By all these, or by the *leaders* of all these, it was announced to *Mr. Madison*, as I verily believe, that, unless he would consent to the war, they would withhold from him their suffrages. In the mean time their great friend, the Emperor *Napoleon*, was expected to drive *Alexander* from his throne, and to overrun *Rus-*

sia with *French* Myrmidons. The Continental system was to be carried into complete execution: *Great Britain* was to supplicate, and, if possible, obtain, peace from the *French* Emperor: and then all these sorts of men were to see themselves in full possession of their wishes.

But a just and merciful God has frustrated the designs of them all. The whole project was iniquitous, and has been blasted. The Emperor *Alexander* triumphed over the monstrous force which invaded his country. The Duke of *Wellington* has delivered *Spain* and *Portugal*. The allies have redeemed Europe. *Great Britain*, at the end of a twenty-two years war, during a great part of which she has stood as a barrier against the ruin of the world, and has acquired more glory than she could ever boast before, sees herself in full possession of all her power and greatness. Even *France*, after suffering miseries which defy computation, and leave the mind, which attempts to comprehend them, lost in astonishment, is placed under a free and equitable system of government; and henceforth may, if she pleases, be happy. In all this I, and millions of my countrymen, rejoice.

But there is nothing in the *American* part of this story, which indicates any thing like a national hatred of *Great Britain*. Every part of it is a spot on our character, so far as we have been concerned in it: but the shame rests, chiefly, on a number of men, not very great; who have cheated into the adoption of it another number, which, I acknowledge, is much greater.

Your Reviewer is perfectly aware, that the people of the United States are divided into two great political parties, spread almost evenly over the whole country. The Federalists, who are a decided majority in sev-

en, if not in eight States, and are numerous in most of the others, totally exceed their antagonists in wealth, talents, reputation, and virtue. These men are, in this country, continually reproached by the Democrats for being friends to *Great Britain*. The charge is false in the sense, in which it is alleged: in a higher and more honourable sense it is true. While they are incomparably better friends to their own country than the authors of the charge, they are firmer, and better friends to yours, than any equal collection of men in the world, not included in your own dominions. They have most cordially wished you success in your contest with the enemy of mankind, and exult in your final victory. Your unjust, and unwise, measures towards this country; (for you have entered into many such measures;) they censure firmly: our injustice, and folly, towards you they reprobate still more severely, because they are more gross. But, while they know, that it is their first political duty to promote the prosperity of their own country, it will require a train of injuries, on your part, to make them hostile, or even indifferent, to that of *Great Britain*.

Yet, it is undoubtedly possible by a series of efforts, suited to the purpose, to fritter away the good will of any man, or any nation, towards any other. In private life, contempt and ill nature will usually accomplish this end within a moderate period. No alienations are more absolute than such, as are produced by these means. The sting may be extracted; but the poison will be left behind, and will there rankle for a time, to which limits cannot be easily assigned. This ill nature, this contempt, have been poured upon the *American* people for several years in torrents of abuse and falsehood. Many of the publications, in which they run, are issued again from our

presses: and many more have been imported. Both are extensively read with answering contempt, and strong feelings of indignation. If you wish us to be your enemies, proceed. The task to a spirit of bitterness will be easy; and the success certain.

The question is, however, worth a little candid and sober consideration; what will you gain by establishing a firm and enduring hostility between the people of *Great Britain* and the people of the United States? Will you promote a single interest of your own country? *Commerce* is one of its interests; the importance of which you announce to the world in almost all your laws, political regulations, and political books. On commerce a great part of your people subsist. For injuries done to your commerce many of your wars have been declared.

Some of your people have been disposed to consider us *as commercial rivals*. This opinion is built, not upon truth and good sense, but upon jealousy and avarice. The world is wide enough to furnish commercial prosperity to every nation, which will seek it with industry, enterprise and perseverance: and both you and we may labour in this field, to the utmost, with every honest exertion, without doing or suffering a single injury. A little expansion of views, united with a little equity of disposition, would teach this truth to any man capable of comprehending the subject. A war, of one year, may easily injure your commerce more than twenty years of our rivalry. War between you and us, on this ground, is of exactly the same nature with a litigation between two brothers concerning their patrimony; which, while it produces alienation, hatred and wretchedness, wastes the very property, about which they quarrel.

But there is another view of this subject, not less important to you, and more easily realized by eager and avaricious men. *We are the best customers, which you have or which you can have.* We have been so long habituated to the use of your manufactures, that we steadily prefer them to those of any other people. Our commerce with your dominions has amounted, regularly, to two thirds, or three fourths, and always to more than half, of our whole trade. Cherish it with a spirit of moderation and equity, and this proportion will not be diminished. Persecute us for a season; and it will be soon shrivelled far towards annihilation.

If proofs of this assertion are necessary; the present state of our Manufactures furnishes such as are ample. These, according to the returns, made to the Secretary of the Treasury in 1810, are estimated at more than one hundred and seventy two millions of dollars. From that period they have increased, not only beyond all example, but all belief. You may judge for yourself. All the manufactures in the State of *Rhode Island* amounted, according to this estimate, only to 4,176,074 dollars. In 1814, the Cotton manufactures of this State produced cotton goods, of the value of 8,500,000 dollars. An increase of manufactures, of many kinds, though not equally yet very great, has spread over most of this country. Many of the products of these labours are not inferior to any, of the same kinds, which are imported. This is true of *our best Cloths*: a manufacture, which has already been extended, and is now extending with a rapidity, exceeding even the sanguine expectation of projectors. The *Merino sheep*, which have multiplied here with very great success, and which, instead of depreciating, improve in our pastures, furnish a solid basis for the perpetuity of our manufacturing establishments, of this

class. Others, of many kinds have been increased with similar rapidity and similar success.

A moderate period of time, spent in mutual provocations and hostilities, will detach the people of this country from their habits of using British manufactures, and rivet their attachment to their own. When it is remembered, that this country abounds, or may easily abound, in materials of almost every kind for the exercise of manual ingenuity; that we have wood, iron, leather, wool, cotton, flax, hemp, grain, tobacco, salt-petre, sulphur, dyeing materials, all the kinds of earths, and every useful species of stone; particularly, immense quantities, and very beautiful varieties, of marble; that silk is already made here in considerable quantities, as easily, and of as good a quality, as in *Italy*; that mines of various metals are discovered almost every year; that we have mill-streams, sufficiently numerous to supply water-works of every kind for several such countries; that we have invented, and adopted, many modes of abridging labour, and that every such mode is a benefit to the whole community, without being injurious to a single individual; and that we have sufficient capital, ingenuity, enterprise, and perseverance, to carry into execution every thing of this nature, which can be of importance to our prosperity: when these things are remembered by a discreet Englishman, he will believe without much difficulty, that we shall soon find both our interests, and our prejudices, advantageously consulted by preferring the fruits of our own labour even to those of British industry.

There is another point of view, in which the importance of these considerations is still more strongly illustrated. In the year 1810, the people of the United States amounted to more than seven millions. In

twenty five years they will amount to fourteen millions: at least they have hitherto increased in this proportion. In twenty five years, therefore, our consumption of your manufactures, if the natural course of things should be uninterrupted, will be double. In fifty years it will be quadrupled. In seventy five, we shall take off all the superfluous products of your industry. Such a source of custom was never before opened to any nation in the world. It will be unwise in your Statesmen to promote, either in your people, or in ours, any dispositions, or any efforts, which may prevent, or seriously disturb, a progress of things, of which you may avail yourselves with so much ease, and so much benefit.

The Returns, which we make for your manufactures, are more useful to you than any other. They are either money, or raw materials, on which the industry of your people is to operate; essential to their prosperity, and even to their support; furnished on better terms than you could obtain them elsewhere; many of them inexhaustible; and some of them not otherwise attainable without a considerable sacrifice. Were the decision of this question left to a sober merchant, common sense would teach him irresistibly, that a voluntary relinquishment of such advantages would be little less than lunacy.

You will perhaps reply, that the causes of such an event lie with *us*, and not with *you*. As proof, that the assertion is just, you will probably allege the measures of our Government, and particularly its declaration of war against you. I readily allow, that the allegation is plausible, and that to an *Englishmen* it may very naturally appear decisive. Still it is unsound: and if you and your countrymen understood the real state of things on this side of the Atlantic, you

would acknowledge it to be unsound. Mr. *Jefferson* and Mr. *Madison* are unquestionably hostile to *Great Britain*. Their measures have proved this so clearly, that to doubt it would be an insult to one's own understanding, and to question it, to the understanding of others. But they have been less hostile to you than to us: and a conviction of this truth has spread very far among their own adherents. Except the Missions of *Pike, Lewis, and Clark*, to explore the *Mississippi* and *Missouri*, there is not a single measure originated by either, during the fourteen years of their reign, which has reflected the least credit upon their character, or produced the least benefit to the United States. Mr. *Jefferson*, indeed, sent a fleet, which he truly styled "the least competent force," to humble the insolence of the Bashaw of *Tripoli*: but had not *Preble* and *Eaton* transcended his orders, and with an elevation of character, of which he never formed a conception, accomplished what he never intended, nor believed to be possible; the Bashaw would have laughed at Mr. *Jefferson*, and continued his depredations on our commerce, and our seamen, to the present hour. The truth is; Mr. *Jefferson*, though possessed of considerable ingenuity, and a good deal of cunning, is absolutely destitute of wisdom, as well as of principle; of that sound, practical good sense, which alone has ever been of any use to mankind in the management of either their public or their private affairs. Of Mr. *Madison* it is enough to say, that, without the cunning of his Master, he has humbly trodden in his steps. If the art of governing consisted in originating, or defending, abstract propositions, or general principles, Mr. *Madison* would not have been without his share of reputation among rulers. But as it actually consists in the exercise of practical good sense

and skill in the business of man, directed, as well as prompted, by a public, and not a party, spirit; no niche will ever be furnished for his reception among respectable men of this character.

Still, they have been useful instructors to the *American* people. Mr. *Jefferson* has taught us, that Infidelity is an unprofitable spirit, and cunning an unprofitable guide, in the management of national interests. Mr. *Madison*, as well as his Master, has strongly exhibited the visionary nature of theoretical speculations in the public concerns of mankind. From both, also, have we learned, that far other moral dispositions, than such as are possessed by these gentlemen, are necessary in the Ruler, who is to do good to his country. Mr. *Jefferson* found this country, as he says, "*in the full tide of successful experiment:*" under his administration, and that of his successor, these overflowing waters have all receded, and left their channel bare.

But we shall not always be ruled by such men, as these. Their measures have already wearied the confidence, and nearly exhausted the patience, even of party spirit, blind and bigoted as it is. Like other nations we shall, at times, have good Rulers: and the community will in the end, like other communities, vibrate back to sobriety and common sense. The present generation of *Americans* may not, indeed, cease to be politically infatuated: the next will see all these things in their true light; and be astonished, that they were not thus seen by their fathers. They will discern, from the experiment, which we have made, what half of the existing generation perfectly understood before, that *the United States have not, and cannot have, any possible interest in making an offensive war; that neither their situation, nor the nature of their government, permit them to engage in such a*

war; and that all their prosperity is involved in the continuance of peace. These truths every impartial American has long since understood; and they are now extensively believed even by prejudice itself.

The present war, therefore, and the present Rulers, furnish no solid evidence, that even our Government will be permanently hostile to yours; much less that the Nation will feel this hostility.

The character of your nation is well understood on this side of the Atlantic. By a great part of the people of the United States full justice is done to your talents and your worth, your institutions and your efforts. We know, that you are a great nation, and have achieved distinguished glory in many ways, and those of supreme importance. But we do not think, that you have any knack at making friends. You form too high an estimate of your own importance to suffer you to be agreeable to others; loftily claim the respect, which other nations solicit; and receive it as a tribute, where other nations receive it as a proof of civility. In their books, and in their conversation, *Englishmen* are, more than any people, busied in comparing themselves with other nations, and whatever is contained in *England* with the same or similar things, found in other countries. The result of this comparison is almost always in favour of themselves, and of whatever is theirs. Their climate, their soil, their weather, their productions, their talents, their institutions, their religion, their church, their manners, their morals, are all better than the same things in any other country. They, only, are clean, and neat, in their persons, and houses. They, only, have good beef. Their peaches, under a half frosty sun, are better than those of the United States, with all the advantages which the finest seasons can give; and a Scotchman, rioting on the

rich fruits of this country, will gravely inform you, that *they are not so gude, as those, which grow in the garden of the Duke of Argyle.* American apples are exported to England in great quantities; and are cried in your markets at high prices; yet an *Englishman*, sojourning in the United States, pronounces without hesitation, that they are far inferiour to the apples of his own country. An *Englishman*, not long since travelling in the State of *New York*, stopped at an inn in *Poughkeepsie*. Here he called for a beef steak; and at the same time complained bitterly, that he had not found a single good dish, of this kind, since he had been in *America*. The inn-keeper told him, that he would give him one: and going into the kitchen, ordered the cook to sprinkle the steak with sulphur. The *Englishman* pronounced it delicious.

This comparison occupies a great part of the conversation of your countrymen; and is regularly made with haughty airs, and in an imperious style; and, however pleasant to him, who makes it, is not apt to be very agreeable to others. Were we to receive it tamely, we should deserve the contempt, which you heap upon us with so much liberality.

Nor is this insolence exhibited to *us* only. — Your treatment of other nations is seasoned with the same spicery. Wherever it exists, it is felt, resented, and remembered. The last *Englishman*, whom we have seen, has treated us in this manner: we expect the same treatment from the next; and are not often disappointed. *I never knew friends made by this conduct.* *Frenchmen*, known to possess scarcely a twentieth part of your honesty, and inferiour to you in every other respectable attribute, beside civility, will secure many friends, where you only make enemies.

How will you justify this imperious spirit, and behaviour? Look at the picture, which I have drawn of your character as a people, from your own books; and those, of unquestionable authority. Can you see in it any reasons even to palliate this insolence? The stains are numerous, and dark: while I cheerfully acknowledge the ground-work to be bright. The SAVIOUR of mankind, when solicited by the *Pharisees* to condemn a miserable woman, apprehended in the commission of adultery, directed "him, who was without sin" among them, to cast the first stone at this culprit. When your nation has cleansed itself, it will be soon enough for you to stone others.

In spite of all your contempt, and of all your aspersions, the inhabitants of the *American States* will, in the ordinary course of Providence, become a numerous, and, permit me to say, a great and prosperous nation. Our advantages of situation, soil, and climate, of manners, laws, morals, and religion, are such, whatever *your Reviewers*, and *your Travellers*, may think concerning us, that we shall multiply, increase in strength, improve in arts and knowledge, and, I hope, advance in morals, to such a degree, as to compel other nations to respect us; even if we should continue to be hated and despised by you.

You will say, perhaps, that *our government is bad*. Yours, during a great part of your national existence, has been worse. You have made it, in your own opinion, the best in the world. Time may enable us to improve ours. You assert, that *our Rulers are weak and wicked*. You have had many such. We, as well as you, may at times have better. You censure us for our party spirit. Look at your own people, arrayed against each other under the banners of *York and Lancaster*; and pouring out the blood of

one hundred thousand men, to determine the important question, Whether the White, or the Red, Rose should prevail; and then remember, that in our party janglings not a life has hitherto been lost, except that of the brave General *Lingan*: a martyr to the violence of just such a mob, as you have often seen rolling through the streets of *London*. Even he was butchered by foreigners. There are many things, which disgrace, and distress, this country: but there is nothing which forbids a rational belief, that it may at no great distance of time, be peaceful, virtuous, and happy.

But there is another point of view, in which these attempts to establish alienation, and hostility, between you and us, are still more to be regretted. A great number of your people, with a spirit, in the highest degree honourable to themselves, and singularly glorious to your country, have begun, within a few years, to send throughout the world the Word of God, and Ministers to preach it. The progress, which they have made, is scarcely less astonishing than the rise, and the downfall of *Napoleon*; and has excited the admiration, and called forth the blessings, of good, and even of bad men, in every part of Christendom. Multitudes, in many countries, have cordially united themselves to these Benefactors of the world. In *this* country there are many Missionary, and at least sixty-five Bible Societies: and both are increasing in their numbers, and their efforts. All these are equally desirous to co-operate with your countrymen in this exalted design. To me, Sir, it seems unhappy, that any obstruction should be thrown in their way. Were you to ask Lord *Teignmouth*, Mr. *Wilberforce*, or many thousands of others, who adorn your country with intelligence and virtue, I am persuaded that they would answer you in similar terms. When it is remember-

ed, that the *English* Language is now established, to a considerable extent, in the four quarters of the globe, and in *New Holland* also, you will see that a foundation is laid for making it the means of communicating the knowledge of Christianity throughout the world. Those, who speak it, may, and, if wise, will, aid each other in the great work of spreading the Religion of the Gospel over the globe; and through this medium of communication will be enabled, with a facility otherwise unattainable, to spread salvation through all "the habitations of cruelty." Men, willing to embark in such a design, and possessing advantageous means for accomplishing it, should never be hindered in their exertions: nor can any man be justified, who voluntarily throws obstructions in their way; or wantonly attempts to alienate them from each other.

It is high time, Sir, that a nobler spirit should be found in enlightened nations, as well as in enlightened individuals. Rivalry, contempt, and bitterness, have reigned long enough. These dispositions have never reformed either individuals or nations. Sometimes they may have checked insolence and abuse; but they never made a friend, nor conciliated an enemy. Candour and generosity achieve triumphs incomparably more numerous, and more honourable; and invest the temples of the victor with wreaths which cannot fade. Permit me to hope that the intelligent men of your nation will, in greater numbers, hereafter believe, that these are triumphs more deserving of their ambition; and laurels, which they may wear with superiour and more enduring glory.



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