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THE NEW ROME.

THE

NEW ROME;

OR,

THE UNITED STATES OF THE WORLD.

BY

THEODORE POESCHE AND CHARLES GOEPP.



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TO

Franklin Pierce,

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,

THIS WORK

IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED, BEING A GUESS AT THE SPIRIT

IN WHICH HE WAS ELECTED.



P R E F A C E.

A BOOK with two authors would not be so rare a thing as it is, if it were better understood that every work is the fruit, not of individual thought, but of the intellectual currents that pervade whole times and nations, — that, in fact, every individuality is but a modified reproduction of the thoughts and fancies of the age in which it appears. The leading idea detailed in the following pages occurred at nearly the same time to both of the individuals whose names appear on the title-page. It was about the end of the year 1848, when the first enthusiasm consequent upon the sudden uprising of France, Italy, and Germany, had given place to the confusion of jarring opinions, interests, and nationalities, which were destined ultimately to ingulf the hopes then awakened, that the destiny of the existing Republic of America, to realize the ideal Republic of the World, took shape in the mind of the author whose name is first mentioned, on the

plains of Leipsic, and to the other in the farming counties of Pennsylvania. It is no less characteristic, that while the inhabitant of Germany, the home of metaphysical philosophy, took up the question in its practical light, as a relief from existing ills, the American forgot the matter-of-fact character of his country to regard this particular subject in its ideal light, as the solution of a historical problem. The same division of labor was carried out in the present production; the geographical, ethnographical, statistical, commercial, monetary, and industrial observations and reflections, are the work of Poesche. The historical, legal, and metaphysical arguments, the details on American legal and political institutions, are, to a great extent, the production of his colleague. The former had written a work on the subject while in Germany, in the year 1850, which fell into the hands of the police, and could not be published. Goepp had laid down the outlines of the plan in a little pamphlet, entitled, "E pluribus Unum," a political tract on Kossuth and America, written in the heat of the Kossuth furor, in December, 1851. We met at the Congress of Philadelphia, mentioned in the book, and soon after formed the design of writing this work. Poesche wrote the first draft in German. Goepp, following his arrangement, reproduced it in English, interpolating his own ideas, and such new thoughts as occurred to either or

both, in their conversation and studies, as the work went on. In the first part, on the political organization, these were little more than expansions; the second chapter, on the social organization, in its present form, is, to a much greater extent, the production of the English partner. The work swelled to nearly double its size, owing principally to the quotations introduced from the current literature of the day, which offered so many suggestions, that the entire press seemed to have resolved itself into a vast literary foraging party for the benefit of our undertaking.

It was finished early in November, 1852. The publication being somewhat later, some of our predictions have already become verified, while possibly some others may have missed their aim. We have preferred to make no alterations on this account, but are willing that the results of the test of these five months should be considered as a criterion of its accuracy in the more distant future.

THE AUTHORS.

THE NEW ROME ;

C B,

THE UNITED STATES OF THE WORLD.



A HOROSCOPE.

THE days of prophecy are over ; but why ? Not because the future is less important to us than it was of old ; for, instead of the reliance on a heavenly prospect which carried the hearts of our forefathers triumphantly through all the ills that flesh is heir to, we are fast substituting earthly longings after present prosperity, and the good things of this little span of years. Not because we look with more of reverential awe upon the curtain that veils the things to come ; the Yankee “has a hole in his head where the bump of veneration ought to be,” and nothing is too high or too low for his investigation. Nor yet because we are less able than formerly to pry into its secrets ; for, however man may degenerate in other

respects, he is still learning facts, and still improving his powers of digesting them.

“History is philosophy teaching by example;” but shall we for ever repeat the fable, and never propound the moral? The astronomer studies the history of the stars to learn the laws which must regulate their coming progress; why cannot the historical astronomer do likewise? True, the stars that crowd his nether sky are more numerous, more multifarious, and more erratic than those of the upper firmament; but they have their laws nevertheless, and must obey them.

We live in the future, hope for it, strive towards it;—it is elastic and pliable, and bows to the sceptre of the imagination as submissively as to the sword of the will. Yet, like all else within the sphere of effects and causes, it has its possibilities and impossibilities; and we shall steer the more wisely the sooner these inexorable headlands are open to the view.

The following essay is a map of the future of mankind, drawn from surveys of the past and present. It professes to tell neither what might nor what should, but simply what must be.

I.—POLITICS.

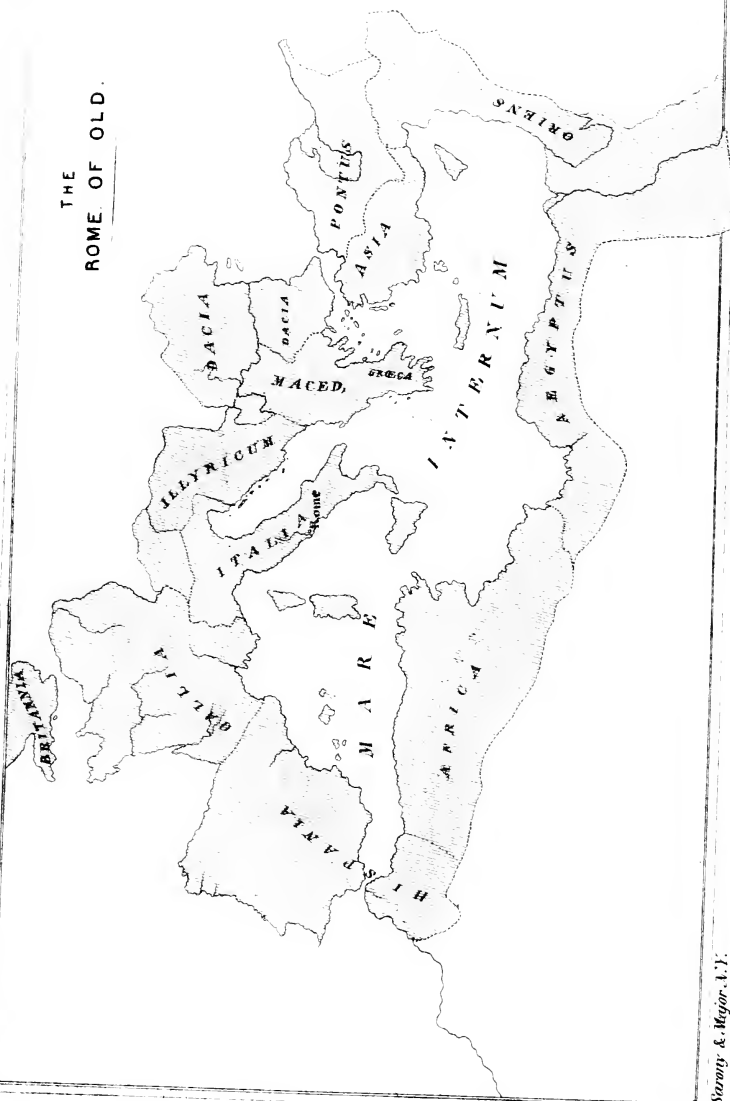
THE old paradox, "There is nothing new under the sun," has recently been amplified into a comparison of history to a spiral revolution, in which the same positions recur, but with a difference. Perhaps a more fitting type would be found in the revolutions of a satellite, modified at each repetition by the progress of its planet. If we search the history of the past for a parallel to the present aspect of political relations, we find it in the time when Greece had just passed the meridian of her glory, when Macedon had awakened to a consciousness of her powers, and the Roman republic was mewing her wings for a flight destined to outstrip them both. Applied to our times, the first is the type of Western Europe; boundlessly rich in art and science, but no longer strong of will. Russia, her vassal in civilization, but her superior in brute force, dreams of universal empire; while the American republic, with the motto "E pluribus Unum" flaming in her fillet, is developing her resources of mind and body with an

external force and an internal freedom which mark her the germ of a World's Republic.

This "New Rome," the American Union, is a reflection of the old, even in its geographical position. The Roman Empire, embracing the "*orbis terrarum*" of the geography of those times, was a political organization of the circle of lands that skirted the Mediterranean Sea, in the midst of which, like a great line-of-battle ship, was moored the Italian peninsula. So the American peninsula, its northern extremity connected with the mainland of the other continent by means of icebergs which have baffled our explorers as obstinately as the Rhætian Alps whilom hemmed in the Roman pioneers, divides the ocean into its two great basins. In the middle of these peninsulas were founded, respectively, the Etrurian and the British colonies. Each looks to the lands of the East for the sources of its civilization. Each casts its eyes first upon its native peninsula, and strives to reduce it to its undisputed sway. Thus the acquisition of all Italy was an important epoch in Roman politics; it supplied the base for further operations. Thus "The continent is ours," is becoming more and more distinctly a leading American aspiration. Bolivar cherished the plan; Webster and Douglass have publicly avowed it. A more immediate object, desired by the whole people, is the northern portion, from the Arctic Ocean to the Isthmus of Darien.

The past territorial growth of the United States is found to have been governed by well-defined laws. North America is divided into three main portions: the Atlantic sea-board,

THE
ROME OF OLD.



MAP OF THE WORLD
 under the Oceanic point of view,
 OR THE
 NEW ROME.





extending to the Alleghanies, the key of which is New York ; the Mississippi valley, extending from the Alleghanies to the Rocky Mountains, and guarded by New Orleans ; and the Pacific coast, forming the western slope of the Rocky Mountains, with San Francisco for its entrance-gate. The first was of course first settled ; it was the theatre of the war of Independence and of the compact of Union. These two achievements opened the way to the passage of the Alleghanies. The outlet and the western half of the Mississippi valley were in possession of a foreign power, but it was not difficult to purchase them. Still this did not suffice to draw the tide of population into the trans-Mississippian portions of the valley. Our present civilization is based upon the means of communication afforded by the ocean ; its effects extend inland, but only to a limited distance. Mr. Benton knows that the Pacific railroad is indispensable to make an empire state on the Missouri. "Pierce the Rocky Mountains," he said, "and hew their highest crag into a statue of Columbus, pointing the old world on the way to the Indies !"

The acquisition of the Pacific coast came to his aid. In the last decade, a broad belt of country, comprising Texas, New Mexico, California, and Oregon, was definitely united with us. The settlement of these territories is now the cardinal interest of the Union ; the migration thither is a proof of it. By sea and land hundreds of thousands are pouring into the new-found El Dorados. From the 1st of January, 1852, to the 14th of August, the number of passengers landed at San Francisco was fifty-one thousand. The remaining four months

and a half will not fall short of this amount; the Chinese emigration, which is just beginning to assume gigantic proportions, will make up for all deficiencies. Seventy thousand more are scattered over various stages of the overland route. When these pilgrims, after crossing the parched plains of the West and scaling the Rocky Mountains, come again to view the boundless ocean, their hearts beat high, like the ten thousand Greeks retreating out of Persia; and as the latter, on seeing the Pontus, cried out, "θαλασσα, θαλασσα," so may these Americans greet the ocean, an element as vital to them as the Mediterranean was to the Greeks. The possession of her western coast makes America a self-balanced whole, rounds her proportions, and enables her to cast off the swaddling clothes of infancy. "A continent and two oceans are in the hands of that people," says the *London Times*; and so must it be, for one ocean is not enough for America.

1.—PRESENT PROJECTS.

Four years have elapsed since the western coasts were subjugated to civilization, and other countries have, in the mean time, grown ripe for infederation: Cuba, at present, attracts the greatest attention. There can be no doubt that the efforts for its annexation must succeed. The slavery question, it is true, acts as a disturbing element, but an antidote offers in the shape of equivalent northern acquisitions. A door has also opened for the annexation of Hayti. In the war between Dominica and the Emperor, the former has enlisted Ameri-

can officers; two of these have recently been sent to "the States," to purchase vessels of war, and to introduce Yankee immigrants. They are not likely to fail of success; nor is it to be expected that the throne of his sable majesty will long withstand the shock of the republicans and their allies.

Canada has had its annexation party for several years; it is constantly at work, and its principles are making visible progress. The free-trade victory of England has swept away the commercial privileges formerly enjoyed by her colonies; and the Colonial system now weighs upon them without a compensating advantage. The loss of those privileges makes an uninterrupted communication with the United States more desirable than ever; and the Reciprocity efforts are the result. But if the principle of reciprocity is to be carried beyond a sophism, it must mean the reciprocal acceptance by each country of all that the other is interested in exporting; and then it amounts to a removal of all taxes upon intercourse. That cannot be established without giving each country the power of regulating the foreign trade of the other, which is an absurdity, or by making the regulation of commerce a common concern, which involves the extension of the Union over the Canadian States.* The main impediment is found in the un-Teutonic descent, foreign language, and anti-republican

* In the Canadian Parliament, Mr. Mackenzie has taken occasion again to express his bitterness towards the United States. In a debate on the Reciprocity Question, he explained that the reason why the Americans refuse reciprocity to Canada, was their desire for annexation.

traditions, and the want of intelligence and enterprise of the French Canadians, who now form the bulk of the population. Their very nationality, however, must make them adverse to British supremacy, and favorable to a coalition with the rebel subjects of that power; and this sentiment of the masses finds a natural ally in the interests of the political leaders, even when of English descent, who would certainly rather aspire to a seat in the Senate of the United States, for which their language and education amply fit them, than to the leadership in the Legislative Council at Montreal or Toronto. The absolute religious and political liberty of the United States must stimulate, sooner or later, the desires of the whole population. A highly interesting paragraph in a recent newspaper, states that an emigration of French Canadians to the neighborhood of Kaskaskia, in Illinois, is in progress, which, from its extent and organization, bids fair to affect perceptibly the population of British America—another powerful agent in the actual union of the two countries.* Thus a chain of intricacies and difficulties is preparing, which are to be welcomed for the solution that must inevitably follow. The natural resources and incipient cultivation of this

* An abstract of the official Census taken last January, has just been laid before the House of Assembly. The total population of Lower Canada is 890,261, and that of Upper Canada, 952,004. The enumeration was taken last January, and if the population then numbered 1,842,265, it cannot now be far short of two millions. About three-fourths of the population are native Canadians. The French, from a little over 60,000 at the conquest, have risen to 669,528, in spite of the recent large emigration of that

vast expanse, when fairly thrown open to the invigorating influence of American enterprise, must add materially to the comparative weight of America in the scale of power. The extinguishment of the claim of England to her colonies will be discussed after we shall have enumerated the other countries now in process of infederation.

race to Illinois, and other parts of the United States. The following statement shows the origin or nativity of the whole population :

ORIGINS. <i>Natives of</i>	<i>Lower Canada.</i>	<i>Upper Canada.</i>	<i>Total.</i>
England and Wales,.....	11,280	82,690	93,929
Scotland,.....	14,565	75,811	90,376
Ireland,.....	51,499	176,267	227,766
Canada, French origin,.....	669,528	26,417	795,945
Canada, not of French origin,.....	125,580	526,098	651,673
United States,.....	12,482	43,732	56,214
Nova Scotia and Prince Edwards,.....	474	3,785	4,259
New Brunswick,.....	480	2,634	3,114
Newfoundland,.....	51	79	130
West Indies,.....	47	345	392
East Indies,.....	4	106	110
Germany and Holland,.....	159	9,957	10,116
France and Belgium,.....	359	1,007	1,366
Italy and Greece,.....	38	15	43
Spain and Portugal,.....	18	57	75
Sweden and Norway,.....	12	29	41
Russia, Poland, and Prussia,.....	8	188	196
Switzerland,.....	38	209	247
Austria and Hungary,.....	2	11	13
Guernsey,.....	118	24	142
Jersey and other British Islands,.....	293	131	424
Other places,.....	830	1,351	2,181
Born at Sea,.....	10	168	178
Birthplaces not known,	2,446	889	3,335
Total population,.....	890,261	952,004	1,842,265

It is shown by the above statement that about a twentieth part of the population of Upper Canada is of United States origin. How much they may do to indoctrinate the population with republican ideas is a difficult

These are, in the first place, the remaining portions of the Northern Continent, down to the Isthmus of Panama. These gardens of the world may be said, without exaggeration, to be dying for want of annexation. Of a population of ten millions, seven-eighths are composed of Indians and Mestizes, who are either highwaymen and thieves, vagrants or peons. They are the "working-class," and monopolize the labor interest; as they do not labor, no work is done. The Creoles form an apology for a middle class, and furnish principally the small business men, small farmers, and — rancheros; but where there is no labor, there can be but little business. The more ambitious individuals among them seek a sphere in the church or the army, the only fields of effort and success. In the former, they hope to share in the pride of the most gorgeously ornamented public edifices in the world, in the delights of the bishops' palaces, and the influence derived from the incalculable revenues extorted from the people to their

question. Where Americans are settled in considerable numbers, as in the western part of the Province, they retain all their native republicanism. But not only is a twentieth part of the population of Upper Canada American born; a vast proportion of native Canadians, who form about half the entire population of Upper Canada, are descended of American citizens, either directly or through a distance of two or three generations. There must, as any one may see by a glance at these facts, be a strong American element in the population of Upper Canada; one way or another, either by birth, descent, or contact of ideas, about half the population are wholly or partially Americanized. It ought not, therefore, perhaps, to be surprising that there is a perpetual tendency towards democratic institutions, which sometimes threatens to render all government impossible on present principles.

hopeless impoverishment. To the latter, they are attracted by the glitter of epaulettes, the renown of presidencies of four weeks' duration, the excitement of pronunciamientos, and the spirit-stirring sounds of trumpet, fife, and drum, with very little danger from the over-use of ammunition ; when promotion is slow, they form "*free corps*," and subsist on pillage. These two institutions engross the politics of the country ; "God and Liberty," means the bishop and the general. Being both consumers, they cannot afford to pay taxes ; and the clergy want all the revenue that is to be obtained for their own particular purposes, and cannot afford to share any portion of them with their secular brethren. The consequence is, that cabinet upon cabinet send in their resignations because the soldiers want their pay when there is no money in the treasury, and no possibility of obtaining any ; and the Reverend Congressmen are very sorry, but really don't see how the matter is to be helped. Sometimes a loan, bearing interest at three per cent. per month, is issued, which wants nothing to make it a political panacea, except purchasers. No wonder Louis Napoleon begins to fear for the supremacy of the "Latin race," and sends a handful of soldiers to Sonora to preserve it.

But the country is not without elements of life. Until the war of '47, industry was in the hands of capitalists of London, Bristol, Hamburg, and Bordeaux. The younger sons of those houses were sent there to enter into mining, manufacturing, and commercial speculations ; they amassed immense wealth, and were found by the officers of our army

either enjoying the almost Parisian luxuries of the capital, or living retired in haciendas, amid all the profusion of the tropics. Still their constant exposure to legal and illegal robbery, and comparative isolation among so degraded a people, made them look upon the land of their birth as that to which they hoped ultimately to return. While no political change was presented to their minds except a colonial subjection to European monarchy, they had but little hope of better times.

A new era opens with the introduction of American enterprise consequent upon the war, and the settlement of California and Australia, which brought these countries into demand as transit routes. The locomotive snorts between Chagres and Panama, and the steamboat ploughs the Nicaraguan lakes. Aspinwall, and other American towns, founded by American citizens, speaking the English language, and adopting Anglo-Saxon manners, customs, and municipal regulations, are springing up along the route. The Yankees are making inroads on every side; especially on the Western coast. As a young hive of bees, if sound and healthy, will infallibly send forth its swarms, so California is already planting colonies. Their nearest goals are the Mexican States of Sonora and Nether California. They meet with no opposition, except, perhaps, from Louis Napoleon, and we shall soon see those states Americanized. If further proof were wanted that these things tend to annexation, we have the authority of General Scott to remove every remaining doubt. In his speech, delivered at Sandusky, Oct. 11th, 1852, he said :

“ An offer was made to me, to remain in Mexico, and govern it. The

impression which generally prevails, that the proposition emanated from Congress, is an erroneous one. The overture was made to me by private citizens—men of wealth and prominence. During our stay in Mexico, our system of government and police was established, which, as the inhabitants themselves confessed, gave security—for the first time, perfect and absolute security—to person and property. About two-fifths of all the branches of government, including nearly a majority of the members of Congress and the Executive, were quite desirous of having that country annexed to ours.

“ They knew that upon the ratification of the treaty of peace, nineteen out of twenty of the persons belonging to the American army would stand disbanded, and would be absolutely free from all obligations to remain in the army another moment. They supposed, if they could obtain my services, I would retain these twelve or fifteen thousand men, and that I could easily obtain one hundred thousand more from home. The hope was, that it would immediately cause annexation. They offered me one million of dollars as a bonus, with a salary of 250,000 per annum, and five responsible individuals to become security in any bank in New York which I might name. It would be so arranged that I might get it in five days. They expected that annexation would be brought about in a few years, or, if not, that I could organize the finances, and straighten the complex affairs of that government. It was understood that nearly a majority of Congress was in favor of annexation, and that it was only necessary to publish a pronunciamiento to that effect to secure the object. We possessed all the arms of the country, and occupied their cannon-foundries and powder-manufactories, had possession of the fortified places, and could easily have held them in our possession if this arrangement had gone into effect. A published pronunciamiento would have brought Congress right over to us, and with these fifteen thousand Americans holding the fortresses of the country, all Mexico could not have disturbed us. We might have been there to this day if it had been necessary.

“ I loved my distant home. I was not in favor of the annexation of Mexico to my own country. Mexico (Proper) has about eight millions of inhabitants, and out of these eight millions there are not more than one million who are of pure European blood. The Indians and mixed races constitute about seven millions. They are exceedingly inferior to our own. As a lover of my country, I was opposed to mixing up that race with our own. This was the first objection on my part to this proposition. May I plead some little love of home, which gave me the preference for the soil of my own country and its institutions?”

However honorable to his personal feelings, Gen. Scott will come to regret this fear of the Indians and mixed races, which may end in making two wars necessary to do the work of one. That work must be done whenever the Americans come to understand, as they already divine, their "manifest destiny." Why is the Mexican called Mexican, the Cuban Cuban, and the continental name of American bestowed upon the citizen of the United States alone ?

The following article appeared in the *Panama Star*, of Oct. 16, 1852 :

"FEDERATION OF THE ISTHMUS.—For some time past, the leading topic of conversation in this city, both publicly and privately, as well as the main subject of the native press, has been the discussion of the independence of the Isthmus, or, rather, the formation of the Isthmus into a Federal State, and suggestions of annexation to a more powerful country. The matter has already been brought before the public, both through the Government at Bogota, and the *Camara Provincial* in this city.

"The Government at Bogota has acted most liberally in opening the matter for discussion, and the *Provincial Camara* here have acted wisely in summoning the people publicly, to express their sentiments in reference to a separation from their mother State."

Not content with occupying the Californian territory, the people of that State of adventurers have overrun the Sandwich Islands, made interest with the government, and effected a treaty by which King Kamehameha III. bequeaths his kingdom to the American people, as of old Attalus made the Roman people heirs of his kingdom of Pergamus. Is there not something Roman in the walk of this republic? The former administration, in pursuance of a policy more timid than cautious, have omitted to ratify this treaty; but the

error will ere long be corrected. The annexation of these islands, forming, as they do, an important shipping station between America and Asia, is particularly interesting as marking the extension of America beyond the continent. A people cannot forego its mission, and the mission of the American people is not bounded by oceans.

A new project has just been devised, worthy, in the grandeur of its outlines, of the American mind. It is the settlement of the valley of the Amazon—the greatest river of the world, irrigating the most fertile region, cultivated by the most enterprising people! The suggestion will confer lasting renown upon Lieutenant Maury, its originator. The reason assigned for the occupation of the valley, that the series of its productions begins where that of the productions of the Mississippi valley terminate, (sugar closing the train of the latter, and leading that of the former,) betrays the philosophical statesman. ⁴ But where are the laborers to be found for those immense plantations? The negroes of the cotton States will hardly suffice for the rice fields; Texas is left bare of them. The day of African importation is happily over. But even now the advanced guard of the millions has arrived, who are destined, under Anglo-Saxon management, to accomplish the mighty work. China, with her population of three hundred and sixty-nine millions, has found an outlet on this continent. The gold of California has manifested the miraculous power claimed for it by Columbus, in his letter to Queen Isabella: “El oro es excellentissimo,—it will even save souls from purgatory.” In the Chinese Empire they punish a man for a

breach of the peace by slinging a rope under his arms, and hanging him up in the sun.

A company, under the name of the New York and Paraguay Steamship Company, has been chartered, and is now receiving subscriptions to its stock in New York, for the purpose of establishing a line of steamers for the navigation of the Rio de la Plata and its tributaries, of which the Parana, Paraguay, and Uruguay are the principal. The commerce of the fertile countries along the line of these rivers has long been closed to the world by the obstinacy of Rosas, the late Dictator of the Argentine Confederation, who forbade any vessel proceeding up and down the Rio de la Plata. On his downfall, however, it was thrown open, which will give a great impetus to the trade of the fertile states bordering on those streams.

Be it said, in passing, that we now witness the first realization of the plan of Columbus, to reach the east by a westward route ; the fables of the El Dorado of Quinsai and Cathay are fables no longer. American history has doffed its prose, and now assumes all the gorgeous imagery of the Genoese who unchained the oceans.

2.—INTERNAL GROWTH.

We have seen that the American mind is awakening to the necessity of overspreading the continent from the North Pole to the cliff of Don Diego Ramirez on Cape Horn. It does not enter upon the task, however, without calling in the

assistance of all the nations of the earth. The true map of the world for the present epoch is that which takes the ocean for its starting point, as given in the Appendix. America is in the middle; on either hand the ocean, bounded on one side by Europe and Africa, and by Asia on the other. There is but one ocean and two continents, the Western and the Eastern, of which latter Europe and Africa are peninsulas; Australia is an Asiatic island. All these countries increase and decrease in historical importance in proportion as they approach or retreat from the ocean, the great highway of nations. The dividing line which marks the outside, passes through the 100° of eastern longitude, traversing the greatest contiguous expanse of mainland which it is possible for a meridian to cover; these regions, being the least oceanic, are accordingly the least historical in the world.

The old world had no room for the expansion of the new ideas; Columbus opened a new arena upon the virgin soil of the new-found continent. As Mother Earth of the Grecian fable upreared the island of Delos on her bosom, wherein to conceal the infant Jupiter from the murderous fangs of his unnatural father, Time, so the Genius of humanity transported the new ideas to America, there to gather their forces for the impending conquest of heaven and earth. The new organization draws from Europe the wholesome influences it needs; but the sea screens it with maternal mantle from the European powers of evil.

It will not be amiss to notice, in this place, the internal growth of the United States, for the purpose of showing the

proportion between their swelling powers and their increasing task. The population, down from 1714, was as follows:—

1714	.....	434,000
1727	.....	580,000
1750	.....	1,260,000
1754	.....	1,425,000
1760	.....	1,695,000
1770	.....	2,312,000
1780	.....	2,945,000
1790	.....	3,929,872
1800	.....	5,305,952
1810	.....	7,239,814
1820	.....	9,638,920
1830	.....	12,866,131
1840	.....	17,063,353
1850	.....	23,144,126

Compare the result of the last two English censuses:—

1841	..	27,019,555
1851	.....	27,452,262

The French censuses are still more unfavorable, since the English censuses of the first half of the century show an increase of population of 50 per cent. Here are the French censuses:—

1801	.....	27,349,003
1806	.....	29,107,425
1821	.....	30,461,875
1831	.....	32,569,223
1836	.....	33,540,910
1841	.....	34,240,178
1846	.....	35,400,486
1851	.....	35,781,628

No country affords any comparison to the progress of America, in this respect. Its efficient causes are annexation.

immigration, and internal increase. The first of these factors has hitherto contributed but little; the second far more, as appears from the following table:—

1790–1810	120,000
1810–1820	114,000
1820–1830	203,000
1830–1840	778,000
1840–1850	1,543,000

Hence it appears that the immigration of every decade about doubles that of the preceding; in one case, (1830-1840,) the proportion was as three to one. That the present decade will not fall short of this ratio, may be inferred from the fact that in 1851, 335,966 persons emigrated from England alone, 267,357 of them to America. The German emigration of the last five years averaged annually 80,000; in 1851 it reached 113,199. The immigration of 1852, to the port of New York alone, has been as follows:—

January	11,592
February	5,252
March	21,726
April	28,193
May	33,372
June	49,225
July	29,403
August	34,513
September	36,777
October	20,115
Total	270,168

The German emigration, at all ports, for the same year, is at least 200,000, and that of 1853 cannot fall short of 400,-

000. Continued political and social pressure combined with improved means of locomotion, to produce these stupendous phenomena. Thus the relative importance of the three sources of accretion, of which natural increase was hitherto by far the most efficient, must undergo a change; immigration and annexation being destined to rise considerably in the scale. The past increase averaged 36 per cent. for every ten years; supposing this to remain, the population would increase as follows:—

1860.....	30,958,000
1870.....	41,145,000
1880.....	54,559,000
1890.....	73,144,000
1900.....	97,525,000
1910.....	120,034,000
1920.....	160,045,000
1930.....	213,360,000
1940.....	284,480,000
1950.....	379,307,000

Yet the actual growth will manifestly become far more rapid, though irregular; the mass of probabilities, however, makes every calculation uncertain.

3.—CONSTITUTION.

The causes of this unparalleled growth and infinite expansiveness must be looked for in the political and social organization of the United States; their natural advantages are shared by other countries, as Brazil, which have shown no symptoms of these capacities. Our republic is the result of

a *secessio plebis in montem sacrum*, of a segregation, not only threatened and attempted, but effected, or in the course of effectuation, of the third and fourth estates, those of intellect and labor, from the first and second, those of the priesthood and the aristocracy. Ancient Rome went down because this separation was then rescinded; the new Rome, thanks to the guiding hand of Columbus, is the offspring of this movement, and must stand so long as its force remains unspent. All the nations of Europe, through their children, have helped to rear this edifice of human freedom; but the chief credit is due to the Anglo-Saxons. The old Germanic liberty lost its political phase in Germany, but was preserved and developed in England, as of old the institutions of the Doric tribes found an asylum from the destroying hand of the Heraclidæ in the recesses of Crete, whence Lycurgus afterwards transferred them back to Sparta. This liberty, when endangered in England, was vindicated and raised to its present perfection by the people of America. Let us view it somewhat in detail.

Form of Government.

The American union is an organized constellation of sovereignties. It is a consolidated republic, in so far as its central government is financially, and in part politically, independent of the integrating states; but it is a free confederation in as far as the sovereign members are self-existent, and controllable in nothing but the points they have themselves conceded.

The Constitution of the United States is amendable

by the ratification, by three-fourths of the several states, of proposals made by a convention called by two-thirds of both houses of Congress, or on the application of two-thirds of the states: this is the highest power acknowledged by the Constitution. Under this sole restriction, it is the supreme and unalterable law

In it the confederating states form a perpetual compact to give faith and credit to each other's acts, records, and judicial proceedings; to admit the citizens of every state to all the rights of citizenship in every other; to surrender up mutually fugitives from justice and from labor; to preserve republican forms of government; to impose no restraints upon intercourse, and to establish and maintain a federal government with certain specified powers and duties.

In favor of this government the several states also forego the sovereign rights of foreign negotiation, making war, and maintaining standing armies, of bills of credit, the making of any thing but gold and silver a legal tender or payment of debts, passing *ex-post facto* laws, bills of attainder, or improving the obligations of contracts, granting titles of nobility, and laying duties on imports, exports, and tonnage.

The federal government is, on its part, expressly restricted from impairing the prerogative of the *states* by the appointment of militia officers, by laying duties on exports, by regulating commerce to the preference of one state and the detriment of another, or by granting titles of nobility. These express reservations do not exclude implied ones, but all rights are reserved which are not expressly granted.

The rights of the *people* under the federal government are further guarded from invasion by the suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus*, bills of attainder or *ex-post facto* laws, religious tests, regulations, or church establishments, invasions of the freedom of speech, of the press, of assemblage, of petition, of the right to bear arms, of exemption from the illegal quartering of troops, unreasonable searches and seizure, indefinite and unauthorized warrants, from arraignment for crime, except upon presentment of a grand jury, from repeated trials in capital cases, from compulsory self-inculpation, from deprivation of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, or from deprivation of property for a public purpose without compensation. An impartial jury trial is secured in all criminal cases, and in all civil ones of amount; the requisition of excessive bail, and the infliction of cruel and unusual punishments or excessive fines, is expressly prohibited.

Under these restrictions, the following powers are delegated :—

1. To the legislative branch, the power of declaring war, of raising and supporting armies and navies, of calling forth the militia for purposes of defence, and of its organization and discipline, of regulating foreign, inter-state, and Indian commerce, of naturalization and bankruptcy laws, of coinage, weights, measures, post-offices, patents, and copyrights; and of borrowing money, and laying and collecting uniform taxes, duties, imports and excises; of governing territories, admitting new states, and guaranteeing to every state a republican government, and freedom from invasion.

2. To the judiciary, the power of deciding on cases arising under the laws passed by the federal government, cases affecting ambassadors and consuls, cases of admiralty jurisdiction, controversies in which the United States are a party, and controversies between states.

3. To the executive, the chief command of the army and navy, the power of pardoning, and (with the advice and consent of the Senate) of making treaties, and appointing public officers.

The legislative power is vested in a house of representatives, a senate, and, for certain purposes, a president. Every law must be proposed in one of the two houses, passed by a majority of both, and receive the assent of the president, or be re-submitted to the vote of the houses, and receive two-thirds of their suffrages. The courts are organized by acts of Congress, but the appointment of the judges must conform to the constitutional provision.

The members of the house of representatives are elected by the suffrages of the voters for the lower houses of the respective state legislatures; they are apportioned among the states in the ratio of their population, securing, however, to each state, at least one representative. The senate consists of two members elected by the legislatures of each of the several states. The president is elected by the vote of the states, each state having a number of votes equal to that of its representatives and senators.

Many of the features thus roughly sketched are acknowledged to be defective; others, not mentioned, are still more

so. There is, however, very little prospect of amendment, for the simple reason that nobody feels the grievance. It is a government that imposes no rule, but only guards against the imposition of rule from elsewhere ; the name of government is hardly applicable to such a mere safety-valve against the pressure of abnormal forces. The government, so called, has so little hold upon the people, that a sketch of the government fails to give any adequate idea of the organization and polity of the people under it. All the governmental functions referring to this head are expressly excluded from its sphere. If, then, the social life of the people is subjected to government regulations at all, those regulations must emanate from the respective state governments. Let us see how far this is the case.

Every state is at liberty to form its own constitution ; hence it might be supposed that the organization of a present member of the confederacy could give no rule for that to be expected of those entering into it hereafter. But experience shows that the absolute liberty of choice has led to a more complete uniformity than could have been attained by the most rigorous peremptory legislation ; all the French, Spanish, and German traditions are found to adapt themselves so fully to the revised and perfected Anglo-Saxon models, that these will certainly furnish the plan for all future structures. Each state changes its constitution, on the average, once in fifteen years ; those adopted in the same decade are, in all material respects, the same. New York is the leading state in point of extent, population, wealth, intelligence, and polit-

ical vitality. Her present constitution is of six years' standing, and will afford a fair sample of the internal organization to be expected of the nearest future.

It is amendable by the concurrent votes of two successive legislatures; and every twenty years the question of the election of a Constitutional Convention is submitted to the popular vote.

All the rights of citizenship are inviolable, except upon process regulated by the laws of the land. Trial by jury, religious liberty and equality before the laws, the *habeas corpus*, the grand jury, the inviolability of private property, except for compensation, freedom of speech and the press, of assemblage and petition, are removed from the sphere of government interference.

The land is the original and ultimate property of the people, who shall inherit in default of other heirs. Feudal tenures are abolished, lands declared to be allodial, leases for more than twelve years forbidden. Corporations shall not be formed by special laws. Banking shall not be permitted by special, but only under general laws; but all bank-notes shall be registered and secured, by public stocks, and the individual responsibility of the bankers.

The laws shall be codified.

Persons having conscientious scruples against warfare, may be excused from militia service, on certain conditions. The subaltern officers of the militia shall be elected by their companies; field officers of regiments by the subaltern officers of their regiments; and brigadiers by the field officers

of their brigades. Major-generals to be appointed by the governor.

Every village elects its road-supervisors, school-directors, tax-assessors, and collectors; all offices for weighing, guaging, and measuring are abolished. Every county elects its overseers of the poor, board of commissioners, treasurer, sheriff, clerk, coroner, and district attorney.

The property of the state shall be administered by the treasurer, the land office, the canal fund commissioners, the canal board, and the prison inspectors. The officers forming these boards, as well as the comptroller, attorney general, and state lawyer, shall be elected by the people.

The state shall never sell its canals or salt-springs, nor loan its funds or credit to individuals or corporations. No debts shall be incurred except for some single work or object, expressly specified, to repel invasion, or to meet a casual failure in revenues.

Elections shall be by ballot; all citizens of the age of twenty-one years, who shall have inhabited the state one year, are voters.

The government, thus restrained and curtailed, has its legislative, judicial, and executive branches. The former consists of an assembly of one hundred and twenty-eight members, elected in "single districts" for one year, and a biennial senate of thirty-two members. The manner of passing laws is the same with that pursued in Congress.

The people of each township elect a justice of the peace, who, besides his magisterial functions, has jurisdiction of civil

suits of small amount. The county judge, elected in every county, holds the Criminal Court, and hears appeals in civil cases from the decisions of the justices. The state is divided into eight judicial districts, which are apportioned among the thirty-two judges of the Supreme Court; they are elected in their respective districts, and decide upon civil controversies. The Court of Appeals, consisting of four of the judges of the Supreme Court, and four judges of appeals, elected by the state at large, are the High Court of Errors.

The governor, elected for two years, is commander of the forces, which is a matter of small importance, as there are no forces to command. His patronage is almost annihilated, and even his pardoning power clogged and restricted.

The chief advantage of the state over the federal government, is in the different relative importance of the chief executive offices. While in the former he is little more than a registering clerk, in the latter he is the moving spring of the machine. The patronage of the central executive is one reason of this difference; another lies in the fact that the foreign relations, falling within the sphere of the common authority, unavoidably require a single head.

“In order to give our readers an idea,” says the *New York Tribune* of December 9, 1852, describing the French system of government, as contrasted with the one we have just described, “we take from the *Annuaire de l'Economie politique et de la Statistique* for 1851, an account of the legal formalities necessary to be observed before a *commune* or township can be allowed to repair any of its public buildings or works. We will suppose, for instance, that there is a bridge which is dangerous, and threatens to fall in, and the people want to mend it and make it safe. In America, the superintendent of roads or the commissioner of streets, or other officer

named by the people for the purpose, would at once set to work and have the job done. Not so in France. There the following clumsy, expensive, and useless order of exercises has to be gone through with, all in writing :—

“ 1. The Mayor writes to the Sub-Prefect (the chief officer of the district or county, appointed by the Government) for permission to convene the Town Council to consider the repairing of the bridge. 2. The Sub-Prefect writes that it may be done. 3. The Council is convened by the Mayor. 4. At the meeting the Mayor sets forth his views, and a committee is appointed. 5. The committee meet, investigate the subject and appoint a reporter to draw up their conclusion. 6. The Town Council is again convened. 7. The report is read and the Council draws up its decision. 8. The Mayor writes to an architect. 9. The architect draws a plan and estimates. 10. The Council is again convened. 11. It deliberates on the plan, and agrees to such and such alterations. 12. The alterations, with an explanatory letter, are sent to the architect. 13. He changes his plan and estimates accordingly, and sends it back. 14. The Council is convened again. 15. It considers and approves the plan and estimate. 16. The approval, with an accompanying letter, is sent back to the architect. 17. The estimate is next revised and definitively fixed. 18. It is sent to the Mayor again. 19. The Council is once more assembled. 20. It approves the definitive estimate. 21. The Council next draw up a memoir to show that for the purpose in hand an appropriation should be made, with documentary evidence to prove that the commune is able to pay. 22. The request to open a credit, or make an appropriation, is sent, with the estimate, and all the documents in the case, to the Sub-Prefect. 23. The pile of papers is next sent to the Prefect, or chief officer of the department. 24. In his office the documents are divided; what relates to the appropriation goes to the Financial bureau, and the rest to the bureau of Public Works. 25. The request for the appropriation is finally forwarded by the Prefect to the Minister of Finance at Paris. 26. As in that Ministry matters are taken up in their turn, it is some time before the petition is taken into account, but finally the Minister gives his decision. 27. This decision is laid before the Chief of the State, President, or Emperor, as the case may be. 28. That functionary makes his decision. 29. This decision goes to the Minister. 30. The decision of the Government goes to the Prefect. 31. He sends it to the Sub-Prefect. 32. He to the Mayor. 33. The detailed estimate of the cost goes to the Minister. 34. It is given to the chief of the

proper bureau. 35. It is examined in the bureau. 36. It goes to the Minister again. 37. The Minister examines it. 38. It is sent to the Commission for Civil Works. 39. The pile of documents is now taken apart and classified, and remains till its turn comes. 40. The Commission assemble, and the papers are given to a reporter. 41. The reporter draws up his report. 42. The report is read before the Commission, and alterations in the plan are agreed on. 43. The documents are now sent to the Minister. 44. From the Minister to the Prefect. 45. From him to the Sub-Prefect. 46. From him to the Mayor. 47. He again calls together the Town Council. 48. The Council agrees to the proposed alterations. 49. Now the whole is sent to the architect with an explanatory letter. 50. The architect changes his plan and estimates accordingly. 51. The new plan and estimates go to the Mayor. A greater appropriation is required, and the whole weary process is gone through again, involving *twenty-four* distinct operations. 55. The documents having at last accomplished their rounds, and become legitimate, are deposited in the Register's office. 76. Proposals to do the work are advertised for. 77. The bids are examined and the work adjudged. 78. The adjudication is registered. 79. The certificate of this transaction is sent to the Sub-Prefect. 80. He sends it to the Prefect. 81. He to the Minister. 82. The Minister approves it. 83, 84, 85. The approval is sent to the Prefect, the Sub-Prefect, the Mayor. 86. The Mayor informs the architect. 87. The Mayor informs the contractor. 88. The approval of the Minister is added to the documents. 89. The Register is notified of the same, in writing, of course. 90. The record of the proceedings is registered. 91. It is sent back to the Mayor. 92. The record of proceedings is completed, and the approval of the estimate becomes complete. Now the work may begin, but the business of document-making is not over. When the architect has got through, a certificate is required. 93. The certificate goes to the Sub-Prefect. 94. From him to the Prefect. 95. From him to the Minister. 96. The Minister approves it. 97, 98, 99. It is sent back to the Prefect, the Sub-Prefect, the Mayor. 100. An order is issued for the payment of the money.

“Such is a specimen of the mechanism by which the French people are held in leading strings. When M. Thiers was Prime Minister, a commune on the Adour found that a bridge was out of order, and asked permission to repair it. The petition was sent up in the summer, and went through all the motions above described, as a matter of course. Finally, next spring there came a decree of the Government appointing a

Commission to examine the bridge and see whether it really needed repairing. But, alas, the frosts and floods of winter had, in the mean time, entirely overthrown the disordered structure, and no bridge remained for the Commissioners to examine!"

Such is the political aspect of the most flourishing state on the globe; such the promises it holds out to the future. Two leading maxims rule its policy: the first that, wherever government is not to be dispensed with, it must be administered as far as possible by those to be subjected to its agency; the other, and greater, that government must be tolerated only where it is indispensable. Government is force, and force is wrongful whenever it does more than ward off the attack of other forces. Self-defence from force is the whole sphere of legitimate politics; and mutual defence the sole mission of the state. The individual is to be subject to no compulsory influence but its own: the absolute and indefeasible SOVEREIGNTY OF THE INDIVIDUAL is the all-engrossing principle of American polity. The American state is a MUTUAL GUARANTEE OF INDIVIDUAL SOVEREIGNTY.

It is an American discovery: the very enunciation of the canon is the work of Josiah Warren, the greatest of American thinkers. Never before has the individual achieved this high estate. "I am myself alone," is the motto which expresses English aspirations and American policy. It is this all-sufficiency of the individual which accounts for the marvellous elasticity of American life. The pioneer, alone upon the boundless prairie, is conscious of possessing in himself all the elements that make up the greatness of the American confederacy; and wherever two or three of them are assembled

together, the spirit of American freedom is among them, teaching them to form an organization more suitable to their circumstances, freer, and therefore stronger than the old constitutions of which it is an improved edition. Theodore Parker informs us that a New England shipmaster, wrecked on an island in the Indian sea, was seized by his conquerors, and made their chief; their captain became king; and after years of rule, he managed to escape. Then he once more visited his former realm. He found that the savages had carried him to heaven and worshipped him as a god, greater than their fancied deities. He had revolutionized divinity, and was himself enthroned as a god.

Westward the tide has turned; the beaver territories of Minesota and Nebraska are filling up; the Saints of the Latter Day have established a prosperous community in the bosom of the Rocky Mountains; Oregon and California are outstripping them all. Another current has turned southwards; inferior to the first, yet strong enough to replenish Texas, and build cities, as Aspinwall, upon the Isthmus.

— We have thus far considered America in its relation to other countries in a merely mechanical or mathematical aspect; like a star with its right ascension and declination. It is time to resort to a chemical analysis, and examine the various qualities of its ingredients.

Extraction.

In estimating the property of these various elements, we must not be understood to chime in with the mystical jargon

of ethnographers, which would substitute a nobility of nationality for a nobility of class; there is no elementary difference of nationalities in the civilized world, unresolvable by the universal categories of cause and effect, no more than there is any elementary difference of individual character. The disposition of man is formed by the circumstances which educate him; so nations, which consist of individuals, are educated by national circumstances, events, and traditions; the prevailing tendency of those traditions will produce a prevailing tendency of national characteristics; but that tendency may be overcome by subsequent events in the masses, or entirely neutralized by circumstances in the individual. We deny no man his political rights, on the score of his national extraction; but we would have the weight of national authority determined by a just and scientific standard.

Seven hundred and fifty years before the present era, a city was founded on the coast of Italy. In eight centuries it had spread its empire over Western and Southern Europe. The traces of that empire endure to this day, in the shape of its language, the most pervading, most controlling, and most ineradicable tradition which can be imposed upon humanity. The nations speaking that language still acknowledge in Ancient Rome

The dead but sceptred sovereigns that still rule
Our spirits from their urns.

In the *Orbis Terrarum*, under Cæsar's sway, the Latin race achieved its first universality.

With the decline of the first Roman empire began the rise of the second ; its element was religion, a tradition second in influence to language alone. The Church attained its splendour when Charles V. founded an empire on which the sun never set, and Michael Angelo raised the throne of science and art. In the Holy *Catholic* (!) Church, the Romanic race achieved its second universality.

The brighter the light behind, the darker the shadow before. For fifteen hundred years it was supposed that no language but that of Rome deserved the name. Gioberti has written a book to prove that Rome is destined again to lead the world ; who can blame him for forgetting himself in the contemplation of that wondrous past ?

In the decadence of the Church the world bethought itself of civilization. Louis XIV. established in Paris the centre of civilization ; Napoleon grasped its boundaries. The "civilized life" of Paris is a tradition which now holds us almost as firmly as that of religion itself. In the French empire the Catholic race achieved its third universality.—Can this summit be attained more than three times ? The labor of history tires ; and the Romanic race has been at work for 2,600 years. Old forms cannot bend to every new spirit ; and old heads cannot for ever learn new lessons. America began as a province of the Holy Catholic Church ; it was opened by Italian genius, in the service of Spanish wealth ; but the Catholic supremacy has been driven from the Huron to the Mississippi, from the Mississippi to the Cordilleras, and from them to the Pacific ; where it yet exists, it languishes ;

America is destined to mature and develop other than Romanic traditions. The French are at this time as much prostrated in their political and social condition as the German or English laborers; yet their emigration amounts to nothing. True, the bulk of emigrants for the past ten years have been of Irish descent, and the Irish, though never Latinized, are united by religious and civilitary traditions to their brethren of Gaul, and severed by the remembrance of oppression from the German race, who have driven their kindred out of Britain. But these influences are counterbalanced by that of the English language, in which they have been educated; the career of such men as Jackson and Clay is a proof of their perfect adaptability to American institutions. Besides, the balance of immigration is now turning, or has already turned, in favor of the Germans. Ireland has six millions of inhabitants, now equally divided between the English and Celtic races. Whatever proportion of the latter class is yet to be expected on our shores, still the probable delegation from the forty millions of Germany must far outnumber them. The official returns already give this result.

The following are the statistics of arrivals at the port of New York alone, for the last four years:—

	1849.	1850.	1851.	1852, to Sept. 22d.
Germany,	55,705	45,402	69,883	92,686
Ireland,	112,251	116,532	163,256	88,664
Other countries, 56,647	50,862	56,462	45,626	
Total,	<u>220,603</u>	<u>212,796</u>	<u>289,601</u>	<u>226,976</u>

That this movement is not on the decline, appears from

the fact that on the 23d, 24th, and 25th of September, the three days ensuing the close of the above table.

The number of arrivals at New York was,.....	12,500
For the remaining days of September,.....	10,577
For October,.....	20,115
Add the previous immigration of 1852,.....	226,976
	<hr/>
Total of 1852, to October 31st,.....	270,168
Taking the immigration of October, (20,115) as the stand- ard for November and December, we have	40,230
Add,.....	270,168
	<hr/>
Emigrants landing at New York in 1852,.....	310,398

According to the standard subsisting from January 1st, to September 22, 1852, this aggregate consists of the following ingredients:—

Germans,.....	129,662
Irish,.....	124,159
Other countries,.....	56,577

The following article, from the *New York Tribune* of Nov. 3, 1852, will further illustrate this subject :

“We publish this morning some tables made up from the census returns of 1850, which throw positive light upon the much agitated questions of the sources from which is derived that great amalgam called the American people. Though they refer only to the population of this state, they afford satisfactory grounds for judging as to the proportion in which the different elements exist throughout the republic.

“It appears, that out of 3,097,358 souls which compose the population of New York, 2,439,296 were born in the United States; 84,820 in England; 343,111 in Ireland; 31,000 in Scotland and Wales; 118,398 in Germany; 47,200 in British America; and that the number of residents of foreign birth in all the state is 658,062,—or about two-ninths of the whole people.

“If we suppose that this proportion holds good for the entire Union, the result will be that there are in the country a little more than five millions of residents of foreign birth, including two and a half millions of Irishmen, 910,000 Germans, as many of English, Scotch, and Welsh taken together, about 90,000 French, and about 140,000 from other countries of Europe. But it is doubtful whether New York can thus be taken as the standard for the whole republic, possessing as it does the principal sea-port for the arrival of immigrants, and retaining in its metropolis and other cities and their vicinity a large part of those who enter the country. And although the Western and North-western states may show a rather greater relative number of foreign inhabitants, it must be borne in mind that the Southern states, with the exception of Texas, have comparatively few.

“The number of natives of New England in the state is smaller than we had supposed, there being of them no more than 206,630, while of natives of the other states, aside from New York itself, there are 288,100. It is curious to notice how equally the Yankees are distributed throughout all the counties, while the people from other states, like those of foreign birth, are more congregated in the great centres of business. The Germans and Irish, however, exceed all other races in the tenacity with which they cling to the cities. More than half the whole number in the state are in this city and vicinity, while in the strictly agricultural counties there are comparatively few, especially of Germans. In New York and Brooklyn, not far from half the population is of foreign birth. The extent of the immigration from British America is striking; it is almost as large as that from Massachusetts.”

Probably no city in the world, of any considerable population, exhibits such a heterogeneous people as the city of New York. Nations and tongues and kindred and people from all parts of the world are here, and our thoroughfares and hostelries are a perfect Babel of languages. In a five-minute walk you meet Christian, Jew, Turk and Gentile, bond and free, of all complexions and creeds. The following table, accurately copied from the Census Returns, shows

the nativity of the people of the city of New York in June, 1850 :

<i>Born in</i>	<i>Number.</i>	<i>Born in</i>	<i>Number.</i>
State of New York,.....	234,842	England,.....	22,824
Maine,.....	1,432	Ireland,.....	133,730
New Hampshire,.....	826	Scotland,.....	7,660
Vermont,.....	953	Wales,.....	847
Massachusetts,.....	5,587	Germany,.....	55,476
Rhode Island,.....	961	France,.....	4,990
Connecticut,.....	7,784	Spain,.....	303
New Jersey,.....	13,255	Portugal,.....	128
Pennsylvania,.....	5,283	Belgium,.....	95
Delaware,.....	393	Holland,.....	611
Maryland,.....	1,852	Turkey,.....	8
District of Columbia,.....	261	Italy,.....	703
Virginia,.....	1,702	Austria,.....	109
North Carolina,.....	284	Switzerland,.....	764
South Carolina,.....	535	Russia,.....	472
Georgia,.....	277	Norway,.....	216
Florida,.....	54	Denmark,.....	292
Alabama,.....	90	Sweden,.....	499
Mississippi,.....	83	Prussia,.....	665
Louisiana,.....	303	Sardinia,.....	0
Texas,.....	23	Greece,.....	0
Arkansas,.....	2	China,.....	27
Tennessee,.....	26	Asia,.....	13
Kentucky,.....	122	Africa,.....	49
Ohio,.....	409	British America,.....	3,171
Michigan,.....	86	Mexico,.....	40
Indiana,.....	41	Central America,.....	10
Illinois,.....	72	South America,.....	105
Missouri,.....	56	West Indies,.....	687
Iowa,.....	4	Sandwich Islands,.....	12
Wisconsin,.....	28	Other Countries,.....	1,129
California,.....	4	Unknown,.....	2,062
Territories of U. S.,.....	31	At Sea,.....	39
Total U. S.,.....	277,752	Total out of U. S.,....	237,795

Total Population of the City,..... 515,547

The main influence of the Romanic tribes, which is even now perceptible in this country, is that exerted upon the national taste; the love of elegance and lightness, and the horror of the "clumsy," manifested in our constructive arts, in which we differ widely from both England and Germany, is the gift of an old, long-cultivated race, which a younger one easily learns, but does not so quickly originate.

That younger race is the Germanic. At the opening of our present era they massacred three legions in the Teutoburg forest; this was their protest against the Roman universality. In eight hundred years they had attained, under Charlemagne and Alfred, a qualified universality of their own; its legacy, under the vulgar appellation of feudalism, but which was only a crude form of individualism,—the organized opposition of a free rural population to the edicts of a conquering city, has been, in most of its essentials, preserved to the present day. In the sixteenth century, by the Reformation, they entered their protest against the Catholic universality; which they have followed up by the pursuit of utilitarianism in England, and of metaphysics in Germany. Each of these nations has performed its allotted task to perfection, forgetting entirely that of the other: Germany has solved the mysteries of heaven; England has held the World's Fair. The battle of Waterloo overturned the French universality.

The German race has thus been engaged in protesting for eighteen centuries and a half, and has yet six hundred years time to equal the glories of its elder sister. In this peculiarity of its employment we discover the peculiarity of its

tendencies : while Rome and Paris have arrived only at dominions,

Parcere subjectis, ac debellare superbos ;

Teutonia has sought only freedom, veiled in such homely adages as "Let me alone,"—or "Mind your own business." A mutual guarantee of the right of the individual to be let alone, is the perfect political manifestation of the German spirit ; it will be realized in the universality of the American Union. It has not been brought to perfection in Europe ; and therefore the European Germans are ready to seek it elsewhere ; they show none of that indisposition to emigrate which characterizes the heirs of Roman glory. The Puritans first sheltered the Germanic principle on our shores ; Penn followed, with a far truer appreciation of it ; while the Puritans could only attract Puritans from England, Penn gathered round him the individuals of every Germanic nation. Pennsylvania deserves the name of the Keystone State, not from its locality, which is no longer significant, but from the origin of its settlement, which displays more clearly than that of every other member of the union, the broad difference between Europe and America. From the coasts of the Atlantic the Anglo-Saxon empire has now overspread the continent, and grown as much in inward ripeness as in outward size. In the revolution it threw off foreign shackles ; in the formation of the Union it asserted its own vitality. These two achievements are the work of the Anglo-Saxons ; to the continental Germans falls the task of completing this political

and social fabric, by the crowning addition of perfect religious liberty, science, and the ideal arts; a task for which their home education has admirably fitted them. Their duty is that of the exiles from Constantinople, after its destruction by the Ottomans: the Revival of Letters in the West.

There is a third race in Europe, the Slavonic. They are young, fresh, and healthy, the nearest relatives of the Germans, and remarkably susceptible of cultivation. They are pupils of Germany in all matters of science and art, and will improve upon what we impart to them, as the young stems of the forest give a fresher growth to the sprig of the fruit-tree that is engrafted upon them.

Enough has been adduced to prove that the American republic is destined to possess the continent of which it bears the name, and to share it, by absorption, with the inhabitants of all the lands of the earth. America is the crucible in which European, Asiatic, and African nationalities and peculiarities are smelted into unity. We have assigned to the Romanic nations the station of venerable old age, giving counsel from its treasured experiences; to the Germanic, the lusty action of maturity, just emancipated from tutelage; and to the Slavonic, the eager attention of early youth, looking on anxiously while the men are working, and proud sometimes to offer assistance. But a more gloomy future is presented when we turn from the sons of Europe to the Africans, Asiatics, and Indians. Let us see if the probe of science, applied to this sore point of the body politic, by the hand of calm but earnest inquiry, will not detect the possibility of a cure.

The Black Question.

Man is a single species; but the species has several varieties. Differences of *tribe* may produce such distinctions as are traceable between Spaniards and Poles; but to refer the difference found between a white man and a negro, to the same origin, to the influences simply of climate, diet, and education, is contrary to all experience and analogy; the different varieties of the human species were produced at different times and places of the earth's development. Mere difference of place gives no satisfactory explanation; for the geological structure of the earth's surface is, in general, every where the same. In this the human species is but like every other; its grosser varieties, produced earlier, resemble, though they are never absorbed in, the most elevated varieties of the next species below them. It is vain to deny the resemblance of man and monkey; nor will the avowal of this truth impair our conviction of others, inculcated by equally unerring instincts: *no man is a monkey*; the species is separated from every other by an impassable gulf, which makes its unity as a species impregnable.

“The word” is found in man alone, and in all men; speech is the flower whence all the perfume of the world is distilled. It is the organ of the exclusively human faculty, the understanding, the classification of perceptions and impressions. Beasts feel, and therefore know good and evil; they will, and therefore know the beautiful and the ugly; but they speak not, because they do not think. Man thinks, and

therefore discerns the true and the false, the right and the wrong. Every being capable of distinguishing between right and wrong is entitled to the rights of man.

The different varieties must have originated when the cooling process produced upon the earth's surface by its incessant irradiation, had attained very various stages. The blacks probably came into existence when the earth's surface emitted a far greater quantity of heat than it does at present,—and when, perhaps, the sun threw out a far more intense light than it now does; light has more effect upon color than heat has, although they are nearly related. The number of varieties is evidently greater than has been supposed; the younger ones are few and clearly marked, but the inferior ones multifarious and not easily distinguishable. Nowhere, perhaps, is the human formation more crude and clumsy than in the aborigines of Australia. They have, in common with the negro, the sooty complexion, projecting jaws, and thick lips; but are distinguished by straight hair, and long baboon limbs. They live on trees, use wooden spears, and ornament their bodies by the incision of hyena-like stripes. Their language admits no form of the verb but the infinitive mood; and they cannot count beyond seven. Not a trace of religious ideas or customs has been discovered among them. They are inferior to the negro race, which is not confined to Africa, but found in the Bhils of Malwa, in India, in the Kails of Guzerat, in the Kairs and in Australia, New Guinea and Van Diemen's Land, New Caledonia and the New Hebrides. Their physical formation, if not beautiful, is at least strong

and full ; but their unassisted moral endowments hardly deserve the name. They are cannibals by nature ; their polity is that of a savage despotism ; their religion, the fear of a fetish ; an unearthly howl or juba dance, their highest artistic attainment. The Hottentots of South Africa, though their color indicates a later origin, are not superior in mental, and inferior in physical, development. The Kaffirs manifest a slight advance ; they are sometimes handsome, and occasionally lay aside the war-club for the shepherd's staff.

The Malays have a brown complexion, of various shades, are well built but small, have long straight black hair, flat noses, and large lips. They inhabit Malacca, Java, Borneo, the Philippines and Moluccas, and the Polynesian Archipelago. They have attained the art of navigation, a priestly order, stated feasts and ceremonies, and some organization of government. But their praise is soon told.

The North American Indians, though inferior to the last in external civilization, have a singularly flexible language, the art of petrifying speech by strings of shells, a very clear consciousness of *spirit*, and republican institutions ! The reflective turn of their character suggests the idea of a communication previously subsisting, and now severed, with men of a higher order ; for they do not bear any of the characteristics of being themselves wrecks of a decayed civilization. The country they now inhabit wears the traces of an extinct race, of which we lived to see the extinction. In the constructive arts, they seem to have advanced as far beyond the

Indians as the latter surpassed them in moral refinement. They made an art of architecture, and lived in cities.

The race next in order is one which must ever be marvellous to us, for it has possessed, from time immemorial, a civilization, and an industrial community. The Mogul race numbers one-third of the inhabitants of the globe. It seems to be endowed with all that is denied the Indians, and denied all with which they are endowed. The Chinese and Japanese have no spiritual insight, no political liberty, a copious but monosyllabic tongue, and, though no human meals or sacrifices, a great variety of customary and official murders. But they possess the art of writing; use the plough, the loom, and the anvil; any amount of good government, law, and order; the culture of silk, gunpowder, the magnet, and the printing-press. Their astronomical observations date far beyond our earliest records, and in chemistry they possess a great variety of knowledge. Their annals date far back; the last three thousand contain well-authenticated history; but they make no mention of a time when their civilization was less perfect than it is at present. Yet how many ages must have been required to bring three hundred and seventy millions of people to so uniform a stage of advancement!

The Chinese have formed an isolated race, owing nothing to their neighbors, and exerting no influence upon them. They have no history, neither love of conquest nor patriotism. When their neighbors became troublesome, they shut them out with a wall.

It is with a sentiment of awe that we now approach that

race whose early civilization has come down in direct line to us.

The highlands of Abyssinia, the unseen sources of the Nile, are their cradle. They came down the mighty stream, and settled in the lower parts of its valley. There they attained a civilization, the half-forgotten ruins of which, in sublimity and vastness, are immeasurably beyond the freshest products of any later time. The key to their records of stone and rock has now been discovered; and instead of enlisting attention as the products of rude, unlettered ages, they are becoming the text-books from which our modern scholars derive their lessons of wisdom. Science then and there attained a summit on which it has never stood before, and which in principle it never has surpassed since.

Another branch of the Abyssinian race found its way to the Euphrates, built the cities of Nineveh and Babylon, and founded the first empires, the Assyrian and Babylonian. They spread, not always their dominion, but their tribe over Arabia and Syria, where we find them assuming the names of Phœnicians and Hebrews, and the surrounding nomadic tribes. These had frequent communication with the Egyptian Kingdom; but their visits were not always peaceable; a race of "hyksos," "shepherd kings," invaded that country, and for a time were the lords of the lower part of Egypt. They built the great pyramids, which are not the productions of the original Egyptian dynasty. The Egyptians rallied, however, and in their turn drove the shepherd kings out of the country, after a struggle, which, like that of the Goths in

Spain, lasted four hundred years. The fugitives assumed the name of Pelasgi, or Philistines,—exiles,—and thus commenced the settlement of the Mediterranean coast, in Greece and Italy. The origin of the Pelasgi is a recent discovery of Professor Roeth, and was only ascertained by means of the Egyptian records.

The Hellenes of history are not descended from the Pelasgi; they belong to the youngest of earth's sons, the race now dominant over the globe. The term "Caucasian," applied by former ethnographers to what was looked upon as a single race, embracing all the white portions of humanity, was disused when found in conflict with the primary division of languages, into the Indo-Germanic and Semitic; the latter being spoken by what is now known to be a distinct race, the Abyssinian. The difference between the two is very marked; the people of Israel are distinguishable by their personal appearance at a glance, even in the British Parliament or the American Senate. The Indo-Germanic race is inaptly called from two links of the chain, without any reference to the whole. They issue from the gorges of the Hindoo Khoo, and it is in Persia and India that they first attained political power. The Persians and the Indians called themselves "Arians," "first," "early," from the same radix as *ἀριστοι* the "erst," or best; an appellation which their descendants need not discard.

A branch of the Arian race spread southwardly, and established an advanced civilization on the banks of the Indus and the Ganges. It is now found to be much younger than

was formerly supposed, dating but little beyond the Christian era.

The Chaldees were Arians, not so much a people as an order of sages, the immediate pupils of Zoroaster, the first of speculative religionists. They were admitted to the courts of the Assyrian kings, but the intercourse of the two races did not long remain friendly.

The Hebrew civilization sprung from the Abyssinian, but was early affected by Arian influences. Moses fled from the court of Memphis to Ur of the Chaldees, and returned with that system of legislation which he succeeded in impressing so deeply upon the character of his people.

The branch of the Arians that emigrated westward, settled Greece and Italy. Here they established the undoubted superiority of the race over every other; they alone have produced artists, they alone have given free scope to the instinct of the beautiful in man. They learned the useful arts from the Egyptians, but idealized them into the fine arts; the palaces of their masters they transformed into temples; their dogmas into myths; their graven records into dancing rhythms. The north-western current was subdivided into the Celts, Germans, and Slaves; with some intermediate ones, as the Scythians, Lithuanians, Magyars, &c. The Celts are the people of Spain, Wales, Erse, (Irish,) Gael, (Highland Scotch,) and Belgium. The Germans are threefold: the High Germans, south of Saxony and Hessa; the Low Germans, (including the Dutch and English,) and the Scandinavians in Denmark, Sweden, and Norway; to the Slaves belong the

Russians, Cossacks, Poles, Crechs, (Bohemians,) and Ser-
vians. The languages of all these nations are identical,
while they treat of pastoral subjects, but diverge when they
approach matters of higher civilization; a sign of the stage
at which the separation of those tribes took place.

The overthrow of the Assyrian kingdom by the Persians
was the first of these struggles for the supremacy or extinc-
tion between the two highest races of man, which lasted
through the wars of Xerxes and Alexander, the Punic
struggle, the successes of the Saracens, and the crusades; in
which the Arians finally remained masters of the field, rather
from the exhaustion of their antagonists, than from victories
of their own.

The Greeks, as has been shown, were the offspring of a
fusion of Abyssinians, Pelasgi, and of the Hellenic family.
The Romans were likewise a mixture of Etrurians, of Pelas-
gian origin, and of Arians. Thus the noblest races of ancient
history were produced by a mixture of varieties.

In the new Rome the elementary ingredients are more
multiform than any that have hitherto been brought to-
gether; the Arians and the Black are here found in inces-
sant contact. Will this juxtaposition remain? Experience
and reason answer, no. Perfection is a goal of nature, of
instinct, and of thought; and neither of these agents will
permit the most perfect and the most gross examples of the
same species long to continue side by side; the unity of races
must be accomplished. But how? By the murder of the
inferior race? No one is here to propose it. By expatriation.

as attempted in some of the states? A nugatory game of battledore and shuttlecock, which could have no other effect than that of making confirmed vagrants of men who might be useful servants; one of the few means by which a servile war might be made possible, or which would at all events produce a race of professed outlaws; a measure cruel in view of our boundless natural wealth and sparse population, and in direct violation of the fundamental American rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; one to which the American people will never descend. Neither will it be by the dogmatical assertion of the fancied equality of the races, and the determination to raise the inferior race, by artificial means, into social stations to which neither their natural gifts nor their natural inclinations would elevate them. The remedy is found, not in governmental theories, but in the provisions of nature.

There is a deep-seated, instinctive horror of amalgamation among the American people; it is but the expression of the natural law that a higher order of beings must not be deteriorated by admixture with a lower. This ensues by the cohabitation of the male of the lower race with the female of the higher; the ovum of the latter being thus tainted. Nature herself is said to militate against this outrage. But in the case of a white male and a black female, the ovum is improved; and this process is said to be no less promoted by the prevailing inclination of colored females, than indulged by public opinion among the whites; the fruits of it are, at all events, continually gaining ground, and the pure black race becoming thinner. So strictly is this law observed, that where

the colored race is most numerous, all the grades of admixture are exactly noted, and, while the cross of the lower breed by the higher is freely permitted, the reverse is universally condemned by those of every color.

The "white-washing" process thus commenced, eventually will efface all traces of the black race not capable of advantageous admixture with the white. The political emancipation of the slaves must take place much sooner; as soon as the two main obstacles have yielded to the demands of time. The one of these is the political and social immaturity of the white laborer, which still gives the non-laboring portion of the community a factitious superiority; the other the superstition that the colored race are equal to the white in capacity, and will be able, when their political trammels are removed, to usurp that social station which an instinct truer than theory denies them. When the fear is radically removed that the slave, if emancipated, will possess the address and cunning to enslave his former master, that master will prefer his free labor, and freedom from responsibility when he does not labor, to his possession as an often useless chattel. When we no longer fear that they will induce our daughters to marry them, we shall no longer uphold laws against such marriages; when we no longer fear that they will become Presidents and Senators, overbearing the influence of white statesmen, we shall no longer deny them the right to be elected. The slave must be emancipated and invested with the rights of citizenship. / He is not now in the position that belongs to him; in the abstract that proposition needs no

proof, and in practice it is proved by the stampedes of twenty and thirty constantly recurring, and by the "*five hundred lashes*, not more than *thirty-nine* at one time, to be administered *only* when, in the physician's opinion, he could bear them," which was the sentence pronounced upon the slave Henry, at Charlestown, Va., for attempting to kill Mr. Harrison Anderson, because "it is in accordance with the *law of the land*, and because THE INSUBORDINATION AMONG THE SLAVES OF THE STATE HAS BECOME TRULY ALARMING." ^x Calhoun was right in saying that the days of slavery are numbered. ^x What is not accomplished by white competition, reinforced by the present unparalleled accessions from emigration, must be effected when the countless millions of Chinese, having saturated California, shall carry across the Rocky Mountains their admirable plantation labor, their hardihood, docility, industry, and light wages. The "white basis" progress of the Southern states, the proposal for dividing Virginia, followed up by the more recent one of dividing Texas, point to the inevitable current of events. It is in the interest of the white laborer to extinguish the competition of forced labor; and wherever the white laborer obtains a voice, it will be heard. A Chinese works for \$3 a month; an Indian Coolie for *forty cents*; a sum for which a slave can never be fed and clothed. The blacks will find every where that natural position which they occupy in the Northern states; they will be barbers, waiters, porters, and coachmen; earning enough to meet their wants, and yet coming into no contact with white

labor; easy, yet never rich; all gentlemen, but none of them business men; fond of pleasure, and often of show, but never greedy of wealth or power. There is no greater sophistry than the affectation of pity for the Northern negro. "A slave without a master!" Having no master to impose it, his slavery is the imposition of his own inclination, in other words, his freedom; the public opinion which restrains him from entering other spheres is rooted far more firmly in his own breast than in that of his white fellow-citizen; all ambitious individuals among them have attained the goal of their ambition, with not more difficulty than falls to the lot of the whites. The black race of the free states is in fact happier than the white; the task of the former is done, while the latter have their destiny yet to fulfil. In the clear apprehension of the social inferiority of the negro, we have the sure guarantee of his political redemption.

4.—MISSION.

Thus intently is this republic at work upon the fusion of all nations, not of the continent alone, but of all continents, into one people. Will that people be satisfied with uniting the one continent? Will they not see that the unity of *all* the people calls for a unity of the state? Will not the emigrants who have found under these institutions the goal of their hopes, which they have vainly sought at home, determine to extend the shadow of these institutions so as to enable them to return to the lands of their birth, and re-establish

their social and industrial connections there, without resigning the political advantages once secured? Will not their former compatriots determine to share these privileges without paying for them the price of expatriation? The internal trade of these states is almost incalculable; the external commerce comparatively trifling. Hear Kossuth on the cause of the difference:—

“Philadelphia is the first manufacturing city of the Union, but exports to foreign countries none of its products. Why so? Because the only markets open in Europe are not fitted to these products, whilst despotism closes the markets for which they are fitted. Restricted markets, for instance, are open for highly finished cutlery, steam engines, or locomotives, which England can supply at cheaper rates; but *oppression and concomitant poverty* prevent all trade with at least one hundred and ten millions of the population of Eastern Europe, who have shown that they would eagerly purchase and prefer American-made axes, steam-engines, and locomotives, to hew down their forests, and traverse their loved plains, and magnificent water-courses, on which all enterprise now slumbers; the whole Russian Empire not having a fraction of the railway lines laid down in the small state of Belgium.

“As there is every reason why, but for *the poverty attendant on bad government*, the eastern frontier of the European continent should trade more largely with the United States than the western, it may fairly be presumed that the overturn of despotism in these regions, inhabited by one hundred and twenty millions of people, and the establishment there of free government, would rapidly raise the commerce of the United States with those countries above the average of France and Belgium, which would give three or four-fold its trade to the entire continent of Europe, or twenty-five times its whole present trade with Russia, Austria, and Prussia. The United States is, therefore, materially interested in these events. The philanthropic point of view is the same for all nations. *It is proved, by an almost unvarying scale, that according as a people is more or less liberally governed, so is the quality of its food better or worse, and its material comforts augmented or diminished, and that, coincident with this augmentation or diminution, human life is lengthened or abridged.* The average of life in

Russia is very little more than half what it is in Great Britain, and follows in intermediate countries precisely the ascending or descending scale of their liberality of government and physical well-being.

“It may, therefore, fairly be pronounced that if the vast regions of Russia were blessed with free representative and responsible government, upwards of one million of human beings would not annually die, who now perish the victims of a system. What war was ever so bloody as the sacrifices required by such a Moloch?”

In the above extract we have italicized those passages which put to rest the hackneyed commonplace, that forms of government have nothing to do with “substantial welfare.” Whatever gives power to one man, and takes it from another, must, by the law of human nature, be followed by the advancement of the interests of the former to the detriment of the latter; hence, where the power is in the few, the many cannot but suffer. But the connection is far more direct and pervading: wealth is the offspring of trade; trade, of enterprise; enterprise, of will; will, of ambition; and ambition, of liberty. He who is taught to submit to political wrongs, is trained to submit to physical discomforts; he who is relieved from political bondage, is restive at the pressure of worldly circumstances, and determined to become independent of their control. This thirst of social independence is nothing more nor less than the “*demand*,” on which the political economists base their calculations; a plant that never did, and never will flourish, but on the soil of political liberation. America is so thinly peopled, that if its inhabitants were disposed to rest satisfied with the physical condition of the European masses, each family might sit under its own log-

cabin eaves, reckless of, and unknown to the others. But by virtue of their sovereignty, these American hundreds maintain a briskness of intercourse hardly inferior to that of the crowded serfs of Europe, even in those regions where that serfdom is least oppressive. Make political sovereigns of these serfs, and they would issue their sovereign "demand" for social independence, in tones that would increase their industry in American proportion, and make our trade with them as active as that now maintained among ourselves. The difference thus perpetuated is an embargo upon American industry for the benefit of European monarchs; it is but another form of the "taxation without representation," which first called forth the American revolution, and which must call it forth again, so soon as it is felt; and felt it will be, whenever the fields of the West shall be so far occupied by American settlers, and European and Chinese emigrants, as no longer to exhaust the expansiveness of the American people.

If the welfare of Americans and Europeans is the standard of right and justice, then it is the right of both or either to demand a perfect freedom of mutual trade. But we have seen that free trade requires free government. The people, then, will never stop short of a mutual guarantee of republican governments; but republican government is only the insurance of the sovereignty of the individual, and that is the root and the core of the American institutions of '76 and '87. *The American Union must infederate into its political pale all the countries with which it is brought into social contact.*

The American constitution is the political expression of the present phase of human development; it must be co-existent and co-extensive with that which it expresses.

The start of half horror and half derision with which this idea is yet every where received, is found to proceed in the last resort from a remnant of Europeanism which is yet imbedded in the American mind, and which we propose to eradicate by a brief historical analysis: the idea of nationality with its corollaries of national rights and national honor.

Man's impulse is always fight; his afterthought friendship. Hence the first interview between man and man probably took the form of a "fall-to" about some blackberry bush, in which each claimed exclusive property. Perhaps the origin of the Trojan war is a fair type of the inception of human intercourse. These are the "foundations of the social structure" which our conservatives are so anxious to preserve, and our progressives to reconstruct. These individual skirmishes continued until some particularly stalwart rowdy, by the terror of his prowess, induced two or three others to combine against him. This led to a counter-combination; the fighting partnerships increased in numbers, and, from being established for special purposes, came to be regarded as standing associations for mutual defence and common aggression. This was the origin of the Tribe—the only political form of combination of which savages are capable.

Fights between tribes are of course as inevitable as rows between individual savages. In general, being conducted without aim or purpose, they result in nothing but occasion-

ally the extermination of a tribe, or its incorporation with another. But at times some "mighty hunter," the chief of his tribe, would hit upon the expedient of subjugating an adverse tribe, without taking away its separate existence; thus dividing, indeed, but at the same time expanding his power. These cunning hunters were soon established kings. Their cunning lies, and must lie, in their skill in perpetuating and extending their kingdoms—that is, their power over others, and the degradation of their victims.

A king soon required a capital, a stronghold for himself, and a gathering-place for his immediate followers. Towns are in their origin the strongholds erected by kings. London Town is a suburb to the London Tower; town and burg express *bulwarks*, or *pallisades*. The Tower of Babel is the city of Babylon; the building of Babylon was not in fact interrupted; the story of the confusion of tongues is therefore to be understood as the opinion of the Hebrews—who then had a purely rural constitution, without a king, and consequently without a *pal*—on the feasibility of such an undertaking; and the particular scruple is the best evidence of the fact that *until men began to build cities, their contrivances for the exchange of thought had not attained that degree of uniformity which entitled them to the name of language*. This position, easily deduced from abstract principles—for the multiform contact of city life could alone create that *demand* of words necessary to produce a supply—is corroborated by all history. The English language arose when the English kings were finally settled at Westminster. The French had nothing but

an inextricable jargon of patois until Louis XI. broke its liberties and its speech into the yoke of Paris. The Spanish and the Portuguese would be, like the Castilian and Arragonese, parts of one language, instead of forming two, but that Madrid was made the concentrating point of all the peninsula except that portion maintained by Lisbon. The Italian language is the reflexion of the Roman. The German is a product of a fusion of the idiom of the Hanseatic towns with that of the courts of Worms and Spires; it is, in its present shape, a very recent production of the German mind. Babylon, Memphis, Jerusalem, Athens, Rome, London, Paris, Vienna, Prague, Buda, the Escorial, and Moscow, all tell the histories of languages.

The inhabitants of one town would send forth colonies; and every language is the uniform medium of mental exchange, adopted by a civic constellation, having a mother-town for its centre, and other towns planetary to the metropolis.

Community of language is, despite all that Kossuth has urged to the contrary, the well-spring of every nationality. A man likes his "fellow-countryman" better than a foreigner, simply because with the former his intercourse is unembarrassed, while with the latter it is difficult. The patriotism of nationality is found to arise in every instance, exactly when a fixed and matured language becomes the medium and the element of a fixed nationality. In the middle ages we have none of it. The empire of Charlemagne knew nothing of France, Germany, Italy, or Spain; the distinctions were then

only between "Christendom and Heathenesse." *La bella Italia* had to be sung by Petrarch to become a popular watchword; Chaucer is, in truth, the "pure well of English undefined." Spain was not mentioned until Cervantes and Vega wrote in Spanish; nor Portugal as a nation, until Camoens wrote a Portuguese epic. *La belle France* is the fantasy of the court poets of Louis XIV. The German nation never thought of its own existence until the revolt of Lessing from the literary supremacy of the French, and the efforts of Klopstock.

In so far as the growth of nations was the growth of an understanding between people of the same tongue to unite for mutual defence and assistance, it was an advance in the motions of humanity. But just as isolated individuals gradually became aware of each other's existence, so these fictitious individuals, the nations, were necessarily brought into contact with each other. The result in both cases was the same. *They fought until they learned to talk together.** "It has, from long observation of the progress of society, become a sort of axiom in politics," says the *Federalist*, p. 38, "that vicinity or nearness of situation constitutes nations natural enemies. An intelligent writer, the Abbé de Mably, in his *Principes des Negotiations*, expresses himself on this subject to this effect: "NEIGHBORING NATIONS (says he) are naturally ENEMIES of each other, unless their common weakness forces

* The Latin word *hostis* signifies foreigner, and is the same with *hospes*, guest and host.

them to league in a CONFEDERATE REPUBLIC, and their constitution prevents the differences that neighborhood occasions, extinguishing that secret jealousy which disposes all states to aggrandize themselves at the expense of their neighbors. This passage at the same time points out the EVIL and the REMEDY." Wars are the results of mistaken ideas of interest and pride, possible only so long as the individual identifies his personal interests, not with those of humanity at large, but with those of a certain portion of humanity, with whom he speaks the same language, and whom he terms a nation. Nationality is the root of war. Nations, so soon as they become self-conscious, are associations of people for the purpose of taking away other people's land ; a nation may be defined to be an organization for making war on other nations, killing their subjects and pillaging their property, or of robbing them of their substance by the peaceful means of commercial and industrial competition. Wars require armies ; recurring wars, standing armies ; and armies, generals ; generalissimos are monarchs ; and thus the fictions of nationality are the causes of all the woes under which Europe is struggling. In 1848 the people rebelled against the excrescences of the principle ; but the rebellion was quelled by the yet unexpended force of the principle itself. Nationality, which enlisted the French republic against the Italian, caused the fall of both ; nationality, which set the Italian upon the German, the German upon the Magyar, the Magyar against the Slavonian, the Slavonian against the German, and the German against the Dane, overthrew the republic in Italy, Germany,

Hungary, Slavonia, and Denmark, and reseated itself upon the ruins. Peoples without intercourse, a censorship without a literature, taxation without industry, custom-houses without commerce, and standing armies with none to fight against, but those they are paid to protect, and governments without law,—such are the brilliant triumphs which nationality has achieved. Europe is a kitchen of hellish cauldrons, none of which are to be disturbed in their task of annihilating all that lives within them; and the spirit of humanity sits like a prowling cat to watch the work of destruction, but forbidden, on pain of burning its paws, to meddle or interfere.

This state of things, abnormal as it would appear, has been reduced into a doctrine. The “Law of Nations” is the formula which casts over these absurdities the mountebank’s coat of pseudo-science. It was imposed by those who *could*; obeyed by those who *would*; expounded by those who were powerless to enforce it; enforced or violated by those who made the case first, and the law afterwards. It is *ex-post facto* from beginning to end; it has neither judge, nor jury, nor sheriff. It could not be a law, without professing to expound rights; nor expound rights, without assigning them to persons; nor treat of persons having rights, but by calling them sovereigns, for sovereignty is the fulness of rights. Its sovereigns are nations; but they are fictitious sovereigns, because fictitious persons, and their rights fictitious rights; they are never appealed to but where it is required to prejudice the rights of individuals, which are the only real rights, because individuals are the only real persons, and therefore the only real sove-

reigns. If an English power protests against the flogging of a sovereign Austrian woman, it is a violation of the right of the sovereign Austrian nation to flog its woman. If a British squadron vindicates the rights of sovereign Chinamen and sovereign Englishmen to mutual trade and intercourse, it is an invasion of the right of the sovereign Chinese nations to trammel the commerce of its subjects. If sovereign American filibusters deny the right of a Captain-General to keep them out of an island not made with hands, called by Indians Cuba, and now monopolized and oppressed by Spaniards, they deny the sovereignty of the Spanish nation. In short, the law of nations is never vindicated but in opposition to the men and women of, in, and around those nations.

The law of nations has been publicly repudiated by those for whose benefit it was originally established. "Three contracting monarchs, in accordance with the words of Holy Writ, would remain united in the bonds of an inseparable fraternity, *look upon each other as fellow-countrymen*, and in every case give each other aid and comfort; and rule *their subjects and their armies*, whose fathers they were, in the same spirit and fraternity. Their only principle would therefore be that of mutual assistance. By unalterable kindness they hoped to preserve their mutual attachments, and to look upon each other as members of THE SAME Christian PEOPLE. They were mere attorneys of Providence, ordered to govern three branches of THE SAME FAMILY."

This declaration appeared on the 26th of September, 1815, over the signatures of the Austrian, Russian, and Prussian

potentates; it was followed up in 1821 by the resolution adopted at the Congress of Laybach, "TO RECOGNIZE THE PRINCIPLE OF INTERVENTION IN ITS WIDEST SENSE, and on every occasion where the preservation of the existing conditions of their countries made it necessary, WHETHER IN REFERENCE TO FORMS OF GOVERNMENT or to boundaries;" and it has been unsuccessfully adhered to from that time to this.

This remarkable change of tactics was owing to the discovery of a new principle which, aiming at political institutions based upon science, inevitably tended to the overthrow of nationalities, which are political institutions based upon accident. The men of every nation had begun to suspect that their interests were one with those of certain men of other nations, and adverse to those of certain men of their own. The war of nations, which is based upon the alliance of governor and general in one nation, against the alliance of governor and general in another, had given place to the war of REVOLUTION, which is based upon the alliance of governors in all nations, against the alliance of governed in all. The former alliance preoccupied the title of Holy. The Profane Alliance is the subject of this essay.

The revolution is the offspring of the only people which is not a nation. A gathering of all the exiles of the world,—and an exile is a man deprived of his nationality, rejected by his nation;—an assemblage whose spring of action was disgust at the national cruelties from which they had fled;—a convocation from all the corners of the world *for conscience sake*, for the preservation of this individual sovereignty

against the encroachments of national traditions ;—a horde of emigrants who knew nationality in the guise of national poverty ;—America was, by the force of circumstances, the *rendezvous* of all to whom nationality had been the source of all their sufferings.

Nations, we have seen, are unions based upon community of *speech* ; this the Americans renounced, in favor of a union based upon a unity of *thought* ; and thus fell nationality, and arose the *republic*. The native Americans partly have been forced to doff the European part of their title ; and they have done wisely. It is the duty of the American party to combat all European traditions which are incompatible with Americanism ; *but, above all, that of nationality*. To vindicate individualism against nationality, is the office of America. This is, at the same time, the whole force and scope of the revolution ; thus, the revolution which arose in and with America, must for ever return to it ; and America, which began in revolution, must live in it, and end with it. When the dominion of nationality is crushed, and the sovereignty of the individual is attained, everywhere and everyhow, the missions of the revolution and of America will both be accomplished.

“ It has been frequently remarked,” (such are the ever-memorable words of Alexander Hamilton on the opening page of the *Federalist*.) “ that it seems to have been reserved to the people of this country to decide, by their conduct and example, the important question, whether societies of men are really capable, or not, of establishing good government on reflection and choice, or whether they are for ever destined to depend, for their political constitutions, on accident and force.”

Independence was the first answer given to this problem ; the establishment of the republic in place of the Kingdom. *Union*, was the sound ; whilst *accident* is multifarious, *reflection* is the principle of unity ; the state established upon reflection must needs be a unitary state. Thus was “*E pluribus Unum*” made the watchword of our course.

The fact of the unity of the mind, and of the foundation of the republican state upon the mind, should have silenced ere this the thoughtless reiteration of many men, who, in other respects, have been found capable of reflection, of the commonplace that one kind of government will not do for all men, because men are different in different countries. The “government” which is capable of uniting all, is just that which alone insures free scope to all their differences. The Indian widows are burnt by the priests ; the Chinese girls have their feet pinched ; the Russian serfs are compelled to draw their lord’s carriage, and the Russian officers to marry Bulgarian ladies. To give them American institutions would not compel the women to burn the priests, the girls to waltz, the lords to draw their serfs, or the officers to marry Yankee girls ; but simply to let the women and the priests both go unburnt, the girls dance or pinch their feet, and ladies and officers to marry or be given in marriage, or not, just as the natural peculiarities of climate and country would impel them. If, then, their national peculiarities are natural and necessary, they would be, not extinguished, but guaranteed by the introduction of American liberty. It is to be feared,

however, that that species of guarantee would remove the agent which is, in point of fact, necessary to the preservation of their "natural" existence. The German, when he comes to America, forgets, of his own accord, to fear the "Polizei;" the Irishman, without any coercion or compulsion, at once forgets his "natural" privilege of paying rack-rent. It is fairly to be inferred, therefore, that, if American institutions were brought home to them, those good old habits would not long remain; and the Chinese and Russians would perhaps submit with equal grace to the process of Yankeeification.

The independence and the union of the state require its *universality*. The American sovereign feels his title to the full enjoyment of his independence in every corner of the globe, and to protection in that enjoyment. Those who have united among themselves on the ground of the discovery of common principles, and a common nature, feel the force of the argument to apply to all other men with whom they hold the same principles in common.* "The enlargement of the orbis of government," was declared by Hamilton, (*Federalist*, p. 52,) "an indispensable element of American welfare."

* "The principles underlying the Constitution," says Wm. H. Seward, in his letter to James Maher, dated March 15, 1844, "are, that the whole earth is the heritage of man, and every accessible part of it free to his footsteps; and that, wherever, in the providence of God, he was born, or might be led, and into whatsoever rank or condition he might fall, there he of right was, and ought to be, a member of the civil state, and entitled to free and equal suffrage for those who should make, and for those who should execute, the laws; and that the suffrage was a condition precedent of his obedience."

“The immediate object of the Federal Constitution is, to secure the union of the thirteen primitive states, which we know to be practicable: and to add to them such other states as may arise in their own bosoms, or in their neighborhoods, which we cannot doubt to be equally practicable.” (Ib., p. 85.) This is the doctrine of Filibustierism; to which those of our moralists educated to European ways of thinking, oppose the wrongfulness of conquest, and the unrighteousness of a propaganda by force and violence. But we do not conquer, we liberate; we abolish force and violence, and do not introduce it. Our “form of government,” miscalled from a fallacious use of European terms, is a system of *non-government*, of the absence of all dictation; and the imposition of non-government is a contradiction in terms. We do not propose to force the Cubans to expel their Captain-General, but to prevent the Captain-General from forcing the Cubans to retain him. We will not compel the Japanese to trade with us, but the Japanese government to abstain from preventing the intercourse of the Japanese with us, if they think proper to open it. We go behind nationalities to find the people. This is the head and front of our offending; this is what will give to the American Revolution the empire of the world.

The infederation of states will proceed in a regular gradation, depending upon their more or less intimate connection with the existing republic. This series it will not be very difficult to trace.

5.—THE ANGLO-SAXONS.

The "possessions" of England on this continent embrace the Canadas, some of the West India Islands, and British Guiana. They must be extricated from their state of colonial vassalage, to become integral parts of the continental federation. Recent letters from Jamaica take ground in favor of the annexation of that island. The "ruin" under which it has labored since the act of emancipation, is the ruin of the traders who lived upon its dependent condition; it has been attended with the formation of what constitutes the base of all solid prosperity, an independent and enterprising yeomanry. These love to affiliate with Yankee peddlers and mechanics; they see in annexation a formal abnegation of their part of subjection; it will not be long delayed.

We have heretofore considered the annexation of Canada in every point of view except that arising from its connection with England. Would the resistance of England to the declared will of the States and of Canada combined, avail to thwart it? We think not. The Fishery question has clearly shown that England cannot afford to quarrel with us. Three months of non-importation from America would entirely overturn her industrial system; three months of non-intercourse with England would simply direct the current of American enterprise into new channels. It is no idle boast to say that at this moment America is the dominant, England the subordinate power.

There is, however, no probability of a conflict. The ex-

perience of the thirteen colonies, which became the main stay of the social prosperity of England after they were separated from her political dictation, has taught her a valuable lesson. The English have no idea of permanently retaining their colonies. They are continually acquiring new ones, "the Saxon thirst for boundless sway" drives them to the ends of the earth; they make them seminaries of democracy by giving them the most liberal constitutions; but they resolutely deny them a share in controlling the destinies of the mother-country; no one speaks seriously of the admission of colonial members into parliament. The colonies will come to send their representatives to Washington, but not to Westminster. Yet, as no one pretends that the condition of a colony is one in which a growing community can for ever remain, the alternative is unavoidable, of incorporation with the parent state, or of separation on the footing of independence. The British mind has made its choice already in this dilemma: Lord John Russell having declared two years ago, on the ministerial bench of parliament, that "whenever the colonies considered themselves ripe for independence, and desired to withdraw, they might depart in peace; the mother-country would content itself with the honor of having contributed to the spread of political liberty by the establishment and nurture of her colonies."

The treaty for the acquisition of the Sandwich Islands is concluded, and only awaits its ratification. These islands are the first stopping-place between this continent and Asia; they can hardly be called, geographically speaking, an Ameri-

can outpost. The expedition to Japan and China has already started on its mission of making a breach for the entrance of American enterprise into these walled-up magazines of wealth and civilization. But the spangled banner will probably find its first resting-place upon another country of those distant regions.

The largest island of the world, Australia, is thus described by one of its most patriotic inhabitants,—Dr. Lang, member of the legislative council of New South Wales :—

“ For eight months of the year, from March to November, the climate of New South Wales is delightful. The sky is seldom clouded, and for weeks together the sun looks down in unveiled beauty. Refreshing showers in ordinary seasons are not unfrequent, and it sometimes rains as heavily as within the tropics. It seldom freezes in Sydney, and never snows; but fires are requisite during the day in the winter months, and for a considerable time longer in the mornings and evenings. During summer the heat is rarely oppressive, the thermometer seldom rising higher than 35 deg.

“ The soil is very prolific; and the climate, in spite of occasional heavy droughts, admirable. Lumber is found in great variety and perfection; the fisheries afford still greater advantages. Agriculture, however, is more profitable than either; specimens of sweet potatoes are mentioned weighing 30 pounds; in the province of Victoria the average yield of wheat to the acre is 30 bushels, though Dr. Lang mentions an instance in which 65 have been raised. And yet all these sources of wealth are inferior in importance to the grazing interest.

“ Emigration to this country was always considerable; in 1851 it was estimated at 36,000; at that time, after a lapse of only 64 years from the date of its first settlement, the white population had increased to more than 330,000, irrespective of Van Diemen's Land. The total amount of exports from the provinces of New South Wales, Victoria, and South Australia was \$3,370,000, the principal items being wool and tallow; and the outgoing tonnage was 380,797. The principal part of the land was in the possession of “squatters,” as they are termed, or proprietors of those im-

mense herds of sheep and cattle, whose produce has till lately formed the staple export of Australia generally. The vast tract of land over which these flocks and herds roam—stretching in a straight line about 1100 miles across the country—is not the actual property of the squatters, but is merely hired of the government from year to year, each applicant receiving a license for a “run,” as it is termed in the local designation, incurring the risk of being removed should any *bona fide* purchaser present himself. In consequence of the very favorable terms on which the proprietors of stock are enabled to hire these runs, paying merely a nominal price for the privilege, and the encouragement generally held out to them by the government, the squatting interest is the most wealthy and influential in the colony, forming, indeed, quite a landed aristocracy.”*

A laboring proletariat is the element of rebellion; but a landed aristocracy is the seed of revolutions.

The inhabitants, up to the previous year, labored under two standing grievances: the importation of government convicts, and the government monopoly of land. “Without entering into a review of the various changes of policy that have been adopted as to the alienation of the crown lands—from the free gifts of hundreds of thousands of acres to official favorites to their sale at five shillings sterling an acre—it will be sufficient for the present purpose to state, that, according to the last regulation of the Imperial Parliament on the subject, the price of land was fixed at a minimum of £1 per acre, to be sold in lots of not less than 640 acres, or a square mile. The tracts are put up for sale by public auction, which may be called at any time when a purchase is wished to be effected, and knocked down to the highest bidder, though no offers are

* *New York Tribune*, October 12, 1852.

accepted below the £1 per acre. These are for country lots, the suburban lots being put up at £2 10; but in the older cities, such as Sydney and Melbourne, a lot will bring at least as much as in the most valuable part of the city of New York.* This system, which prevented the "landed aristocrats" from buying, and discouraged laborers from settling, naturally united the two interests in opposition to the "mother-country." Independence was already the subject of agitation; a confederacy of five states was to uphold Saxon independence in the South Seas.

✓ The discovery of gold mines, richer than those of California, diverted public attention from this and every other subject. Like California, the island became a goal of emigration from all the corners of the earth. An armament weekly sets sail from English ports for Australia; the average emigration of every day is set down at 1000 souls—making 300,000 a year! China has sent immense numbers, many of whom take the places of the herdsmen who have gone to the diggings. Even Californians have emigrated in masses, attracted by the report of the superior productiveness of the new-found mines. By the close of September, 1852, New York had sent a fleet of twenty sail, crowded with passengers, a number small in comparison to those who were preparing to follow. Where is all this to end? Every returning ship brings tidings of newly discovered layers of ore, and the cargoes are a voucher for the truth of the reports. The fable of Mount

* *New York Tribune*, October 12, 1852.

Alexander, the veritable golden mountain, refuses for once to dissolve into mist. In a short time the population of Australia will have tripled in numbers.

It is not easy to see how the change thus effected can operate otherwise than as an additional incentive to independence. Causes of collision between the "authorities" and the adventurers will not be wanting in a state of transition and consequent partial confusion like the present. It is possible that England will be sufficiently blinded by the glitter of Australian gold, to deviate in this instance from the colonial policy maintained since 1783; but if so, the intervening stretch of ocean will offer a great impediment to her coercive operation. True, the Indian regiments are nearer at hand; but when were the Indian regiments at leisure for a sea voyage? If the Australians should be hard pushed, the emigrants from California—who are certainly determined not to submit to British dictation while they can exercise an influence in the States—would suffer with them, and the American people first, and the American government after them, would come to their aid. A little stretch of the Monroe doctrine alone would require such a cause. The west coast of America, from similarity of natural and social position, would probably take the lead in this movement. The independence of Australia thus achieved, and with American assistance, annexation will follow as a natural consequence. Meagher, the Irish exile, tells of a banner of stars even now concealed at various places on the island; if these are not yet the stars of the right stripe, it will be very easy to make them so.

which falls short of the increase given above by 25,000 to 55,000.*

These proportions have now altered : “ there were at least 60,000 fewer people in the British isles on the 29th of September, 1852, than there had been on the 24th of June. In

* The emigration of the United Kingdom from the year 1825 is the following :—

1825.....	14,891
1826.....	20,900
1827.....	28,003
1828.....	26,092
1829.....	31,198
1830.....	56,907
1831.....	83,160
1832.....	103,140
1833.....	62,527
1834.....	76,222
1835.....	44,478
1836.....	75,417
1837.....	72,034
1838.....	33,222
1839.....	62,207
1840.....	90,743
1841.....	118,572
1842.....	128,344
1843.....	57,212
1844.....	70,686
1845.....	93,501
1846.....	129,851
1847.....	258,270
1848.....	248,289
1849.....	299,498
1850.....	280,849
1851.....	335,966

that quarter the births were 151,193, and the deaths 100,497, leaving a balance in favor of the population of 50,696. But in the same period there sailed from those shores, at those ports where government emigration offices are established, no fewer than 109,236 persons, so that the gain above specified becomes at once a loss of 58,540. Making allowance for those departures which escaped registration, we may very safely set the total loss produced by emigration at not less than 60,000 persons—a fact which implies not only that our population,” we quote the *Times* as above, “is decreasing, but that it is decreasing more rapidly than it ever yet increased. A total of some 200,000 or 225,000 a-year represented the greatest ordinary amount of gain in this particular, but the loss on the other side is now upward of 100,000 in a single quarter, and that quarter, we may be pretty sure, will be left considerably behind by the quarter next to come.”

To make these statements tally with the above estimates of Lord Derby, it is necessary to assume that the figures he gives date only to the beginning of the quarter under consideration by the *Times*, so that the total emigration to the close of the year 1852 may be set down at 500,000, leaving a decrease of 150,000 to 200,000. “We shall probably be within the mark,” continues the English organ, “in saying that our population will, for a certain period, diminish in the same ratio as it has heretofore increased, and that, instead of 200,000 a year being *added*, the same amount will be *subtracted*.”

“The great question is, how long this drain will be continued? We can only say that there appears, as yet, no sign whatever of cessation or abatement. There is no doubt but that more people left the country in October than left it in September, and as little that more are departing in this present month than departed in October. Only the other day we published a notification that the Government Emigration Commissioners, having fixed on Southampton as a depot, had stipulated for the construction of a species of barracoon at each terminus of the Southwestern Railway, capable of containing 2,000 emigrants, who were to be cleared off with extraordinary facility and quickness, and replaced by fresh claimants for a passage. The opening of the new year, according to the announcement, was expected to communicate a strong additional impulse to the traffic, and, as Australia will at least take all we can send, it is hard to fix any limit to the displacement. The effects indeed are already felt in almost every branch of every-day business, and the experience of another year under these strange conditions will go far to teach us how soon what is now relief may assume the character of exhaustion. As many men are not employed in the army, navy, and militia, all taken together, as are now leaving England every six months.”

From all these facts it is safe to infer that the population of England at this moment has sunk to	27,000,000
Turning now to the statistics of the United States, we find the inhabitants for the year 1840 numbering.....	17,063,353
For the year 1850	23,144,126
This number has certainly risen, by natural increase and immigration, to	25,000,000
And it may fairly be presumed that, at the end of another year, either country will contain..	26,000,000
The commercial marine of America is already equal to that of England. The tonnage of the former is given for June 30, 1850, at	3,681,469
While that of the latter is	3,130,000

The ton of the United States is smaller than that of England, which will perhaps cancel the difference in numbers; but

the increase since the taking of the census has certainly been more rapid in America than in Britain. English sailors are leaving the service of their ships in such numbers, for the better pay and perhaps treatment of American captains, that the English, by their own account, find a difficulty in manning their line-of-battle ships on short notice. The rats desert the sinking vessel. The English navy is, indeed, far in advance of the American; yet the latter is sufficient for all present exigencies, and in case of an increased demand, the supply will not be wanting. The docks can quickly launch as many ships as will be needed, when the needful in funds and in materials are so easily obtained. The Americans, proceeding upon the true principle, that a heavy load of armor in time of peace absorbs the powers which should be reserved for the battle, prefer to keep their capital at work in the commercial marine, which will easily furnish materials for warfare when required.

In agriculture and manufactures, we find the same proportions as in population and commerce; the United States excel England in the former, and fall but little short of it in the latter. Although an equal amount of produce is not obtained from the same extent of surface, yet the entire area is so much greater that the gross amount of production must needs be superior also. The number of horses alive in the United States is five millions; more than three times that of England; highly important for so fast a people!

American manufactures are hastening with astonishing rapidity to take their stand by the side of those of England.

Cotton factories are daily going up, and in India and China the fabrics of America are already supplanting the English. Wool has become an article of *importation* for American manufactures, the demand being ahead of the production ; and it is well ascertained that the proportion of the cotton crop manufactured in the country is increasing year by year. The period, then, is not far distant, when raw cotton will no longer be exported. The trade in coal, that vital staff of modern industry, is becoming as colossal in its proportions as that of England, and must soon surpass it as far as the coal basins of Pennsylvania would overlie those of Newcastle. The iron business of this country was stagnant for some time, but is recovering under the present favorable state of trade. We were, until lately, but indifferently supplied with two of the main elements of industry, capital and labor ; while we always possessed its fundamental essentials, the soil with its ungathered treasures, and the largest political liberty. Capital now comes in the train of the immigrant laborers ; it is also imported independently, under the pressure of events such as the threatened inroad of Louis Napoleon and the promising nature of American investments. The drain of laborers from England has emptied her poor-houses, and enhanced the rate of wages to such a degree, that her manufacturing supremacy is seriously jeopardized, and our fabrics enabled to divide the market with her ; the price given has doubled within a year. The influx of California gold, which also enters into the calculation, will be more extensively considered hereafter. All

these influences combine to bring about the supremacy of America at no distant day.

“Many large manufacturing establishments,” observes the article of the *Times*, already quoted, “are now, in fact, like regiments after a battle, with young hands unexpectedly promoted to the duties of seniors, and vacancies in abundance still.”

The geographical extension of a state is always one of the chief factors of its greatness. *The Eastonian*, (Pennsylvania,) of Nov. 25, 1850, says:—

“English statesmen have all attributed the relative decline of Holland to its limited extent of territory. Holland contains but 11,000 square miles,—but little more than New Jersey. The population is about two and a half millions. England has robbed her of all her fairest possessions. Great Britain, because of her extent of territory, has absorbed the strength of Holland, Venice, and Portugal, and hence their decline. The territory of the British Islands is not less than 120,000 square miles. But does not Great Britain sustain the same relation to the United States that Holland does to Great Britain? Whilst the territory of Holland is but 11,000 square miles, and that of the British Islands 120,000, or near eleven times greater, the territory of the United States is over 36,000,000 of square miles, or more than three hundred times larger than the British Islands. Will not, in the future, England decline as the United States gain strength? Will not this great territory, when its population has grown more dense, absorb the power and wealth of Great Britain, as she has absorbed the power and wealth of Holland, of Venice, and of Portugal?”

The stupendous greatness of England is factitious, and will only become natural when that empire shall have found its real centre. That centre is in the United States. The Anglican empire is essentially oceanic. Its dominions extend along the coasts of the Atlantic and the Pacific, the lesser and the greater ocean. America, lying in the midst of the

ocean, is therefore its natural point of gravitation. The realization of an idea higher than could be developed in the mother island, that of the republican democracy, required a temporary segregation of the centre ; that task accomplished, it is time to call for a re-union ; but the former adjunct being now no longer merely the geographical centre, but the political and social focus, must take the lead. *England, with her colonies, must be annexed to the American Union.*

The finances of the mother-country are suffering severely from the competition of the United States. Taxation is driving the capitalist as well as the laborer across the seas, where greater gains are open to him at a far lighter cost. The Manchester school are clamorous for retrenchment by the reduction of the army and navy ; but in the present isolated state of the country, this is an impossibility ; an increase of both these arms of the national defence is, on the contrary, unavoidable. France has now received the constitution of a band of robbers under a brigand leader, who is prepared at any moment to enter upon a foray. The equipment of the militia was not to be delayed, "because," says an English paper, "every family in England has more or less plate, which would prove a great temptation to the French soldiery !" But the Manchester men are not the only advocates of retrenchment ; even the Tories, having given up all hope of re-enacting the corn-laws, now see no other hope for the agricultural interest, but in a rigid government economy. But no means of saving worth the name are to be devised, except the single one of annexation. The army

and navy would then be transferred to the central government, to be renovated, of course, by the democratic spirit of its institutions. The national debt would remain where it is; but the cancellation of her army and navy, and nine-tenths of her civil list, would afford England the only conceivable possibility of removing that burthen. No other adequate means of extrication from the meshes of English politics ever has been proposed, and none ever will be.

The proposal will at first have a strange sound in English ears; but the necessity of the case will get the better of many a superstition, many a prejudice, and many a selfish interest. Like every measure which is destined to further the welfare of the whole community, it has many unconscious friends and few implacable enemies. Of the latter description there is perhaps but one: the established church, with its dependencies; that body will indeed have reason to oppose the measure, for its triumph will involve the annihilation of that establishment as a branch of the government. The Queen has but one political duty,—to yield to the force of circumstances. The landed aristocracy are convinced that a radical change of some kind is indispensable to their salvation; one faction of them will seek it in a reaction against the progressive measures carried by the *haute bourgeoisie*; but a more influential, if not a larger portion, will prefer an affiliation with the people, in which they will act as leaders, to a connection with the merchants and manufacturers, in which they can only hold a place as servants, and will seek revenge for the bourgeois reforms which prejudiced them,

by aiding popular reforms, to the prejudice of the bourgeoisie. This is the policy of the Young England party, of which D'Israeli is a very inadequate exponent; if reliable accounts are to be believed, there are many democratic aspirations among the young English nobility, and many among them would gladly exchange the inactivities of a rotten borough canvass for the stirring struggle after an American Senatorship. The Manchester school are in favor of annexation, for annexation is the inevitable sequence to free-trade. The small tradesmen and farmers will, as usual, await the issue. None remain, but the party of the masses, the former Chartists. Now what is the charter but a timid excerpt from the American constitution? They to whom "the glory of England" was a centennial degradation, will not shed many tears over the absorption of her greatness. They to whom the part of their country's history is an unbroken remembrance of past horrors, will not turn their backs upon the future because it comes in unusherred. They have been mangled long enough by the British lion, to clasp with eagerness the pinions of the American eagle, when he brings them tidings of liberation.

No one can fail to perceive the revival of affection which is now going on between the kindred nations. The enhancement of commercial and social intercourse promotes mutual acquaintance, regard, and esteem. The number of Americans who have gone during this year to travel in Europe, and particularly England, is estimated at 10,000. Those who have seen England in youth, and experienced the transport which

overcome an American mind on beholding in the very substance the images conjured up by the vivid portraitures, the bright descriptions, and the teeming contemplations of the poets and novelists by whom our intellectual infancy is matured, will agree with our countryman, who said, at an English dinner, "The Englishman pays America a visit, but the American makes a pilgrimage to England. Our earliest impressions, all our mental growth, rest upon your country, which is our country also, upon your great men, your Shakspeares and your Miltons, who are also our great men and teachers."

The following passage from a recent work, entitled "Two Years on the Farm of Uncle Sam, with Sketches of his Location, Nephews, and Prospects, by Charles Casey," will show the response of the English heart to sentiments like that last quoted:—

"Vieing with the Parisian in dress—with the Englishman in energy—cautious as a Dutchman—impulsive as an Irishman—patriotic as Tell—brave as Wallace—cool as Wellington—and royal as Alexander,—there he goes, the American citizen! In answering your questions, or speaking commonly, his style is that of the ancient Spartan; but put him on a stump, with an audience of Whigs, Democrats, Barnburners, and he becomes a compound of Tom Cribb and Demosthenes, a fountain of eloquence, passion, sentiment, sarcasm, logic, and drollery, altogether different from any thing known or imagined in the Old World states. Say any thing of any body, (as public men,) untied with conventional phraseology, he swings his rhetorical mace with a vigorous arm, crushing the antagonistic principle or person into a most villainous compound. See him at dinner, he dispatches his meal with a speed which leads you to suppose him a ruminating animal, yet enjoying his cigarro for an hour afterwards with the gusto and ennui of a Spaniard. Walking right on, as if it were life against time, with the glass at fever heat, yet taking it cool-

ly in the most serious and pressing matter—a compound of the Red Man, Brummel, and Franklin. Statesman and laborer, on he goes—divided and subdivided in politics and religion—professionally opposed with a keenness of competition in vain looked for even in England, yet, let but the national rights of liberty be threatened, and that vast nation stands a pyramid of resolve, united as one man, with heart, head, hand, and purse, burning with a Roman zeal to defend inviolate the cause of the commonwealth. To him who has lived among the Americans, and looked largely at the theory and practice of their government and its executive, there remains no doubt that the greatest amount of personal security and freedom has been produced from the least amount of cost, of any nation in the world. Culling its principles and wisdom from the history of all empires, it stands the nearest of all earthly systems to perfection.”

An enthusiastic eulogy, and a true one. An English author and poet, of much note, has spoken of America and her destiny in the following words :—

Thou noblest scion of an ancient root,
 Born of the forest-king ! spread forth, spread forth,—
 High to the stars thy tender leaflets shoot,
 Deep dig thy fibres round the ribs of earth !
 From sea to sea, from south to icy north,
 It must ere long be thine, through good or ill,
 To stretch thy sinewy boughs : Go,—Wondrous child !
 The glories of thy destiny fulfil ;—
 Remember then thy mother in her age,
 Shelter her in the tempests, warring wild,
 Stand thou with us when all the nations rage
 So furious together !—we are one :
 And through all time, the calm historic page
 Shall tell of Britain blest in thee her son.

Africa and India.

England is busily extending our empire. The Kaffir war will probably end in an immense accession of territory. A Yankee speculator recently presented himself at the office of

the Colonial Secretary, with an offer to contract with the government for the entire extermination of the Kaffirs, by the agency of a troop of Kentucky riflemen, who, he said were waiting below. He desired that somebody might be sent to see them shoot, and make report of their rifle. Somebody was sent, and they shot admirably; but the Colonial Secretary declined acceding to the proposal, "because," conjectures a paper which is presumed to speak by authority, "we should soon get rid of the Kaffirs, but what could we do with the Yankees?"

In passing under American jurisdiction, the South African countries will receive a treatment similar to our present new territories, with which they have much in common. The case of India is different. "A correspondent of the *London Daily News*," says the *New York Tribune* of November 3, 1852, "in calling public attention to the waste of money in pushing English influence in India, and the absurdity of many of the costly measures taken to secure the trade with the nations bordering upon the British Indian possessions, refers with no great complacency to the rising trade between the United States and the ports of the Beloochistan and the neighboring waters." He is speaking of the port of Kurrachee, situated at the most westerly of the mouths of the Indus, and of the necessity of some improvement of the harbor, and some better means of direct communication with the Indus, which is all that is required to make this port the centre of trade for all that section of Southern Asia. We quote a few passages :

“ A tramroad is required from Kurrachee to Tatta on the Indus, where, the report says, ‘ the country is level, and rain almost unknown, and where the rails might be laid for miles almost on the ordinary surface of the ground.’ But neither is the work made over to a company, nor sanctioned by the government.

* * * * *

“ The shores of Persia are within a run of thirty-six hours. The ripe fruit of Muscat, with its dried raisins and figs, finds a market in the cantonment. And now we learn that the real trade in wool is being opened by the adventurous Americans !

“ America’s incipient trade with the opposite coast, Muscat, on which they hold no harbor, and where they have fought no battles, nor acquired large kingdoms, is already becoming more valuable than our own, and will grow into an extensive commerce. Any mail may tell us that an American consul is appointed to the gulf.

“ Time, indeed, it was, that the court should awaken from its nightmare. ‘ An American shipmaster will land a cargo on the Mekran coast at a less expense than a cargo of British goods can be landed in Bombay ;’ and the only way to defy such dangerous competition is to make the most of the great advantages afforded by the Indus as the highway to Central Asia.

“ It is America, not Russia, we fear. All the world over, taxes are being reduced ; but in India we, three or four years ago, imposed ‘ an additional *ad valorem* duty of five per cent. on importations of English goods,’ because our customs were falling. America is seeking for the commerce of China by California, and for that of the Indies by the opposite coast ; and, in the race of competition before us, it is a problem whether our rival, trading with independent countries, and with races of men that are comparatively wealthy because they are free, will not beat us from the markets, confining us to the internal trade of impoverished India.”

This extract goes to show that preparations for the annexation of India are going on, independently of the coming infederation of England. It is also important as throwing some little light on the commercial condition of India, a subject on which, whether from accident or design, it is exceed-

ingly difficult for an American to obtain any information. The term "impoverished," taken in connection with the trifling wages at which Indian labor may be obtained in Australia, points out the probability of a large emigration from that peninsula to the South Sea, and perhaps to California, to be followed by an increase of commercial intercourse with the countries colonized, which will enable America to carry out what Alexander failed in attempting—the introduction of European civilization into the cradle of the world. An American author goes on saying: "For whose benefit is England conquering India, the world shall see after we have taken foothold in California." It is remarkable that consuls are here mentioned as the agents for affecting the conquests of the New Rome; the functions of those officers are as much at variance with those of their prototypes, as the genius of our empire differs from the one it is destined to eclipse.

6.—THE TEUTONIC RACE.

The Anglo-Saxon empire, having received its legitimate organization, will be first brought into connection with that portion of the continent of Europe inhabited by tribes akin to itself.

Germany.

This is the hearthstone of Europe, physically and morally; all the burdens of Europe are poured into its lap, and it is constantly atoning by its sufferings for the sins of all the nations. Is there reason to expect another convulsive

struggle in this country? The answer is an absolute negative, based upon the extensive opportunities of one of the authors for observation afforded by a position in the German Republican party for the last five years, by ramified connections with the democracy in quite a number of the German states, by the adventures had in the character of a political fugitive, and by a careful and unbiassed study of the reports brought over within the last twelvemonth. Political revolutions, in the restricted European sense of the term, are the offspring of social revulsions, by which members of a ruling or independent class have suddenly sunk to the level of a servient one. These individuals are brought to reflect upon the *rationale* of their new position, and then stir up in their new-found associates that discontent which would otherwise not be felt by men educated to degradation. These "demagogues" are the men who, in the hackneyed phrase of empty-headed conservatism, "have nothing to lose, and every thing to gain." In point of fact, they, or their immediate ancestors, have lost every thing, and on that account are dissatisfied with gaining nothing. There is at present no such state of things in Germany. The "demagogues" of the last four years are in exile; the energetic portion of their adherents have followed them, going to the republic when the republic would not come to them. Those who remain behind have lapsed into their former state of contented servitude. The country is again comparatively prosperous—that is to say, wealth is accumulating in the hands in which it is found, while it remains unknown to those who had it not before: and thus

it will continue, until another commercial and social transposition shall call for a re-adjustment of political forms.

Such a change will result from the only national movement now on foot in Germany, the emigration to America. 250,000 souls will date their exodus from that country from the present year: surely such a safety-valve should prevent almost any explosion! The following are the statistics of arrivals at the port of New York alone for the last four years:—

	1849.	1850.	1851.	1852.
Germany.....	55,705	45,402	69,883	129,652
Ireland.....	112,251	116,532	163,256	124,159
Other countries...	56,647	50,862	56,462	56,577
Total.....	<u>220,603</u>	<u>212,796</u>	<u>289,601</u>	<u>310,398</u>

The German emigration of to-day is *fifty times* greater than that of thirty years ago, as is proved by the following figures:—

1822	2,200
1826	10,000
1830	15,000
1832	24,000
1834	22,000
1837	33,000
1843	23,000
1844	43,701
1845	67,209
1846	106,000
1847	110,000
1848	95,000
1851	113,199

The amount of property introduced by these emigrants is

estimated by M. Gaebler, Chairman of the Berlin Central Committee of Emigration, at one hundred and sixteen millions of thalers, (§81,200,000,) for the six years from 1846 to 1851, making an annual average of nearly twenty millions of thalers, or fifteen millions of dollars. The report complains that "moreover these emigrants comprise the most energetic and enterprising portion of the population, thus drawing off the labor of Germany to increase the competition of American industry. Instead, therefore, of increasing, as was expected, the number of consumers of German exports, it is found to depress our American market, by creating an inland competition in that country with the manufactures of this."

Assuming the proportion between the German arrivals at New York, and those at all points of the Union, to coincide with the standard of 1851, (1 to $1\frac{5}{8}$,) we obtain the following:—

	Arrivals at New York.	Arrivals throughout the Union.
1849	55,705	84,270
1850	45,402	73,778
1851	69,883	113,199
1852	129,662	210,700

There is every reason to expect a continued increase in the same proportion; the forty millions of Germany furnishing an emigration stock which will meet every demand. We may therefore prepare for the reception of 400,000 German emigrants in 1853. The Union now has four or five millions of inhabitants of German birth; a number of course destined soon to be vastly increased. The republican sentiments of

this class, and their accounts of the prosperity of this republic upon the minds of their transatlantic brethren, is incalculable. There is scarce a family in Germany unrepresented here, and without an American correspondent. Every such letter contains a praise of liberty and of the republic, which are thus brought home to the very heart's core of the people. There is no propaganda more effective than this: where no newspaper or pamphlet can ever penetrate into the far recesses of the Suabian Alps and of the Odenwald, these messengers of sedition carry their alluring tales of "high wages," "good earnings," "meat three times a day," &c., which, in the eyes of monarchical subjects, are weighty reasons in favor of the republic.

This propaganda is being systematized. On the 29th of January, 1852, a congress of Germans at Philadelphia formed the "American Revolutionary League for Europe," designed to assist in the veritable liberation of the European nations. At this congress the following resolution was presented:—

"That in the opinion of the present congress, every people, upon throwing off the yoke of its tyrants, ought to demand admission into the league of states already free, that is, into the American Union; so that these states may become the nucleus of the political organization of the human family, and the starting-point of the World's Republic."

It received the enthusiastic support of a respectable minority; but the greater number, though professing entire confidence with its views, considered its adoption injudicious under existing circumstances.

In preparing a report for the second congress of the League,

held at Wheeling, September 18, 1852, the sub-committee of the central board on congressional resolutions, submitted the same proposal, with an extended argument in its favor; not so much with any hope of its adoption, but for the purpose of drawing attention to it. Contrary to all expectation it was unanimously adopted by the board and laid before the congress, where it met with the same good fortune; it may now be regarded, in some sort, as the official expression of the political views of the German emigration. The League has adopted the title of the "People's League of the Old and New World," and inscribed universal annexation on its banners. We mean to feed the flame of American liberty until it shall warm the plains and valleys of the distant fatherland. The German is universal in his thoughts and feelings;—he says, more truly than Addison :

No pent-up Utica contracts our powers,
But the whole boundless universe is ours.

He has learned, in chemistry, that a fluid crystallizes far better when a formed crystal is introduced into it. The European revolution failed, in a great measure, from the phantom of socialism; a successful revolution requires at once a guarantee to possessors against spoliations, and to the penniless, of the solution of the social question. Both are united under the American constitution. Private property is no where so secure, acquisition no where so easy, organization and combination no where so unrestricted, discussion and agitation no where so absolutely free. Few indeed would hesi-

tate to exchange the present German constitution for the American, if the choice were offered. The idea of annexation has already been discussed in the German papers, and was received with warm approbation. It has been a matter of judicial investigation in the criminal courts of that country, who acquitted the author of all seditious intentions, on the ground that, though his project involved the subversion of the German governments, it did not appear that such subversion was necessarily a forcible one. Time will show.

✓ We see all the difficulties of the undertaking; we know that the liberties of Germany are to be arrayed, in the last resort, with the bayonets of Russia; but we know, also, that liberty must be the ultimate issue, and that annexation is the way which leads to it. We are not in want of natural allies. The German press of this country now numbers 180 newspapers; unequalled in any other language except the English. It is not yet on a level with the present state of the German mind; but the reactive influence of that mind must soon be felt and seen. We have, besides, the millions of German emigrants here; and the millions of those unhappy at home; and, more than all, we have the mighty American republic, growing every day in the appreciation of her powers and her task.

The smaller countries surrounding Germany have as many points of contact with America as the centre country, and will be easily induced to take sides for annexation.

Switzerland.

This venerable republic, now the oldest in the world, is at present beset with troubles; factions from within, and threats from without, are beating upon the foundations of her polity. It is hard to live only by the mutual hatred of one's neighbors. National selfishness keeps Switzerland alive, but at the same time keeps her in perpetual fear of death. How would she hail the end of nationalism? She relies upon the United States for counsel and protection, and will not be disappointed. The treaty concluded between the two republics, and negotiated by Mr. Mann, is of great importance as the beginning of an active intervention policy. It is to be remarked, in passing, that the emigration from Switzerland, which is considerable, is confined to the German cantons; just as that of France hardly extends beyond the German portions of Alsace. The Frenchman and the Italian are rooted to the environs of ancient Rome; the German has no such attachments.

Holland

Has many reminiscences of America, dating from ancient times; she is the foundress of the Empire State and City; its descendants here, already numerous, are constantly increasing. "De Nieuwbode" is the title of a Dutch newspaper recently started in Wisconsin. The former Queen of the Seas will gladly acknowledge a successor to whom she may claim so near a relationship. Her East Indian colonies, now dormant, will receive a new impulse from American life

and trade, for which they are well prepared. We shall soon see American enterprise at work in those waters.

Scandinavia.

The north of Europe is also pouring into our lap its throngs of active, hard-working men. The Normans are known to have been the original discoverers of America. They came about the year 1000, by way of Iceland and Greenland to the north-east coast, to what they called Vinland, the land of Vines, where traces of their presence are yet visible. They now appear determined to obtain a more lasting possession than they had at that time. The Danes and Swedes are outnumbered by Norwegians. Wisconsin, with its congenial climate and stormy seas, seems to be their favorite resort; there is a large settlement of them at Green Bay. More recently, the settlement of Norwegian colonists on an extended scale has been undertaken by Ole Bull, the distinguished violinist. His settlement is in Potter County, Pennsylvania, whither he speaks of bringing hundreds of thousands of his countrymen. The republican sentiments expressed by Ole Bull, who has declared his intentions to become a citizen of this country, gives us reason to believe that the influence of these colonists upon their mother country will also tend in favor of annexation.

7.—THE JEWS.

They whose nationality was their religion, and whose religion was the worship of the Maker of "Heaven and

Earth and all that in them is," were from the first contempters of that heathenism which ties the supersensuous soul of man to time, place, or sod. They from the first went forth to conquer and subdue sub-human nature, not to owe fealty to it. In obedience to this superior principle they have been exiles for two thousand years ; never for a moment doubting that it must come at last to overthrow the grosser influences that seemed for a time triumphant. During all the middle ages they were persecuted and despised for anticipating the characteristics of the nineteenth century. With the first effort of the Germanic idea to cast off the Roman formulas, they were found in the foremost rank of the combatants. Spinoza was the first who grasped and riddled the fundamental Catholic perversion, the duality between heaven and earth, thought and thing ; in the last struggle of German research it was Boerne and Heine who circulated as common coin the rich ore dug out by Germanic students.

The day of their deliverance has come ; the Messiah they had a right to expect, if such was the name of their principle. All the world are now Jews ; every body makes money ; and Rothschild is the "sixth great power," at least co-ordinate with the other five. The Jews are no longer a peculiar people ; and will soon cease to be a distinct one ; not, however, until they have reaped the rewards of their former toils.

The idea for some time entertained of purchasing Judea, and making Rothschild a Jewish national king, was one of

those fantastic confusions of form and substance which could obtain but a very slight hold upon so rational a people. They follow a truer instinct in settling in America to enjoy a genuine religious toleration, and an unfeigned equality. Liberty and commerce, the essence of their character, are also the essence of Americanism. It is confidently asserted that the Jews contrive to get themselves smuggled out of the Russian Empire, for the purpose of emigrating to the American world.

But liberty and commerce, which are the characteristics of Judaism and of Americanism, are also those of annexation : every Jew will hasten to claim the protection of the American flag for his operations over the world, and Rothschild will not shut his eyes to the only prospect of enabling the European states to liquidate the debts they owe him.

8.—THE SCLAVONIC RACE.

That great uprising of all peoples, that world's war which is for ever seen to hang, like the sword of Damocles, over the passing joys and troubles of the hour, will fall when the Anglo-Saxon empire shall lay its slow but unyielding grasp upon the countries of the Germanic confederation. Then will the mastery of Europe be the prize of the death-struggle between the Union and the Czar. That mighty power now governs the continent from the coasts of Siberia to the German Ocean, and from the English Channel to the Mediterranean ; let the ruler style himself Frederick William or

Francis Joseph, or Louis Napoleon, or Pio-Nono, he looks up to Nicholas, the real fountain of his power. The hierarchical constitution of the Middle Ages, ecclesiastical and political, which, in the nature of things, was bound to turn either into monarchy or pantarchy, has found the former manifestation in the Russian empire, the latter upon this continent. To say that Russia is the only absolute monarchy in the world, would be to affirm an absurdity ; for while there are two men upon the earth, one cannot be absolutely monarch. But Russia is the only state in which the monarchy has no political antagonist capable of making head against it. The nobility, with their thirteen classes, are divided, not numerous, heavily indebted to the crown, and detested by the masses ; they serve the Emperor as a sconce for the light of his greatness, without emitting any lustre of their own. The army, the only power capable of becoming formidable, is amused by foreign wars, and without leaders except their officers, who are scions of the detested nobility, or foreign hirelings of the emperor. The bureaucracy are so corrupt as to be incapable of any combination out of their usual routine of espionage, chicane, and trickery. The mercantile classes are made up, in a very large proportion, of serfs, who are permitted to pursue industrial callings by the favor of their lords, which must be paid for by an enormous black-mail, and the protection of the Czar. They are envied by their fellow-serfs, disliked by the lords who fleece them, distrusted by the officials, and without any hope of safety but from the monarch. Lastly, the serfs, divided into villages, between which stand-

ing feuds are industriously fomented, are at war with every body except the emperor, with whom they come into no collision, and whom they consequently endow with all the perfections which they find wanting in the surrounding realities. Thus, of all these millions, the Czar is the only bond of union; and this bond has all the strength of religion, because, as the Russian Church has been absorbed into the monarchy, so the creed of the people is merged almost to absorption in the loyalty of the subject. While the Western Church has first overpowered, and then separated from the State, the Eastern has become engulfed in it to the virtual destruction of its identity; the "Russian God" means either a painted idol or the Russian Czar. This is the secret of Russian absolutism.

It were an idle effort to belittle the powers of such an organization, opposed to the distracted condition of the Occidental states of Europe, with their collapsed aristocracy, their hollow absolutism, and smothered democracy. Napoleon's vision failed when he said that in fifty years Europe must be either republican or Cossack: he should have said that it would be first Cossack, and then Yankee. Russia must either deal or drink destruction: she is ever intent upon the former. European aristocracy cannot withstand her, for it is already absorbed, one half in monarchical, the other in democratic interests. European democracy cannot withstand her, for it is disorganized, unsteady, theoretical, and unstatesmanlike. It contemplates ideals without bridging the gulph between them and reality, and still cleaves to the

very traditions which have created and are preserving the greatness of its enemies ; it wars upon property, commerce, and family, when it has no institution at hand capable of supplanting them ; and overlooks the scaly monster Nationality, and the United States, the certain antidote.^s Hence they are ideologists, not statesmen ; they offer an abundance of criticism, but lack counsel ; they have many theories, but not a single project. They confess a prevailing *sentiment*, that the Holy Alliance of privilege and of despotism is only to be combated with the alliance of equality and liberty ; and the United States of Europe have been urged as an idea built upon this sentiment. But it has not emerged from the sphere of ideas ; there is nowhere a party or section of a party which pursues that object as its leading design. The solidarity of the peoples has never been preached, *except in the peculiar interest of some particular people*. Hence it has never occurred to any of its advocates that such a solidarity to acquire

“ A local habitation and a name,”

must have a point of exit and of retreat, a stronghold, where the supremacy of its principle is absolutely safe from at least immediate assault, and which may do it the same service as rendered by Russia to the Holy Alliance. Nor have they ever reflected that this hegemony cannot be devolved on a member of the old fraternity without degenerating into a supremacy, but must be accorded to a power common to all the contending states in the origin of its ingredients, and

distinct from them all in its formation. There will, therefore, be no concerted rising to repel the concert of repression; isolated districts may rebel, not in hope, but in despair; their certain defeat serving only to hasten and perfect the utter subjugation of the whole. The reign of Russian absolutism is an inevitable phase of European development.

Thus the lines are drawn. The choirs are marshalled on each wing of the world's stage, Russia leading the one, the United States the other. Yet the world is too small for both, and the contest must end in the downfall of the one and the victory of the other. Let those who will speculate on the permanent universality of subjection; the stakes are safe on the side of the universe of sovereigns. Russia has expended all her forces in making a formidable display on her Western border. The United States are already digging the trenches for an attack in the rear. Our commerce in the North Pacific is constantly increasing in extent. If, as is not improbable, the gold mines of Siberia are found to extend nearly or quite to its Eastern coast, an irruption of republicanism, more dangerous than the inroads of the Circassians, threatens that "brazen image with the feet of clay."

The strongest argument for the present practicability of the infederation of the world, is found in the fact that the Slavonic race, its immediate and ostensible antagonists, are at bottom one of its most promising element. Russia, as an empire, is a German colony; the Varegers, who established their power in Moscow in the tenth century, were Northmen, brothers of those originators of all filibustierism, who brought

the idea of the commercial unity of the world from the creeks and inlets of the Skagger Rack, sacrificed to its glory the spoils of Britain, Germany, Gaul, and Italy, founded, mediately or immediately, the Scandinavian empire, the Hanseatic league, the Norman duchy, the English realm, and the Neapolitan kingdom, and enlivened the Teutonic races with the independence which enabled them to throw off the tutelage of Rome. Czarism itself is therefore the tribute paid by the yielding, social, and communistic spirit of the Slavonic race to the prowess of German individual enterprise. The Emperor is but a disaffected proconsul of our empire. He fights with our weapons, and under our flag. The present imperial family is even more immediately and exclusively German; St. Petersburg is notoriously a German colony, founded upon German principles. All the Emperor's children are married to Germans; the State's Chancellor is a German; Paskiewitch is reported to be a runaway stroller of the name of Patschke, from near Leipsic. The leading officers of the government, civil as well as military, are drawn from the nobility of Livonia, who are of the pure lineage of the Teutonic knights, the conquerors of Russia and Poland. The Universities of Russia are German, and it is looked upon as an eligible resort for German adventurers of all kinds. In the more westerly countries inhabited by the Slavonic race, this assimilative faculty is still more perceptible. The vast majority of the Austrians are Slaves, yet the government, the official language, the literature, and the education of the people is German. When the Pauslavonic Congress assem-

bled at Prague, they were obliged to disregard their own rules of order, and debate in German because, in the multiplicity of half-cultivated Slavonic dialects, that language was found to be the only medium of speech they had in common. The Slaves are, in fact, to the Germans what the Celtic race were to the Roman, sometimes masters in battle, yet always pupils in thought. Nine hundred years ago, the undisputed dominion of this race extended to the Elbe, the Danube, and the Adriatic; now the half of acknowledged Germany lies east of that boundary. This process of Germanization will continue, and with it the preparations for annexation.

The facility of the Slaves for Teutonic cultivation has been most brilliantly manifested in the great herald of the coming time, Louis Kossuth. None but a Slave could have so appreciated the importance of English and American polity upon the liberties of the world. None but a Slave could have so studied, and so mastered a foreign language as to address in it a native population, and carry them away for months with the magic of his eloquence. He did not think of annexation—probably abhors it; but he has lit the lamps of thought upon either shore of ocean, and they will not cease to mingle their rays until the truth is made manifest. In preaching the “solidarity” of Europe and America, he has done enough; and in preaching it with Slavonian lips he has taught the equally weighty lesson, of the actual solidarity of its natural advocates with its apparent opponents.

We have said nothing of the tutelary powers of Russia, because their destiny is inseparably knit to that of the ruling

house. But the following extract from a correspondence of the *Tribune*, certainly not an annexation paper, dated Oct. 20, 1852, from Greece, a country subject to Russian dictation, and assuredly *not* a rendezvous of the filibustiers, is of interest in the connection:—

“The whole country is ill at rest. Otho has no children. The Constitution wrested from him requires that his successor shall be baptized in the Greek faith. He is a Catholic; his wife is a Protestant; his subjects Greeks. Who shall be his successor? That is the all-absorbing question. The country is anxious to know, but the Three Protecting Powers are to decide. One of them is Catholic, one is Protestant, the other Greek. A Russian can never be crowned here, nor a Frenchman, nor an Englishman! A son of Leopold of Belgium is talked of, and an Oscar of Sweden. Germany has princes enough to spare; but Greeks do not like Germans. They have had one. So things exist at present. I have been asked several times, very soberly, if America would not send them a King, and take them under their *protection*! One very intelligent man went so far as to say he wished Greece could be *annexed* to the United States.”

9.—THE ROMANIC RACES.

In his late London letter, Kossuth is seen to waver in his faith in Anglo-Saxon decentralization. “European democracy has scarcely any thing to take from England.” He thinks “materialism the curse of our age.” Yet what is materialism but man’s preference for a real over an *illusiv*e happiness? At all events, to curse materialism is to curse England. Emigration, which is the assertion of man’s superiority over, and independence of, inanimate nature, and fortuitous circumstances, he regards as evidence of want of the “patriotism of the greatest number possible;” yet national patriotism is

the vital element of centralization and absolutism. "To France Russia will not come," seems to point to a rising inclination of the great Agitator to re-enact the part of a Poniatowsky to a lesser Bonaparte; may the kind genius of history protect her famed son from such a falling off!

Compare the Kossuth of the past with Ledru Rollin. A friend calling upon the latter, found him sticking pins into a map. "See," he said, "these are the points to which the English have pushed their forces; at all these they must be repulsed before there is "hope of progress." This is the great Frenchman's understanding of the history of the last three centuries! Excited for a principle to which the genius of his nation is manifestly hostile, finding refuge where that principle is manifestly dominant, he would propagate it by enlisting its foes against its friends.

The western empire has fallen, in the lapse of time, into three great nationalities, inhabiting the so-called "countries" of Spain, France, and Italy. All have accepted the Roman language and religion. In Spain, the victory of the Germanic Goths in the fourteenth century established the then greatest power of the world, an empire on which the sun never set. But that people was scorched by the acquisition of America, which to the race of Northern Europe has been so fraught with blessings. Spain has dwindled into a dependency upon the English, and no longer sits in the councils of the world.

In Italy, the contest between the Guelphs and Ghibellines produced a like vitality, which expended itself, if not upon the fields of political power, at least upon those of commerce,

industry, science, and art. In all these she is still respectable, but no longer pre-eminent. Germany, England, and America are between them, superior to her subsequent productions in all these branches. Yet Italy has still much inner life; and though her natural hobby for the re-establishment of the Roman Empire must ever somewhat retard her progress, she will yet occupy an important place in the World's Confederacy. Her connection with Germany must become more intimate from day to day; and when the sovereigns imported from the North will no longer be Hapsburg simpletons, but scions of the American Republic, the bitterness of feeling which now imbues their intercourse will give place to a cordial brotherhood.

Thus is France, the great obstacle to the formation of the World's Republic, left to stand alone. Though Charlemagne was a German, he inherited the Roman purple. Though the Capets were feudal chiefs of the Frankish tribe, they generated a Senate and an Emperor. They succeeded in annihilating the Frankish nobility by whom they were surrounded; but at the expense of arming for their destruction the Gallic masses, who overturned Germanic royalty, Germanic aristocracy, Germanic protestantism, and Germanic individualism, and established upon the ruins the equality and subjection of the Roman provinces, their state religion, their centralization, and their military organization. A prætorian, born in the most obscure recess of the very centre of the Roman world, in the citadel of the Mediterranean,—predestined to become more of a myth than a man, was called to execute the great

project of the French revolution. "La Grande Nation" rose as one man to protest against the danger of a Teutonic dominion of the world. "From Egypt," said the modern Hannibal, "I shall go to India; there crush the power of England, and return, by way of Moscow, to Paris, where I shall return six years older than I leave it." In his second Punic War he proposed to reverse the order, making Russia his starting point, and the Mediterranean his return route.

To all this storm of genius the Germanic world had nothing to oppose beyond the calm Scipian respectability of a Wellington, and — destiny. Yet she conquered India, Spain, and Waterloo. The fate of the world is sealed.

The Germanic revulsion re-introduced the Frankish kings; the reiterated rebellion of the Gauls, the Parisian republic; and the recurring provincial exploitation of the republic, the Napoleonic empire. There is no reason why this reproduction upon reproduction should not continue indefinitely; the circles decreasing in magnitude in the same proportion as heretofore. The restoration of the Gauls will be followed by a restoration of the feudal Franks. This will undergo a modification into the Anglican industrial form of Germanism, corresponding to what took place in 1830. It is during such a period, the reign, perhaps, of the Prince de Joinville, that the principle of the sovereignty of the individual, and with it the disposition favorable to an infederation into the United States, will make a slow but steady progress. Such a process of mutation of interests is what should be called the revolution in the American sense of the word. The mutation of

governmental forces, which is the French or European acceptance of the term, will break in upon this process, just as the outbreak of '48 interrupted, rather than developed, the revolution, which had then proceeded for fifteen years. If there is a third explosion of this kind, the lava will settle into a third empire; but it will be as much less formidable than that of Napoleon III., as that is inferior to the fabric of the Corsican. Meantime, the American eagle will continue to spread his flight over England, Germany, and Russia, and all that England, Germany, and Russia have made their own.

10.—THE MOGULS.

Speculation is rife on the subject of the Japanese expedition, and its consequences will soon become visible. China is of perhaps greater ultimate importance. Three hundred and seventy millions—one-third of the human race—are gathered in its pale. Of their present condition some idea may be obtained from the following extract from the work of M. Gutzlaff:—

“Foreigners, who know nothing about the internal state of the country, are apt to imagine that there reigns everlasting peace. Nothing is, however, more erroneous; insurrections of villages, cities, and districts, are of frequent occurrence. The refractory spirit of the people, the oppression and embezzlement of the mandarins, and other causes, such as dearth and demagogues, frequently cause an unexpected revolt.

“In these cases, the destruction of property and hostility against the rulers of the land,—especially if these have been tyrants,—is often carried to great excess; there are instances of the infuriated mob broiling their magistrates over a slow fire. On the other hand, the cruelty of

government, when victorious, knows no bounds ; the treatment of political prisoners is really so shocking as to be incredible, if one had not been an eyewitness of these inhuman deeds.

“ One of the most common evils is starvation. The population is very dense ; the means of subsistence are, in ordinary times, frequently not above the demand ; and it is, therefore, nothing extraordinary to witness, on the least failure of the crop, utter wretchedness and misery. To provide for all the hungry mouths is impossible ; and the cruel policy of the mandarins carries their indifference so far as to affirm that starvation is requisite to thin the dense masses of the people.

“ Whenever such a judgment has come upon the land, and the people are in want of the necessaries of life, dreadful disorders soon arise, and the most powerful government would not be able to put down the rising and robberies which are committed on the strength of this prevailing misery. There seems to be a total change in the peaceful nature of the inhabitants, and many a patient laborer turns fiercely upon his rich neighbor, like a wolf or a tiger, to devour his substance. No one can have an idea of the anarchy which, on such occasions, ensues, and the utter demoralization of the people.”

An account of the 7th of August, 1852, obtained by way of San Francisco, relates a horrible story of the murder of fifty thousand persons,—men, women, and children,—by the rebels, in a successful assault upon the city of Chunchow. The slaughter is said to have lasted for three days and three nights. Though not authenticated, the report is characteristic. Mr. Gutzlaff continues :

“ Yet, as soon as relief is afforded, and a rich harvest promises fair, the spirit of order again prevails, and outrages are put a stop to. The people then combine, arm themselves, and proceed in thousands to catch marauders like wild beasts. No mercy is shown on such occasions, and the mandarins, on account of their weakness, cannot interfere. Scenes of this description very often occurred, without giving rise to severe reflection on the character of Taoukwang’s administration.”

This shows that the Chinese have need of America ; the

Chinese emigration shows that the want will be met. In August, the number of Chinese emigrants in California was estimated at 50,000. The movement has since received a check from the brutal conduct of the Anglo-Americans; but this suspension having operated as an invaluable lesson, and the Anglos having learned to understand the value of these patient laborers, and to treat them accordingly, the influx will soon be greater than ever. If it is as well supported by the masses of the mother-country, as that from Europe has been, the day will not be far distant when America will number more Chinese than Caucasians. An eminent German geographer, Kapp, now residing in Texas, once said that as the history of modern times grew out of the invention of gunpowder, of printing, and the discovery of America, so most modern history will be governed by steam, electricity, and the unlocking of China. We may well suppose that the magazine of civilization for 5000 years will not fail to exert an influence upon the fledglings who so saucily knock at her gates. The Chinese in California like the American system well; in a recent procession they participated as usual, bearing a banner with the inscription: "RUSH FOR REPUBLICANISM." And they read in republicanism the liberty to earn their bread. Their plodding propensities make them an excellent material for the industrial speculations of the Europeans; the two, between them, will certainly establish the prosperity of the Pacific state. From these relations we may calculate upon an emigration of American business men to China, in return for that of Chinese laborers to Cal-

ifornia. In the fusion of nationalities, we find the integration of humanity.

The time is past for comparing man to the vermin on the leaf, of which each species can only infest its particular plant. History now advances with great strides, to hasten on the day when all the nations of the earth shall be one people, united in a single state. No longer a circumscribed portion of lands, the new "orbis terrarum" shall encircle the globe; and as ancient Rome assembled all the gods of her empire in a single Pantheon, so shall the ideas of all nations be marshalled into unity. The signs of the times are clear and unmistakable, and "The New Rome" awakens to her task, and is resolved upon its execution. Let her raise her banner of stars over land and sea, the token of perdition to the despots and redemption to the peoples, who may be convinced: *In hoc signo vincent!*

II.—SOCIAL ORGANIZATION.

IT is impossible to write this title without a sardonic smile. The subject is a vexed one, about which all the world is more or less at fault; and people are never willing to learn what they do not already know. Men always have the most decided opinions about matters which they have least investigated; and while few, very few, have given the social problem a candid examination, all are clear, either, with Macaulay, “that Socialism is a doctrine hostile to all sciences, to all arts, to all industry, to all domestic charities,—a doctrine which, if carried into effect, would in thirty years undo all that thirty centuries have done for mankind, and would make the provinces of France and Germany as savage as Congo or Patagonia;” or, with Freedley, the ingenious author of that truly American work, that the Socialists “would have the world a sort of well-regulated lunatic asylum, in which the inmates are to have a certain amount of work to perform, apparently with a view partly to sup-

port life, and partly to prevent the too frequent necessity of trepanning and straight-waistcoating;" or, with the Socialists, that a "reconstruction of society," and a "war of extermination between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie," so overrides in importance all considerations of political forms, that a man who will take the time to write a chapter on the latter subject, is necessarily incapable of estimating the value of the former. Between these two classes of readers, the present pages are in imminent danger of falling to the ground unturned.

Could we but make up for our losses here, by gains in another quarter! There is a growing sentiment in this country, erroneous in part, but miscalled criminal by overzealous politicians, which finds expression in the words, "I don't care for politics; politics is a trade, and let every man mind his own trade; it is not mine, and I take no interest in it." The readiness with which this view of the case is condemned by those in authority, is one among the many instances which show that we are still hedged for many purposes in the Aristotelian scholasticism, which would rather sit in judgment on what it sees and hears, than investigate and reflect upon it. The expression is fraught with the important lesson, that mankind in the present age are governed by *interest*, and not by *force*. Force is the subject-matter of politics; and hence politics, as such, is interesting only to those whose ways of thought revolve in a circle from which the world of to-day has departed. That which can alone interest the men of the present is the science of

interests, the laws of their action and re-action, the fitness of their adjustment. But the science of *interests* is socialism!

But this appreciation of socialism—we shall henceforth make free use of the term, without any apology to the gentlemen from Congo—instead of driving politics from the scene of action, only restores it to its proper place. Interests depend upon force; the individual or the class, who have the management of government forces, exert an influence upon our interests very different from that which they would exercise if deprived of such management. True, the actual exercise of force is seldom resorted to; and where it is, the preponderance of power is often found to be really, not where it is considered as officially reposing, but on the opposite side. But the true agency of power is in those innumerable cases where it is not tested, but *presumed* to be irresistible; in those transactions of every-day life in which the individual obeys the laws without reflecting whether he might resist them or not. Interest is but a calculation of contingencies; the contingency of necessity and of force being the weightiest in the scale; as, therefore, we shift the relations of government forces, and of those who wield them, we shift the base of our calculations—in other words, our interests. If the non-payment of a debt involves the contingency of imprisonment, it will be our interest to desist from many an enterprise in which we would fearlessly engage, if the penalty of failure were only a loss of property; if the loss of a homestead is involved, we shall be more timid than if it is secured from expropriation. Thus politics is the necessary

handmaid of socialism ; in striving after the adjustment of interests we must necessarily work for the removal of those forcible, *i. e.*, political, obstacles which obstruct that consummation.

Politics, therefore, must give the *form* of every matter of public progress, while it can never embrace the essence of the contest. In like manner, however, while a social problem must always underlie every public agitation, the form of the agitation itself can never be social. This is the error of the socialists, when they work a tremendous public enthusiasm for the purpose of establishing a tradesmen's association, a bank of barter, or a labor exchange. Socialism, the contest of interests, is a matter not of enthusiasm, but of speculation ; not of sacrifice, but of gain ; not, therefore, of *agitation*, but of *business*. Business is the mighty godhead that is transforming the world ; the realization of interest, as it is taught and learned, passes from man to man, from class to class, and thus, ever upheaving and ever allaying, works out its mighty task of transforming the world, which it began when America was drawn from her concealment, and which will be completed when America shall have carried her spirit and her laws over the world. This is the plain but pregnant meaning of that fantastic "reconstruction of society," which so troubles our socialistic doctrinaires, and their respectable antagonists.

"El oro es excellentissimo !" was the lesson that Columbus learned on the marvellous shores of the Western Indies, and transmitted to those that sent him. It is the key to the subsequent history of the Old and New World. "Gold,"

the double-distilled extract of the earth, is the representative of its avail to man ; the Earth, which first became a vested idea when the Genoese sprung upon the strand of its further extremity, is the great source from which all our wishes are to be gratified. These two ideas form the poles between which vibrates the existence of modern humanity. The magnetic fluid that connects them is the activity of man, labor in the largest sense, more strictly labor as the positive, productive force, business as the corrective element.

Making money, the acquisition of wealth, the pursuit of happiness, is the object of man's exertions in modern times. The first and last are not identical, but stand in the necessary relations of ends and means. To make every man rich is to give every man the means to accomplish his purposes ; and this is the object of true socialism. The world is a great committee of ways and means to every man's happiness.

The earth being the source of wealth, and therefore of happiness, it was the first object of the Columbian spirit to subject all the earth to the activity of man. This task, bequeathed by him to the Spaniards, proved too arduous for them, and was soon transferred to the Germanic race in the person of the Dutch, from whom it passed to the masters of the present, the Anglo-Saxons. Their prows now beat against the icy walls of the Northern Sea, and their anchors rake the pearlbeds of the Indies. Wherever ships can penetrate, the Angles have made their way ; yet there is much still to be done, before the 2,500,000 square miles of land upon the earth's surface shall be so far reduced into the possession of

her 1,100,000,000 of inhabitants, that the average yield of each square mile of ground shall meet its complement of 440 souls. It were but silly to quarrel about the little we have, to forgetfulness of the vast domain we may yet acquire.

The direct disembowelling of the earth, to rob it of its gold, was the first allurement which drew the people of Europe out of their transatlantic hiding-places. It is curious to note the form of transition from heaven to earth which took place in the minds of those, who, with the blessing of holy church, left the sacred precincts of Rome to serve mammon in the wilds of America. The admiral went to obtain the gold of Cathay, for the purpose of buying troops for the conquest of the Holy Sepulchre. The English Puritans, tired of being martyrs at home, sought for places where they might "catch plenty of fish and worship God according to their own consciences." The Huguenots sought refuge in South Carolina from persecutions and from confiscations. Penn found here a forest, where he could enjoy at once, what in England he found was not to be united, the freedom of his faith and the honors of a principality. The Germans that settled round him fled from the Palatinate and from the Bishop of Salzburg, at once to save their souls and to rescue their little all. Calvert founded a similar colony, on a similar foundation. In the colonization of New York and Virginia we find the worldly designs of the founders with scarcely any religious admixture. The colonization of America is the assertion of man's right to pursue his earthly happiness.

But while thus containing in itself a protest against the church, it involved in its creation an avowal of the power of the *state*, as then existing. All the colonies were government enterprises,—corporations. The Plymouth, the Virginia, the New Amsterdam Company, the Proprietaries, derived their existence as such, from the government that had chartered them. The government naturally desired to draw its profits from its own enterprises; the colonists naturally desired to monopolize the fruits of their own labors. Thus arose a social contest which Lorenzo Sabine correctly describes as follows :—

“Many things which are necessary to a right understanding of the revolutionary controversy have been, as I conceive, wholly omitted, or only partially and obscurely stated. It has been common, for example, to insist that questions of ‘Taxation,’ that points of ‘Abstract Liberty,’ produced the momentous struggle, which resulted in dismembering the British empire. To me the documentary history, the state-papers of the period, teach nothing more clearly than this, namely, that almost every matter brought into discussion was *practical*, and in some form or other related to LABOR, to some branch of COMMON INDUSTRY. Our fathers did, indeed, in their appeals to the people, embody their opposition to the colonial system or form of government in one expressive term—‘Taxation’—‘Taxation without Representation.’ But whoever has examined the acts of Parliament which were resisted, has found that nearly all of them inhibited labor. There were no less than twenty-nine laws which restricted and bound down colonial industry. Neither of these laws touched so much as the ‘south-west side of a hair,’ of an ‘abstraction,’ and hardly one of them, until the passage of the ‘stamp act,’ imposed a direct ‘tax.’ They were aimed at the North and England lost the affection of the mercantile and maritime classes of the Northern colonies full a generation before she alienated the South. They forbade the use of water-falls, the erecting of machinery, of looms and spindles, and the working of wood and iron; they set the king’s arrow

upon trees that rotted in the forest; they shut out markets for boards and fish, and seized sugar and molasses, and the vessels in which these articles were carried; and they defined the limitless ocean as but a narrow pathway to such of the lands that it embosoms as wore the British flag. To me, then, the great object of the Revolution was to release LABOR from these restrictions. *Free* laborers,—inexcusable in this—began with sacking houses, overturning public offices, and emptying tar-barrels and pillow-cases upon the heads of those who were employed to enforce these oppressive acts of Parliament; and when the skill and high intellect which were enlisted in their cause, and which vainly strove to moderate their excess, failed to obtain a peaceable redress of the wrongs of which they complained, and were driven either to abandon the end in view, or to combine and wield their strength, men of all avocations rallied upon the field and embarked upon the sea, to retire from neither until the very frame-work of the colonial system was torn away, and every branch of industry could be pursued without fines, penalties, and imprisonment.

“Such are the opinions, at least, which I have formed on the questions upon which, among the mass of the people, the contest hinged; which finally united persons of every employment in life in an endeavor to get rid of prohibitions that remonstrance could not repeal or even humanize. For a higher or holier purpose than this, men have never expended their money or poured out their life-blood in battle! * * *

“The whigs admitted that the power of parliament extended to the ‘Regulation of Commerce,’ that the maritime concerns of the empire should be under the supreme control of one head. They set up a subtle distinction between ‘internal and external taxation,’ but I confess I have never been able to understand it. To me there was not, as they argued there was, a difference either in theory or fact, between demanding postage on a letter, and exacting a duty on the *paper* on which it is written; between the ‘stamp’ duty on a ship’s manifest and clearance, and the import duty on ‘*painters’ colors*’ spread on her sides; the ‘glass’ of her cabin-windows, and the ‘*sugar*,’ ‘*molasses*,’ ‘*wine*,’ and ‘*tea*’ stowed upon her deck. Yet, while the principle itself was conceded, every *application* was complained of as a grievance.”

The American revolution, then, was the divorce of American industry from the tutelage of the British government. It put a new face on the oceanic commerce. The Americans

were no longer mere factors of the home country,—the agents in the exploitation of the colonies; both were now home countries, each could equally exploit the other; each was at liberty to consider its own interests as paramount, and to serve the other only so far as, by so doing, it served itself. This expansion of the external necessarily led to a corresponding increase of the internal trade. But the trade of the citizens, both internal and external, was now seized upon by the state governments as a source from which to obtain the funds necessary to liquidate the enormous debt incurred by the war. Thus American industry, the great object of the struggle, was in danger of becoming its victim. A movement was originated for a combination against the prohibitions and restrictions thus imposed, which resulted in the adoption of the Federal Constitution. The American Union is the divorce of American industry from the tutelage of the state governments.

It was consummated by the adoption of the revolutionary debt, and the provision of means for its liquidation. But the constitution invests the federal authority with power to “regulate commerce,” and these powers it was denied to exercise. The people had submitted to it as a relief from the control of the state governments, but they never countenanced the exercise of any control by the new government itself. The alien and sedition bill were such efforts, and doubtless had a most important share in the overthrow of the federal party; but while these proved the most powerful engines in the hands of political leaders, the excise was most effective

among the masses. The victory of the Jeffersonian party was the divorce of American internal industry from the tutelage of government in the shape of taxes and imposts. The great declarer, in his inaugural, gives "the sum of good government as a wise frugality, which does not take from the mouth of labor the bread it has earned, and which, restraining men from injuring one another, leaves them otherwise free to regulate their own pursuits."

This freedom was turned, by the course of European events, into the channel of the carrying trade; American shipowners grew rich on the security afforded by their neutral keels to the merchandise transported between belligerent nations. England rebelled against the carrying trade, but the war of 1812 was its vindication. It was in those eventful times that American industry conquered the ocean, and won its first victory over the laws of nations.

During the wars of the French Empire, an American discovery was perfected, destined to act on a revolutionary element in society, long after the remembrance of Napoleon shall have begun to pale its fire. It has been often said, and truly, that the democracies of Greece and Rome were enabled to attain, by their slave population, which relieved the ruling class from the burdens of degrading labor, an intellectual and artistic perfection which, to the hard-working sovereigns of our day is unapproachable; and again, that our universal acknowledgment of the rights of man give us a moral superiority not to be resigned at any price. To unite both these perfections, it was necessary to yoke nature herself to her

own subjection. This was done in 1805, when the capital of Livingston and the genius of Robert Fulton launched the first steamboat on the Hudson. That elemental power which uplifts the mountains and makes the valleys quake, was then chained to the car of man's volition. It is made to do our spinning, our weaving, our sawing, cleaving, and digging; it whirls us over the solid earth a hundred miles an hour; and it wafts us in a few days over the sea, where before mankind were thousands of years in finding the way. It has made men into gods, for it has placed the elements at their beck.

Steam has caused all the pressure and all the explosions with which modern society has been visited. But how could men expect to wield the thunder without buying their experience! Its first operation, as applied to inland navigation, was a wonderful increase of facilities for inland travel; as such it was the indispensable engine for the peopling of the Great West. The following table of the increase of population of the Western cities shows two periods of sudden growth,—one during the fifteen years ensuing the introduction of the steamboat, the other in the five years following the general construction of European and American railroads, and of ocean steamships:

Census.	Cincinnati.	Pittsburg.	Louisville.	New Orleans.
1800.....	750	1,565	600	9,650
1810.....	2,540	4,768	1,350	17,242
1820.....	9,602	7,243	4,012	27,176
1830.....	24,831	24,412	10,306	46,310
1840.....	46,338	36,478	21,214	102,296
1850.....	115,438	67,871	43,277	120,951

The increase of population could not but be accompanied with increase of industry. But steam was soon applied directly to productive machinery, and thus brought on that manufacturing enterprise which marks the present day. As if in anticipation of the discovery, and simultaneously with it, Humphreys had set the example of an improvement in the breed of sheep, by the importation of merinoes. Thus American broadcloths were speedily manufactured. The European wars served at the same time to keep out European competition, and thus facilitate the inception of home enterprises. This being removed by the conclusion of a peace in 1814, a substitute for it was found in the "American system."

In so far as this system contemplated the elevation of the business and industry of the country, it deserved the name, for business is the vital element of American society. The transformation of our teeming wealth in natural productions, into articles suited for consumption, the encouragement of means of communication from one section of the country to the other, thus preserving the level of exchanges, the extension of the representative of value, preserving its fluidity and manageableness, tended to further the triumph of American destiny. The construction of the Erie canal, by the energy of De Witt Clinton, is an epoch in our history, the importance of which can hardly be overrated. The Lowell factories represent the dominion of man over nature; and the credit system, by its very existence, circumscribed and brief and variable as it is, manifests a difference as between earth

and heaven, intervening between American and European society. There is no more flagrant proof of the colonialism which still pervades our habits of thought, than the docility with which we are generally disposed to chime in with European tirades against the credit system, which allows a journeyman mechanic to act as a capitalist, on no other ground than the public faith in his determination to carve out for himself a kingdom.

The encouragement of manufactures at the place of raw productions, is based upon the consideration of the waste labor expended in transportation and re-transportation. The American way to relieve this difficulty would have been the encouragement of transportation until it should become so easy and so cheap as to cancel the disparity. This course was resorted to within the boundaries of the country, and with triumphant success; but as against the rest of the world, recourse was had to a government restraint upon commercial industry, in the supposed interest of manufacturing efforts. Thus communication, the one great leveller and equalizer, the unfailing regulator of all social discords and promoter of all social activity, was dissevered instead of strengthened. In the matter of internal communications, a reverse course was adopted. The necessity of these facilities, as dependent upon, and facilitative of, population and settlement, is obvious. The American method of promoting such enterprises is to throw open the land to settlers whose necessities and demands will lead to the undertakings required; instead of this, a policy was adopted, which, by keeping the lands in the

grasp of the government, retarded the very population whose intercourse it was intended to promote. Thus nature, the very source of all social existence, was walled out from society. The value of credit, the anticipation of labor, as a make-weight to the power of capital, the hoarding of labor is manifest. The American support of it would have required the removal of the privileges of capital, consisting in its power to embargo labor, and the divorce of credit from capital, by abrogating the laws which guarantee the debts owed by the capitalist debtor, to the prejudice of borrowers without capital. Instead of this credit was dealt out as a government favor by the governmental establishment of corporations, based upon capital, in whom credit was monopolized to the detriment of the unincorporated. Thus was credit chained to the car of capital, and business, which should have effected its disenthralment, made to rivet its chains.

The "American system," in thus denying the vivifying capacity of business to effect the social adjustment and advance, was un-American; it was anti-American, in its faith in government as a promoter of public welfare and social harmony. If it had been required to devise a "European system" for the management of American affairs, the task would have been well performed by the construction of the system thus presented, as a plan of government action. In its inception it is a substitute for war; in its intent a promotion of government; in its tendency a preservative of nationalism; in its whole scope and bearing a restraint upon the individual, and a drag upon business.

A truer sentiment was never expressed than is contained in the following resolution of the Industrial Congress of 1852 :

“That the American Revolution is yet in progress, and that its mission will never be fulfilled until those features of our condition, laws, and institutions that had their origin in the original intentions of the British crown to plant upon American soil monarchical institutions, and the uncurrent principles of action engendered by them, are in process of extinguishment or entirely destroyed.”

The social revolution of our country was brought to a head by this declared attempt to subject our social relations to our government action. The divorce of Church and State was the purport of the colonization of America ; the separation of state and commonwealth was the task of its continuance. By commonwealth I understand the organization of *interests*, in contradistinction to the state, the organization of forms. The protective tariff was at first favored by the agricultural interests of the South and West, and opposed by the merchants of the North and East. Merchants are better business men than farmers, and therefore see the needlessness of a government interference to promote business by getting into its way. The event proved the fallacy of the protective dogma ; the merchants, who were to have been broken down or controlled by the new regime, invested their capital in manufactures, and prospered in spite of it ; business proved a better ally than protection ; while the planters, who had thought to establish their ascendancy upon the protective tariff,—it was first introduced by Calhoun,—found their raw products running away in spite of the tariff, for want of business tact to hold them in their hands. This involved a change

of position ; and this change was probably a principal cause of the length to which the contest has been spun out. Webster and Calhoun had to unsay every thing they had said on one side of the question, to make out a case on the other.

The battle with the United States Bank intervened. We have seen that the rise of mercantile corporations was not only coterminous, but coincident with the settlement of the East and West Indies ; they represent the alliance formed by modern government and modern commercial communities for the overthrow of the alliance then subsisting between the feudal state and the Catholic Church. That achieved, commerce began to rebel against its governmental ally, and in the American revolution the colonial corporations were abolished. With the establishment of the central government, its excrescences, in the shape of government corporations, reappeared. The Bank of North America had been established under the auspices of the continental congress ; it was followed by that of the United States Bank by the first congress ; of the New York Bank in 1795, the Manhattan Company,—erected ostensibly to furnish the city of New York with pure water, but in reality to play banking privileges into the hands of the Republican politicians ; and by the establishment of a numerous brood of banking, insurance, and loan companies, who exerted sufficient influence, about the close of the century, to carry a prohibition of individual banking in all the commercial states. The United States Bank, however, particularly after the renewal of its charter in 1816, overcrowded all its competitors, and even grappled with the government to which it

owed its existence. The question, whether or not the United States were to be converted into a joint-stock enterprise for the emolument of the shareholders in a moneyed corporation,—the same which, in almost the same form, provoked the French uprising of 1848—was decided by the Jacksonian victory. “Let the government attend to its own affairs,” said Silas Wright when he introduced the Sub-Treasury Bill, the ultimate fruit of that struggle, “and let the people attend to theirs. Let the government take care that it secures a sound currency for its own use, and let it leave all the rest to the states and to the people.” The American government will nevermore interfere with the credit system of the American commonwealth.

We have now to notice a purely social phenomenon of more modern history. We have seen that industry is twofold: it produces and it distributes. The intense activity of modern society produces a constant growth of both these functions; but that growth is dependent in part upon fortuitous circumstances, and therefore irregular; and these irregularities occur not only in the development of each particular function, but still more in the relative advance of the two. When the distributive power preponderates, the level of production and consumption is preserved, and the rise of wealth is equable and steady. The invention of the steamboat was of this class; and its introduction introduced the era of prosperity which distinguishes the present century from all others. Tariffs, banks, and all mercantile corporations, *in their inception*, have the same effect; they are always originated by

enterprising business men, whose aim—*business*—is the communication and distribution of wealth. Hence it is not to be denied that the United States Bank, and the virtual exclusion of foreign fabrics by the wars of France and England, served as an additional stimulus to the diffusion, and therefore to the healthy increase, of American prosperity. But in their continuance, these institutions, just like the demagogues who become tyrants when in power, lose their distributive character, and become *retentive*: their projectors having made their fortunes by business, no longer use their capital themselves, but sell their capital to others, at the highest prices it will fetch; thus putting an embargo upon business instead of a bonus. This is what is thoughtlessly called “ruinous speculation.”

This influence was perceptible soon after 1816. It was enhanced by the application of steam to productive manufacturing purposes, which soon glutted all the avenues opened by inland steam navigation, and produced more than could be quickly distributed. The confinement of machinery, and with it, of modern industry, to manufacturing productions, and its exclusion from agriculture, was the cause of another disproportion. Not until the Irish Disencumbered Estates Bill, and the sales made in pursuance of it, has the production of articles of food been treated as a branch of concentrated business effort. This state of things brought about a surplus of production over speculation, a glut of the market, a fall of prices, a comparative scarcity of provisions, a stoppage of enterprise, a panic, a collapse of business and of credit—in short, one of

those striking phenomena, a commercial crisis.—Steam will occasionally burst a boiler.

Karl Marx, a Social thinker, who has subjected these occurrences to a critical analysis, arrives at the conclusion that these periodical revulsions must constantly recur, with increased violence, until they end in the disruption of the social structure. That they will recur until business and producing labor are brought into a lasting correspondence, is not to be denied; but that a super-accretion of production, of the essence of wealth, can lead to a state of universal misery, is on its face a contradiction in terms. The mere substitution of a violent distribution for a regular one, although it may be attended with some waste and destruction, is none the less a purifying and invigorating, not a weakening process. True, every crisis is more violent than the last, but that is owing to the larger sphere of its operations. Every crisis has been followed by a return of prosperity, greater than any that has preceded it. The relation of a commercial crisis to the social system is analogous, in every particular, to that of a thunder-storm in the atmosphere. A perfect and ubiquitous system of electric conductors would avert the former, and a perfect system of intercourse and communication will render the latter impossible.

Every crisis of the kind has been followed, and in part corrected by increased facilities of communication. That of 1825 was followed by the introduction of the canal system, of which the Erie canal, built in 1811, had been only the

pioneer. The Ohio, the Lehigh, the Farmington canal, and a host of others, date their existence from this period.

The discovery of the mineral wealth of some of the states was a counteracting agent. The overgrowth of the United States Bank was still more important; the division of its influence with the state corporations availed little, since the existence of the monster was preserved by a Pennsylvania charter, and since the favored banks soon became as rampant as their ancient rival. The land speculations consequent on the inordinate accretion of capital completed the disaster, and the crisis of 1837 was unavoidable. Its effect was neutralized by the railway system, begun in 1835.

This was the last great crisis. That of 1842 was produced by no extraordinary impetus given to productive, nor by any sudden restraint upon distributive industry; and though, for that very reason, its bare existence is a proof of the deficiency of our social adjustment, its inconsiderable violence also proves the correctness of the explanation here given. It was followed by the era of ocean steam navigation.

Themistocles taught the ancient democracy that the ship is the main organ of the welfare of nations. Well he might! for it is the organ of intercourse, the triumphal car of business. There is not a more important object of humanitarian care and attention than the improvement and perfection of ship-building. Steam, as we have seen, is a little younger than the century; in every year of its existence it has encroached upon and circumscribed the domain of the sailing craft. It is now fourteen years since the first ocean steamer was launched.

The Cunard company are at present engaged upon the construction of their fifth set of vessels, of which every one betrayed a great improvement upon its predecessor. It has been hitherto supposed that steam would engross but a small portion of the transportation of merchandise, and would rather encourage than supersede the use of sailing vessels. This hypothesis proves to be an error: *we shall in future have no sailing-vessels, but shall navigate exclusively by steam.* Our old rival, England, has struck upon the vessels which are destined to rule the ocean—the *iron screw-propellers*. Americans build the best and the fleetest paddle-steamers for our rivers, and our clippers for the sea have received, if possible, still more attention. The English, with their propellers, have taken a middle course, and are likely to win. Of course, the United States will ere long dispute the vantage. It is not to be denied that the American clippers have made the quickest trips on record; but the average speed is the important criterion, and that tells, if we except the long trips around the world, vastly in favour of steam. The screw consumes but one-third of the fuel needed for the paddle-wheel, admits of the freer use of sails, and will give the same average speed. In the course of the past summer, the paddle-steamer Humboldt, of one thousand-horse power, and the screw-propeller Great Britain, of five hundred, left New York at the same time, and arrived in England together. Another proof of the approaching disuse of the mere sailing vessel is found in the fact that the three great naval powers, the United States, England, and France, have just concluded to build no

more sailing-vessels for their navies, but to confine themselves to steamers. The merchant marine will shortly follow their example. The list of vessels in course of construction at New York for the first half of the year 1852, mention two steamers for every sailing vessel. In England the old coal-coasters are being displaced by steamers. Australia and the Cape of Good Hope are visited by screw-steamers, and the propellers of the Cunard Company will soon absorb a very considerable portion of the forwarding trade between New York and Liverpool. Thus the use of sails will become so circumscribed, that in a few years even a clipper will be regarded as a curious relic.*

This point gained, the improvement of the steamer will progress even more rapidly than at present, when every month brings a material advance upon the last. Iron is more and more favored as a material, which gives them

* After the above was written, the following corroborative remarks were discovered in an English essay, entitled "A Treatise on the Screw Propeller, by John Bourne." The author, a son of the late director of the Peninsular and Oriental Company, is thoroughly versed in every thing relating to the shipping interest, and his opinion entitled to great respect. He says, in reference to the speedy disuse of sails:—"This appears, at first glance, a startling change, but it is one which is now contemplated by the majority of practical men as one of positive necessity, and one which will tend to the ultimate profit and extension of the great interest by whom this revolution will be accomplished." M. Bourne is of opinion that the paddle-wheel will have to be retained for river navigation and for mail-steamers. We must be permitted to dissent from this reservation: screw-steamers will travel more swiftly than any paddles, and a double-screw would overcome all difficulties in the former case.

superior lightness; and the ships stretch out their proportions until they resemble the canoes of the Indians, in form as well in speed. The keel of the English propeller Wave Queen is two hundred feet, and her breadth of beam but thirteen. Professor Salomon is now engaged, at Washington, upon the application of carbonic acid as a motor; which, if successful, will be attended with immense saving in point of fuel and machinery, and gain in point of power. The time is near when our steamers will move at the rate of thirty miles an hour.

The crisis of '48, aggravated as it was by the failure of crops in 1846, and by the political convulsions, was very severe in Europe. In America, owing, perhaps, in part, to the prevention of over production by the tariff of '46, to the increased consumption produced by the Mexican war, to the failure of the before-mentioned efficient causes of the European crisis, and to the opening of our Pacific commerce, it was almost unfelt. Yet it was succeeded by the application of a curative, more remarkable than any that have preceded it, more wondrous than the great cause of the plethora, steam, itself. The result of the Presidential election of '48 was made known to all the people in one day, by the magic of this agency.

Before Fulton had enthralled the volcano, Franklin had obtained the lightning; Morse has harnessed it to the car of humanity. If there is indeed a common element to the workings of thought and the discourse of matter, it is that most marvellous, pervading fluid, by which man is now in-

fusing dumb nature with his own intelligence. The globe is transformed, by the magnetic telegraph, into one human head; the interlacing nerves universalize every sensation and every thought. Man cannot be omnipresent; but, like gods of Olympus, he can make infinitely small the loss of time. Who dares to call a unitary commonwealth a chimera, when the eye of science can no longer measure the obstructions that impede its formation? When the lover can waft his kisses from the crags of the Cordilleras to the cottage eaves on the shores of Lake Lemman, who will talk of a Hellespont that cannot be traversed? *In a few months every principal part of the earth's surface will be so connected as to form, for all purposes of intelligence, a single town; our gazettes will give us hourly bulletins of what has taken place in the moments last past.* Let us see how far this undertaking has already proceeded.

All the towns of the Atlantic seaboard and of the Mississippi valley are connected by thirty thousand miles of telegraphic wire; despatches are transmitted in a few minutes from Boston to New Orleans, a distance of three thousand miles, equal to that separating Europe from America, *without intermediate stations.* The British American system is connected (as at Halifax) with the American. All the towns of California are to be put in communication, and in a year or two the connection will be established, by way of the Rocky Mountains, with the Mississippi valley and the Eastern coast. The California news, which now consumes four weeks in its passage, will then arrive in as many minutes! In Mexico, a

wire is in operation from the capital to Vera Cruz. On the Isthmus, Navy Bay and Panama will shortly be connected. Brazil already entertains a project for netting its vast territory with these nerves of steel. All these systems will of course be connected with each other, and thus reduce the American continent to perfect universality of place and time.

The Old World is not far from the same goal. In England, France, and Germany, the organization is already perfect. Submarine lines connect the former country with Ireland, France, Belgium, and Holland. From Marseilles, in France, a wire is to be laid to Corsica, thence by way of Sardinia to Tunis. From Tunis a branch line is to go to Algiers, and another to Alexandria. India is being drawn into these magnetic meshes. A report on this subject contains the following:—

“A magnificent system of magnetic telegraph is to be immediately introduced into Hindostan. For some time past, Dr. O’Shaughnessy, of the medical staff, has been engaged in trying various experiments with short lines, with a view to ascertain the best form of wires and poles for traversing the vast spaces of that country. These trials have given complete satisfaction to the Board of Directors, and orders have been issued to commence the works forthwith. The lines will commence at Calcutta, and make the tour of the peninsula. From the “City of Palaces” they will traverse the province of Bengal, following more or less regularly the course of the Ganges to and through the holy suburbs of Benares, and up to the conjunction of that river with the Jumna at Allahabad; thence they will pursue a pretty direct route to Agra, the ancient capital of the Mogul empire while Delhi was but a provincial town. From Agra they will branch off in a north-westerly direction through Delhi to Lahore, to form the final fether for the subject kingdom of Runjeet Singh. With this immense line of telegraph other lines are to be in connection, traversing the entire length and depth of the peninsula, as

these will run from the banks of the Hoogley to the Coromandel coast; and thence will stretch across the Carnatic, traverse Hyderabad, and issue on the shores of the Arabian Sea. The three Presidencies of Bombay, Madras, and Bengal will be thus brought into direct and instantaneous communication with each other and with the remote provinces lying under the Himalaya Mountains, or about the sources of the Indus."

The integration of this system with that which takes its start at Alexandria, will of course speedily ensue. Then will be verified the prediction of the English cabinet minister when interrogated on a matter relating to Indian affairs, on which he had no precise information, that a telegraph would soon be finished to Calcutta, which would enable him to transmit all puzzling questions asked of him in a session, and report the answer in the same session a while afterwards. Switzerland, Italy, and Austria, all have their systems. Russia is weaving a net over her immense dominions, from Poland to the eastern coast of Siberia. An expedition of *savans* is just setting out from St. Petersburg to make a scientific exploration of the eastern peninsula of Kamschatka, and select the telegraph stations there.

But we cannot stop here. The connection must not unite humanity into two halves, but into a single whole. *The wires are already forging which shall rivet America to Europe and to Asia.* The English house of Harrison has received from that, and from the Danish government, a monopoly of a submarine telegraph running from Scotland to the Shetland Isles, thence by way of the Faroe Islands, Iceland, and Greenland to Labrador, which is to form the point of union with our continental system. This, be it observed in passing, is

the route taken by the first discoverers of America, the Northmen, when they skipped from island to peninsula, until they set foot on "Vinland." The Russian government will carry the line from Kamschatka, by way of the Aleutian Isles, to Alaska and her American possessions, *whence it will be continued to California, closing the magic circle of the earth.* From India the wires will enter China, and connect with the Siberian lines; they will cross the sea to the new-found Australian Eldorado, stringing the islands like pearls upon the necklace of the sea. From the north coast of Africa they will engirdle that continent, meeting at the Cape. From these outer circles the tendrils will quickly insinuate themselves into the interior of the continents. The batteries constantly charging, are constantly necessitating a discharge, and the societary electricity will have built its own causeways in a few short years, from pole to pole, and along the whole stretch of the equator. *The fire that glides upon them will scorch away the differences of race and nation, and the fetters of custom and tradition, and their light will illumine man with a wisdom he has never known.* Let the prediction be recorded, that the results produced by the magnetic telegraph will infinitely transcend the conceptions which can now be formed by the most sanguine prophet. It will facilitate commerce to such an extent as in a measure to dissolve it,—for the pursuit of commerce as a separate employment can only be profitable while there are difficulties in the way of its incidental prosecution. It will equalize and regulate exchanges, and raise credit to the level of capital; it will place

the unculled treasures of the earth at the command of the penniless, and thus bring on the solution of the great social problem, to make every man rich. By the attraction of interest it will rivet the political forces of the earth to their natural centre, and produce a unity of political forms and political liberty. It will displace representative government by a direct democracy; enabling the assembled world to discourse on their common affairs with the same freedom with which the populace of Athens and Rome ruled the world from their market-places.

It will break the force of the crisis of 1854. But powerful as it is, even this is not the only corrective. The earth has herself opened her bosom, and poured out its fulness. In 1847, the reports of Colonel Mason, the military governor of California, began to teem with marvellous accounts of "fields of gold," said to have been discovered there. Nobody believed him, until the report leaked out that a whole garrison, commander and all, had deserted in quest of the treasure. They were immediately followed by a strong deputation from the Atlantic cities, which has ever since gone on increasing. The following figures will give some idea of the effect of the discoveries in California and Australia upon commerce and society:—

The amount of California gold coined in the mints of the United States, was,

In 1848.....	\$44,177
1849.....	6,147,509
1850.....	36,074,062
1851.....	55,938,232

The amount coined in 1852 may be safely estimated at \$75,000,000. This, however, is by no means the entire yield of the mines, which may be set down in the aggregate, at \$200,000,000. The Australian mines are found to exceed those of California in productiveness; the golden age is an undeniable reality.—It is worthy of remark, that in consequence of this liberality, gold, the king of metals, will be compelled to doff his royal robes, and mingle with his baser brethren on terms more approaching to equality. The production of gold bore the following proportions to that of silver:—

	Silver.	Gold.
In 1800	1	45
1847	1	18
1851	1	6
1852	1	3

In other words, the proportionate yield of gold is at present fifteen times greater than it was fifty years ago. As the value of these metals is inseparable from their rarity, this must be attended with an alteration in their relative value. The production of silver increases with great regularity, one and a half per cent. in every year, while the production of gold, ever since the discovery of the Siberian, Californian, and Australian mines, advances with more rapid but less even strides. It is evident that its present value, as compared to silver, is traditional and factitious. If the legal valuation of gold, and its sufficiency as a tender be removed, as the dictates of justice to the owner of silver demand, we shall have a steady fall in the comparative value of gold corresponding to its increasing supply. How well this fact is understood by the holders of

the two metals, may be gathered from the fact that the Bank of England had in its coffers,

	In 1847.	In 1852.
Silver.....	£1,000,000	£19,000
Gold	7,000,000	21,000,000

The effect of this supply is distributive and therefore equalizing; not only because it opens new markets, drains surplus labor, and discovers new countries, but because money is in itself the representative of intercourse, the pivot of business, and because those who handle it are taught by its very glitter the mysteries of business. Capital is hoarded labor; credit anticipated labor; money represents the immediate transition from labor to enjoyment. It makes credit unnecessary and capital useless; its tendency is, however, to elevate credit and reduce capital, where, as at present, capital is ordinarily in the ascendant; making men rich, not in proportion to what they hold back, but to what they pay out. It is only when turned from its legitimate purpose, business, and diverted into its opposing channel, of speculation, that it assumes itself the form of capital, and conduces to a social stagnation, if the continued supply does not preserve the motion of the current.*

The miners of the Pacific set the final seal upon the triumph

* It will scarcely be necessary to refute the possible objection to this argument, that money, or currency, and capital, are identical. Capital means the power derived from withholding money; currency, the ability to dispense with capital. He who gathers water in a tank, fares best in seasons of drought; while the rain lasts, he is on a level with others.

of free trade. When all surplus labor found its ample rewards ; when prices were found to rise, by the emigration of the laborer, immeasurably faster than they ever had by the exclusion of the fabric ; when the discord arising from the unequal distribution of men, land, and money, which would never give way before the quackeries of exclusiveness and national competition, were found to resolve themselves by the freedom of intercourse ; when it was seen that the raw product and the manufactory were nearer to each other after the article had run the round of six thousand miles of uninterrupted trade, than when the prohibition of trade had dungeoned the seed in its native soil, and imprisoned the spirit of enterprise in its own furnace ; when a community richer, happier, and better than the world had ever known, sprung from the brain of this new king of Olympus, without a government, without a colony, without a corporation ; then it was found that society had in itself the corrective, developing principle, which governments could only hamper, and not promote ; then the sentiment of Jefferson, that that government is best which governs least, took the form of a societary canon, and the SEPARATION OF STATE AND COMMONWEALTH became the duty of a world which had just accomplished the other duty of the separation of church and state ;—and General Pierce was elected with an overwhelming majority. His election is the emancipation of American business from the tutelage of the Federal Government.

Previous to this (1851) the ocean world had held its first Olympic festival. Where, since men live and move, was

there ever such a fane, such an oblation, such an assemblage of worshippers! Vast as the sea, pellucid as the heavens, teeming with riches as the soil! Earnestly offered, reverently celebrated, and replete with blessings. All mankind assembled, all in unison, all returning ennobled and enriched! Transitory because ubiquitous, fleeting because eternal, short-lived, yet unforgotten, who shall tell when the wonders of the World's Fair shall have end!

We have brought down the stream of social history to the present time. If, in pursuance of our leading thought, we strive to discern its bearings upon the future, we shall also adhere to our other principle, not to teach the world our theory, but to learn our theory from the world. A phenomenology of facts, to use the abstruse but adequate Hegelian term, will enable us to sketch with some certainty the limits which the future development of humanity must conserve, since it most probably will proceed upon the same fundamental laws which have hitherto determined its course.

Business is the hero of modern history, free trade its latest achievement. The harvest of the fruits of free trade will occupy our nearest future. But already Americans are discovering that the free trade which consists in the non-interference of our own government, is very little, so long as it still leaves our trade subject to the annoyances of foreign governments. The protectionists were right in saying that a free trade which cuts a people loose from their own government, which might have coincident interests with them, but

leaves them open to the spoliations of other governments, whose interests are likely to be antagonistic, is as much of a curse as of a blessing. Americans will want to enjoy the blessings of free trade by exchanging with the busy workmen of Japan the products of their industry. The Japanese government will forbid them. Americans will desire to enjoy free trade by going to the rich fields of Cuba and of Hayti, and drain wealth from their teeming soil. The Emperor and the Captain-General will interfere. Americans will ask, "Is this free trade? If our government has no right to restrict our trade, have these despots the right to restrict that of those with whom we desire to hold commerce? Have they a right to trammel us as well as them? Suppose America had from the first insisted upon this alleged right of governments, where now would be America and Europe? Will America draw any profit or advantage from the observance of this right in other powers, which she has renounced for herself? Will it not be to her a constant source of loss and vexation? Is it not her interest to dispute that right? Is not her interest, and that of the people of the so-called "foreign" states, coincident? Are not rights, national as well as private, instituted for the benefit of those who observe them, and should they not be discarded when they lead to their detriment? Are not governments instituted for the benefit of the governed, and should they not be abrogated for the same purpose? Are not all governmental rights fictions, and should fictions ever be allowed to do harm? Is it not madness or superstition to sacrifice the rights of real persons, of men

and women, to the claims of governments, of corporations, of nonentities?"

Thus will the existence of foreign governments come in conflict with American enterprise, and with the true interests of foreign peoples; and thus will universal annexation come upon the heels of unfettered commerce, resolving into a higher unity the antagonism of free trade and protection.

The surface of the earth thus opened to business is, however, too large for its present powers of subjugation.

Electricity answers well for the transmittance of thoughts only; the motive power of steam has a reverse application. Railroads are radically imperfect and incapable of perfectibility, *on account of their costliness and immovability*. Yes, we shall not long rest easy under the discrepancy which leaves us more remote from the inland districts of "our own" continent—the road, throughout its whole length, alive with our active fellow-men—than from the shores of distant "foreign" lands, separated by three thousand miles of a barren sea. It seems unfair that that which feeds us should separate us. Nor will it be less irksome to be compelled to wait four weeks for the arrival of men or things from California, when we have been informed by the telegraph of their departure five minutes after it took place. The telegraph demands a method of locomotion which shall in some degree correspond to it.

To solve this problem, men will revert to the ship, the ancient engine of wealth because of freedom, and of freedom because of intercourse. Our modern steamers have sails to

resist the air, and a motive power to impel them forward. What more has the condor, when he launches his ponderous frame into the thin atmosphere* that surges around the summits of the Andes? A little alteration of adjustment, and these iron swans will leave their native element and ride in mid-air. We are on the eve of aerial navigation. The experiment of steaming and towing in the atmosphere by means of a screw-propeller, raised and supported by a balloon, has been tried successfully at Paris. The balloon, which is a toy, must be discarded, and then we shall have the practical navigation of the air.

The civilization of mankind has always been regulated by their navigation; the earliest was potamic, as attained on the banks of the Nile and the Euphrates, the Indus, the Ganges, and the streams of China. This expanded into the Mediterranean, which bore the bright fruits of Greek and Roman industry, art, and power. The Northmen broke the spell that seemed to bind humanity to this charmed sea, and gave it a rival in the German Ocean and the Baltic. This was the piebald condition of the Middle Ages, terminated by the admiral who unchained the oceans, and initiated the system perfected by the settlement of California and the occupation of the Pacific. But,

The first four acts already past,
A fifth shall close the drama with the day ;
Time's noblest offspring is the last.

* The mercury of the barometer at fourteen inches.

The sea is less confined than the river, the ocean more ubiquitous than the sea, but the air alone is fitted for a universal civilization. Its shores are every where; it can penetrate the poles; it will settle the wilds of Tartary and the valleys of Central Africa. It will know no harbors and no ports, no depots and no entrepots. It will make all parts of the earth alike passable and alike accessible. It will give us the victory over Russian continentalism. Freedom is now limited to the oceanic world, to England and America; Russia, with its continental dependencies, is despotic; it has no ships, and therefore no freedom; no freedom, and therefore no navy; having no navy, it can never do great injury to the seafaring world. But its despotism gives it an army, and its army will protect its despotism. The seafaring nations, on the other hand, have their navy to protect their freedom, but they will never have a large standing army to extend their system. To suppose this, would be to deny every leading characteristic of Americanism. This would keep the two halves of the world in a state of perpetual isolation, did not the navigation of the air restore them to a common element. American air-privateers will be down upon the Russian garrisons—to use our own expressive slang—“like a parcel of bricks;” and the Russian serfs will fasten to their skirts, and be elevated to a share in their liberties.

To descend from the sublime to the ridiculous, we are led to consider a question of politics which presents itself in this connection. The annexation of the world, and the navigation of the air, or either of them alone, will make it impossible to

collect duties, even "for purposes of revenue." How, then, would the President's salary be paid?

The question of revenues and expenditures will reduce itself to little more than this. The United States will never have a considerable standing army. Still less will it ever be necessary to maintain a large navy in times of peace. "Foreign relations" will be vastly simplified when there shall be no "foreign" country except Russia; and the "outfits and infits" will be curtailed. The custom-house officers will no longer have an opportunity of serving their country. The average government expenses will not be likely, at any time, to exceed the amount of \$60,000,000, which they reached in the fiscal year ending June 30th, 1851.

This must not be levied in such a shape as to become a tax upon business, as is the case with duties, excises, and licenses, for business must be unfettered. Nor must it involve an encroachment upon the sovereignty of the individual, in the shape of an inquisitorial examination into his private affairs, in the shape of an income or inheritance tax, or a per centage on debts and credits. Yet it must be upon all alike, or rather upon every individual, not in proportion to his wealth, for that may be the result of his enterprise, and enterprise should not be discouraged, but in proportion to the bounty he receives from nature, our common parent. All men are entitled to the land, but all cannot use it; let those then that do so pay for this privilege. The burden will not rest on them, for they are at the fountain head of wealth, and will levy the cost of what they pay upon the productions

which others must buy of them. For the same reason it is not necessary to graduate the tax according to the quality or location of the soil, but simply to measure its extent. This will give certainty, and dispense with assessments. If gradually introduced it would have no social effect whatever. The whole quantity of improved land in the Union was ascertained by the census of '51 to be 112,042,000 acres.

A tax of one cent to the acre would yield a revenue of \$1,120,420; the sum would, however, be increased by levying at least one cent upon every parcel smaller than an acre. Without allowing for this increase, doubling the ratio annually, the sum would rise in six years to \$70,586,460,—certainly equal to \$60,000,000,—with a very large margin for the expenses of collection. The tax would then be sixty-three cents to the acre; so that the largest Northern farmer would be held to pay \$126, the mere householder twenty cents, and the Southern planter \$630. As it is evident, however, that the improvement of land will extend very rapidly, even leaving annexation entirely out of the question, while the government expenses will rather be diminished than swelled, it follows that the tax may be made to rise in far slower gradations, and yet attain the end. Supposing the number of improved acres to increase as fast as the population, it would require but forty-two cents to the acre to produce the revenue required; so that a tax of four cents to the acre, increased by an additional four cents from year to year, would in ten years enable us to dispense with other means of raising revenue.

This calculation is wrong, in so far as it makes no allowance for the taxes imposed upon the vast expanse of unimproved land which is now withheld from improvement by the grasp of speculators ; and one great argument in favor of the measure is certainly to be drawn from its tendency to discourage this embargo upon cultivation. But a glance at our land tenures, and the modifications to which they will be ere long subjected, will show that property in the wilderness is an invention which will soon be known no more.

Judge Reed, in the *Pennsylvania Blackstone*, is particular to remark that our tenures are purely allodial ; but his very earnestness of reiteration is a sign that he does not consider his position impregnable. The constitution of New York agrees with him, but in spite of these authorities, and a host of others, the fact can only be concealed from the wilfully blind, that our tenures are, in all essentials, feudal. They are derived by legitimate succession from the feudal lord paramount, the king ; even where the revolution caused a violent transfer, it was but a transfer and not an extinction, a change of possession, not of quality ; the declarations of assumption by the states are express in saying that they succeed to all the rights of the proprietary, or the king. The essential characteristics of feudal tenures are, that they originate in a fictitious assumption of property by the governing power, that they pass by grant of that power in return for a render, and that the purchaser, or vassal, purchases the right of requiring a like render from his purchasers, or sub-vassals. The form of these renders has undergone many changes, but

they have never affected the character of the tenure. At first they consisted in a general duty to do service, military or agricultural; then, in certain definite services, annually rendered; subsequently, in the surrender of certain natural or agricultural productions, yearly. These were commuted into pecuniary rents, and, finally, these rents were bought off by the payment of a certain gross sum or purchase money paid once for all. This is one present form. But now, as at first, the government claims the right, without using the land itself, of keeping out of it any individual who has not paid it black mail for a dispensation from the privilege; and now, as then, it conveys to such purchaser the liberty of playing this dog-in-the-manger policy over again, and exacting black mail from whoever denies to make the land available to himself and his fellows.

To say that this policy perpetuates a desert, the usual argument of the land-reformers, is to assail its least vulnerable points. We have seen that property in land, as now understood, consists in the right to exclude humanity from a certain portion of earth and air, and to compel society to buy the liberty of entering upon it. But the purpose of such entrance is industry; and hence our moral form of feudalism is nothing more nor less than a purchaseable embargo upon the labor of the community. The value of the real estate of the Union, by the census of 1850, was \$3,270,733,093. Imagine all this amount of capital divested from the embarrassment of industry to its furtherance! Railroads, steamboats, telegraphs, the blood-vessels of society, which preserve its

health and avert its convulsions, are "poor stock," and there is no inducement for the capitalist to embark in them ;—all the energy of Philadelphia could hardly build the Pennsylvania Railroad. But real estate is "good six per cent. investment of the best security ;" it pays admirably for the man who has made his fortune in spite of the difficulties interposed by capitalists to use his fortune so as to interpose the same obstacles to the efforts of others. What proportion of those \$3,270,733,093 would be required to build the Pacific Railroad? Oh protection to home industry! Oh rivers and harbors!

Where the individual asserts his sovereignty against the government, where business is recognized as the great social regulator, a revolt against the feudal system is unavoidable. This has been carried on publicly since 1828. It will lead to the vindication of ALLODIAL TENURES. These are marked by characteristics exactly opposite to those just sketched. This latter doctrine asserts that land possessed by no one belongs to no one; that the actual occupation of land by an individual, or any *bona fide* association of individuals, guarantees an undisturbed continuance of that occupation, so long as it is not discontinued by the free will of the parties; that a voluntary discontinuance of occupation leaves the land again without an owner, as before, open to the occupation of the first man who enters it with that intention; that the exit of one occupant, to make room for another, is a business transaction, legitimately attended with the payment of money; but that a man cannot receive rent for land from another

because rent is a payment for the right to occupy, and the fact of receiving payment for the right of occupancy from another, is conclusive evidence that the payee is not in occupation himself; and he cannot be deprived of his land for debt, because as a man cannot live without having *where* to live, it is not to be presumed that any consideration would induce him to make a contract involving the loss of this indispensable element of existence. Compare the following passage from the Report of the Commissioner of Public Lands, of 1852 :

“While on the subject of the land offices in California, I would recommend that the township lines alone should be extended over the valuable deposits of the precious minerals, and that the lands containing those deposits be left free to the enterprising industry of all citizens of the United States, and those who have declared their intention to become such, to work and mine at their pleasure, without let or hindrance, except so far as local legislation may be necessary to preserve the peace of the country, and to secure persons in their possessory rights; and if any benefit is claimed by the government from the product of these lands, further than that which is general to all our citizens, by an abundant supply of the precious metals, that it be in the shape of a nominal charge for refining the ore and coining the metal, which may be required to be done in the country, before permitting it to become a subject of traffic, barter, or exportation.”

This is the system of allodial tenures, which will triumph when the obliquities of the present land reform movement have been smoothed off by time and reflection. Occasioned, as that movement is at present, by a desire to escape from the evils concomitant to extensive, combined manufacturing industry, it meditates a relapse into the semi-culture of those sentimentally-idealistic times, when every man sits “under

his own vine and fig-tree," and mankind are divided into innumerable little familistic societies of three or four individuals, separated by the width of a farm from the rest of the world, plodding and vegetating, without progress or development. Let us have nothing of land limitation; large capital and large enterprise is as much needed in agriculture as in other pursuits and free business will as surely counteract all its dangers.

It is indeed a remarkable fact that the enormous strides of manufacturing enterprise of the last fifty years have been attended with no corresponding advance in the sphere of agriculture. The latter is still hampered by the want of combination, and consequent reckless waste of labor and scantiness of profit, with which it was pursued before the opening of the present era. At this moment butter and eggs are as high in price in some of the secluded agricultural regions and lumbering districts of Pennsylvania, as in the metropolis; and the same articles are actually imported from the neighbouring province of Canada. This is partly to be accounted for by the inadaptability of steam machinery to these purposes. Steam is like its parent volcano, cumbrous, heavy, expensive, often dangerous, and always destructive; its appetite is unquenchable. Carbonic acid gas may prove a better motor.

Another obstacle for the development of our industrial society is found in that relic of European barbarity, our patent laws. These insensate enactments, by preventing the commerce of ideas, paying the individual for withholding, instead

of imparting his discoveries, and by cutting off the division of labor among inventors, and compelling each individual to retrace the same ground which hundreds have probably travelled before him, have done as much to retard contrivance, and, consequently, industry and wealth, than all the wars that were ever waged. Inventors themselves are coming out in opposition. When they have been repealed, the march of intellect will accomplish the perfection of machinery, and the greatest possible dispensation of labor.

This consummation will lead to the removal of the last remaining shackle interposed by government interference to obstruct the free development of the business community. The present crudities of the social system are generally ascribed to the conflict between capital and labor. Be that as it may, it were idle to hope that the strife will lead to a harmonious adjustment of the claims of *these* two elements. The days of old-fashioned labor are evidently gone by, never to return; the wand of invention is erasing the curse which compels man in the sweat of his brow to eat his bread, and what of the task is yet undone will certainly not fail of its accomplishment. The doctrine of the divinity of labor will not hold;—action is divine;—but labor unavoidably smacks of servitude;—the “damned spot” will not out. The direct or indirect title to the products of machinery of some sort will henceforth be the only avenue to wealth. To obtain this, mere naked labor will be daily more inadequate. But there is a far better balance to the power of capital, or accumulated labor; and that is found in the anticipation of labor,—in

credit. Credit, unfettered, is as much better than capital, as the future is greater than the past.

The Democratic party have overthrown federal banks, and federal corporations, but in state politics their action has been confined to professions; they talk of limiting banks and restricting corporations, but are themselves not sufficiently assured of the soundness of their own principle to reduce it to practice, without exception. And, in fact, it is not to be denied that, in the present state of things, banks and corporations of some kind, and to some extent, are not to be dispensed with. Business would be at a stand-still without them.

The necessity of an evil proves the existence of a greater evil which the lesser is required to palliate. The need of an evil exception shows the iniquity of the rule. The purpose of the exceptions made to the general law in bestowing charters, is to provide a means of raising credit, which would be otherwise unattainable. Thus capital is endowed with extraordinary privileges, to enable it to overcome, in the given case, the obstacles to the attainment of credit presented by the ordinary course of affairs. But these ordinary privileges of capital consist in the power of monopolizing all credit to itself. A man with money can always borrow more, while a man without money can borrow none without spending even what he has. In thus overcoming the ordinary preponderance of capital by investing certain specified capital with a capacity to absorb a portion of credit greater than would otherwise fall to its rightful share, the practice of forming corporations

undertakes to expel the devil by Beelzebub, the prince of devils.

How is it that capital absorbs all credit? Why can a man with money always borrow more, while a man without money can borrow none without spending even what he has? Because the law lends a helping hand to the collection of the debt owed by the moneyed borrower, which it cannot lend for that incurred by the needless one. Because it guarantees the debts of the capitalist to the extent of his capital, leaving those of the non-capitalist unguaranteed; because it not only prevents the absorption of capital by credit, but assists the consumption of credit by capital.

The laws for the collection of debt are by no means necessary to the existence of society, for they are not even co-existent with it. The earlier part of the Middle Ages knew nothing of them. They can hardly be fitted into the ancient system of English law. The action of debt is comparatively recent, and originally inapplicable to what are now called business transactions. The action of *assumpsit* is founded on a fictitious trespass. These writs have come into use with and by the rise of capital, and their universal application marks its greatest ascendancy. The legal impregnation of debtors is a Roman element of our polity, against which the individualistic genius of the Germans has ever rebelled.

The old Germanic code proceeded upon the rational principle, that whoever trusts a man's honesty and good fortune, should look to that honesty and good fortune combined, for

his return. This was giving a bounty to honesty and activity, and thus the adage, "A man's word is as good as his bond," was more than a sentiment. They had good reason for tearing out the tongues of the lawyers that were found in Varus' camp. When the issue of the French revolution had restored the independence, if not established the supremacy, of the Germanic race, these knots began to be disentangled. The constitution of Pennsylvania, of 1790, provides that "the person of a debtor, where there is not strong presumption of fraud, shall not be continued in prison after delivering up his estate for the benefit of creditors;" and the same enactment, in substance, was passed about that time, in most of the other states. In 1842, the legislature of that state, following the example of New York, went so much further as to decree that "no person shall be arrested or imprisoned for the recovery of any money due upon contract, or for damages incurred by the breach of any contract." This had been preceded by the exemption from sale or execution of sundry indispensable articles of furniture and necessaries of life; and in 1849, the efforts of Colonel Small were successful in carrying an exemption of *real* or personal estate to the value of three hundred dollars.

These laws follow the current of history, and are not likely, for that reason, to be drifted back to its source. At the same time, the very objections which have been urged against them contain in themselves the guide to further improvements. The exemption, while preventing the relapse into utter penury of those who enjoy its benefits, hinders

their advancement by curtailing their credit, or rather by leaving them at a disadvantage as compared with those who have unexempted property as a purchase for the lever of their enterprise. To remove this discrepancy, a public meeting, held at Cincinnati, in 1847, proposed the abolition of all laws for the collection of debt. The project, with very little agitation, has been slowly but surely gaining ground with the masses; it will be carried, piecemeal, perhaps, and slowly, but certainly and entirely.

With this consummation of the divorce of state and commonwealth, political agitation will come to an end. The supremacy of the state, the organization of force, will be succeeded by the organization of interest; "commonwealth" is the legitimate designation of that idea, the common term society being more comprehensive, and, for that very reason, too vague, for the present purpose. But this supreme society, the commonwealth, is not to be regarded as a mere reproduction of the state with new components, making new laws, and compelling their observance. The great distinction between state and commonwealth, is that the latter proceeds, not upon statutes, but upon agreements; not upon the outer law of dictation, but upon the inner, of self-interest; not by compulsion, but by liberty. It is a great mistake to suppose that society is destined ultimately to take the form of a single great joint-stock concern, managed by a great president and board of directors. Even supposing this form adopted, it would not be preserved, because a corporation having no antagonistic interests of other corporations or of individuals out-

side of its pale, would fall asunder from want of external pressure. The commonwealth will be a self-managing, self-adjusting organization, in which the last shall be first and the first last, which will have no visible head and no personal management.

“The organizing principle of the commonwealth,” the Socialists will say, “is *association*.” But this is to be understood with many qualifications. Association is one of the highest functions of human nature, and the individual must have attained a very high stage of moral and intellectual culture, of tact, skill, and experience, of means and of liberty, to be qualified for this elevated sphere of exertion. Association was begun by kings, nobles, and wealthy merchants, in the formation of the East and West India Companies; it was continued by merchants and bankers, in our banking and insurance institutions; by merchants, engineers, and landed proprietors, in the construction of railroads and canals; by manufacturers, in the erection of cotton mills and furnaces; by the sprigs of our moneyed aristocracy, in the mining companies of California. It has always succeeded when undertaken by men in good circumstances, in pursuit of affluence; never yet, when resorted to by the suffering, in pursuit of comfort. It has made gods of men, but it has not yet been found capable of making men out of drudges. Let not association be considered a royal road from the bottom of society to the summit; it is one of those narrow bridle-paths, over which he who has the fortune to ride may trust his mule to carry him in safety, but on which the foot-

man is in constant danger of losing his hold and tumbling over the precipice.

That Socialism which confines its teachings to association is contracted, because it embraces but one form of the relations of individual interest. What is it that makes association advantageous? The more intimate *connection* of the parties. Association is a form of intercourse; and intercourse for the furtherance of interest, BUSINESS, is the electric fluid which restores the fitness of human relations. In all its phases it tends ultimately to this result, however it may seem, at first, to contravene it.—Josiah Warren has stated the social problem with the same clearness as the political. “Value is the measure of price; but cost *ought to be* the measure of price. The difference between cost and value, then, is the evil; to identify them, the remedy. Now, what is it that deals with the difference between value and cost? Business. The business man makes his fortune out of the difference between what his goods cost him and what they are worth to others; between the sacrifice he made to obtain them, and the loss others would suffer through not having them. But in thus occupying the gap, he fills it. In so far as his earnings go to the comfort and enjoyment of him and his, they are the legitimate results of a legitimate system. It is only in so far as they go beyond this, and furnish him with capital, thus, while capital confers the privilege of hampering credit, making him a drag-wheel upon the business community, that they overshoot the mark. Strip capital of its privileges, enfranchise credit, and unfetter business, and the evil is prevented. Yet

even so, business has a constant self-corrective in it. Every new line of business begins with enormous profits, because cost and value are then far asunder; as it comes into use, profits are reduced, or, in other words, cost and value approximated; until it becomes 'over-stocked,' yielding no 'living profit,' which, when formalized, means that the value has become less than the cost. The business energies thus thrown out of employment are then free to post themselves into some new gap between cost and value, produced by the unequal advance of population, improvement, legislation, invention, or intellect, and to fill it up in like manner as they did the other."

The "sovereignty of the individual," the great securing principle centered in politics, is thus compensated and completed by the "equalization of cost and labor in business," the sum of Socialism.

The point, then, is, to make every one a business man. The last political obstacle is removed when we abrogate the political preponderance of capital over credit. The intellectual obstacles are removed by the diffusion of information. Every one, now a days, is able to learn to read. Our steam-presses diffuse more intelligence in a day than was formerly communicated in a century. The moral obstacles will give way before constant intercourse and communication. Whoever would better mankind, let him bring them together. Our contrivances for enjoying life, when contrasted with our opportunities, are to this day most wretched. One half of us live in towns, so closely and so awkwardly packed, that we

are constantly in each other's way, and yet have so little in common as to derive hardly any compensating advantages from the contact. Parcelled off into innumerable petty households, we reproduce in each the same blunders, the same imperfections, the same littlenesses, the same restraints, the same waste of labor and materials, the same scantiness, the same squabbles, the same follies, and the same monotony. Nothing is learned, and nothing forgotten. From this bondage we fly to the country to find purer air indeed, and more freedom of motion, but still less of cultivation and progress, because still less of intercourse.

American contrivance has found the means of exterminating this relic of European barbarity also from the structure of society. The following article, taken entire from the *New York Tribune*, of December 3, 1850, will show to what phenomenon we refer:—

“THE ST. NICHOLAS HOTEL.—One of the most beautiful buildings in the whole extent of Broadway is that new edifice of six stories, whose white marble front on the west side of the street, just below Spring street, attracts the attention of every passenger. It is more richly and elaborately ornamented than Stewart's—which is of the same material, but in a less striking and ornate style—and has the great advantage of standing in the full light of the morning sun, which brings out all the brilliancy of the stone, and all the beauty of the sculptured decorations. On the other hand, it suffers from an excessive number of windows, which injures the effect, and it is not quite broad enough to give full scope to so elaborate a style of architecture; its front should be two or three times the hundred feet it now covers; this defect will, however, be somewhat remedied by an extension of the edifice in precisely the same style, seventy-five feet further down Broadway, which will soon be done. It is a pity it could not cover the entire block down to Broome street.

“The building of which we speak is to bear the name of the St. Nicholas Hotel. As we have said, it now occupies a front of one hundred feet on Broadway, the ground floor on that street affording room for four stores, in addition to the entrance and reading-room of the hotel—and when the proposed extension is completed, its front will be one hundred and seventy-five feet. It also includes a back building on Mercer street, and a middle building of the same dimensions as the front, but only five stories high. Broad and handsome halls running through the first, second, third, and fourth stories connect these three divisions of the establishment.

“The entrance on Broadway is through a wide and elegant hall, at the lower side of which stands the reading-room. In the rear of the hall and the reading-room is the office, and turning a corner into rather a private place, the visitor discovers the bar. The front rooms of the second story are arranged as public parlors and reception-rooms. On the same floor is the dining-room, some eighty-five by forty-five feet, with its ceiling about twenty-five feet high. In the middle building is a ladies’ ordinary—a room of very handsome proportions. The third and fourth stories of the front building are devoted to suites of rooms for families; the fifth and sixth to rooms for single gentlemen. The middle building and the fourth story of the back building, above the dining-room, are similarly arranged. The lodging-rooms for servants are in the fifth story of the back building. The halls and public rooms are heated by steam-pipes, and in the upmost story of each building are vast tanks for hot and cold water, for the use of lodgers, and also for deluging the house in case of fire. The establishment will be lighted with gas made in a separate building belonging to it, in the vicinity, in which are also the stables of the house.

“The suites of rooms for families differ in that some have a parlor with one, and others with two bedrooms, with bath and water-closet. The rooms for single persons do not possess these conveniences. The house is generally decorated and furnished (though but a part of the furniture and upholstery is yet put in) with a lavishness of expenditure unparalleled in any hotel in this country or Europe. The furniture is of rosewood in the public rooms and the rooms for families; in those for single persons it is of mahogany. The carpets, the hangings, the mirrors, the chandeliers, the gilding, the decorations in plaster and in fresco, are the ne plus ultra of expense, of richness, of luxury. Palaces may have more spacious apartments, but nothing more showy and sumptuous in their furnishing. Whatever of splendid and gorgeous in this way money could procure seems to have been obtained for this

hotel, with a view to outdo every other in elegance and splendor. Nor is comfort neglected; the beds are quite perfect; they consist of a *sommier elastique* or spring mattress, with a heavy hair mattress upon it: better could not be. The house at present will afford accommodations for some three hundred and fifty lodgers, and will employ about a hundred and thirty waiters, chambermaids, and other servants. But when the additions contemplated shall be finished, there will be room for a thousand lodgers.

“Attached to the dining-hall is an ante-room where the meats are carved. This is provided with large tables heated by steam, in which the dishes are kept hot. The kitchen, storerooms, laundry, and servants’ dining-room are in the basement. The kitchen is no doubt large enough to do the work, but would be better were it considerably larger. The ranges are compact and convenient, but still much inferior, as we think, to the French. A large part of the heat for the cooking is derived from steam, furnished by a steam-engine in the wash-room. The same power drives the washing machines, two in number,—one holding about as much as two hog-heads, and the other about two barrels,—and the drying machine. By this apparatus we are told that shirts can be washed and dried ready for the ironers in ten minutes. The most laborious work of the laundry will thus be performed by machinery, as it ought to be.

“We do not undertake to describe in more detail the arrangements and the sumptuousness of this hotel. That it will be a favorite with the public, is insured by its position and its splendor. In the last respect it is evident that a new era has begun for these great metropolitan caravanseries. Henceforth they must be furnished without regard to cost; the days have gone by when quiet comfort, mere neatness, and a good table were sufficient. Persons from the country, and from other cities, who henceforth visit New York, especially if they bring their families with them, will now desire to experience the full extent of palatial magnificence in their lodgings and entertainment, and to have something to tell about on their return to the untravelled at home.

“Hotel-building and furnishing has, however, not yet reached perfection, as we proceed to indicate by a little criticism on the St. Nicholas.

“In the first place a word which applies to all our buildings: they are too slightly made. We remember often noticing the walls of the St. Nicholas, as they were going up, with the reflection that they might be strong enough to stand, and doubtless were, for no architect would be fool enough to make a building otherwise, but that if they were ours, we

should add a brick or two to their thickness. Walls six stories high, which have to bear so great a weight of furniture, fixtures, and persons as these will contain, ought to be strong enough to stand, not only in ordinary circumstances, but even if a fire should consume their interior supports. Next, in respect to ventilation, we find the St. Nicholas deficient. Its apartments and single lodging-rooms, have no means of ventilation except by opening the door or windows. This is none the less a great fault because it is so universal. Every good house should be so arranged as that the body of air in its apartments should be changed regularly, though imperceptibly. Next, there are not baths enough. The single rooms are almost entirely without them, and a man lodged in the fifth story has to go out of the way down stairs to take a bath. In a hotel of such character and pretensions, though it is not necessary that baths should be attached to every single chamber, they should still be easy of access to all the occupants of such rooms. And then in respect to furniture, hangings, &c., though we do not wish to speak decisively about the St. Nicholas, inasmuch as it is not yet completed, and we cannot judge of the final effect, still the tendency is to seek for splendor in the style of the showy North River steamboats, rather than for real elegance, and solid, luxurious, good taste, such as a gentleman of high culture, refinement, and love of art would exhibit in fitting up a palace for his own use. And yet this and not the North River method is the true one. There is also another deficiency which we had hoped here to see remedied. In a house six stories high, five weary flights of stairs have to be climbed in order to gain the upper story. This is an awful toil for the human legs, and unnecessary. There is steam power at hand, and there are ingenious brains enough to invent an elegant and convenient apparatus to convey skyward the upward bound, and earthward the descending, without such excessive labor of mortal muscle.

“We add that the St. Nicholas is owned by Mr. D. H. Haight, and will be kept by Messrs. Treadwell & Acker. As a further index of its luxury, we may say that merely to furnish it costs some \$125,000.”

In closing this chapter with the statements of a contemporary periodical, we offer the best proof that our farthest reaches into the future have not carried us away from our moorings in the serene haven of the present.



III. — LANGUAGE.

THE tower of Babel frowns heavily upon the course traced out for the history of the future in these pages. Let us see how the last misgiving as to the power of humanity to satisfy its own requirements, is to be removed. How will the World's Republic escape a confusion of tongues ?

Rome has left a legacy of her power, in her language, to all the nations that once owned her sway. The New Rome will universalize the tongue which "proclaimed liberty to the nations, and to the people thereof." The English language is manifestly destined for all mankind. At this day it is spoken in England by twenty-seven millions of people ; the Celtic idioms of Wales, the Scotch Highlanders, and Ireland, are dead or dying. The English colonies unite in adopting the parent tongue, not even excepting Canada, which, in its origin, was exclusively French. In India, one hundred and twenty millions of souls are learning it. A new England is growing up in Australia. In the United States, however, the

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process is most interesting ; here the English is the received organ of intercourse among twenty-five millions of people, of the most heterogeneous extraction. Spanish, French, Dutch, and German, are compelled to give way before it. Its onward progress is, of course, as rapid as that of the American people. It leads the way in the Sandwich Islands, and the Chinese are learning it in California, to carry it to the Celestial Empire. No language on earth receives so much attention from foreigners as the English : some millions of emigrants in the United States are bent upon acquiring it. In Germany, the study of English, until within the last five years, was limited, and bore no proportion to that of the French. At present it receives close attention from all the friends of freedom, and from all who desire to emigrate, the French having been cast into the shade. The number of those who converse in this idiom is now estimated at seventy millions, while, a hundred years ago, it was just seven millions, a progress surely without a parallel. None of the languages of civilized Europe is used by so many individuals as this. The English literature already exerts an overpowering influence over all the other literatures of the world. *Nothing is more certain than that the English language will extend over all the earth, and will very shortly become the common medium of thought—the language of the world.* The most profound linguist of the time, Jacob Grimm, speaks in the following terms of the English language :*

* In an essay, " Ueber den Ursprung der Sprache." Berlin, 1852.

“Of all the modern idioms, none has derived from the very surrender and demolition of the old laws of tone, from the almost entire disuse of inflection, a greater force and power than the English; and the unconfined fullness of its medium tones gives it an essential command of expression, such as never yet fell to the lot of a human tongue. Its entire highly intellectual and happy design and finish, are the product of a marvellous alliance of the two finest languages of later Europe, the Romanic and the Germanic, which, as is well known, have divided the field in such a manner that the sensuous foundation is taken from the latter, while the former has furnished the superstructure of intellectual abstractions. In point of wealth, balance, and sinewy knitness, no living language will bear comparison with it. Yes, the English, not accidentally the mother and the nurse of the greatest poetical genius of modern times, in contradistinction to ancient classic art,—I of course refer to none other than Shakspeare,—is fully entitled to the dignity of a World’s language, and seems destined, like the people who call it theirs, to govern, even in a greater degree than at present, at every corner of the earth.”

THE END.

ERRATA.

- Page 70, line 7, from top, for "unsuccessfully," read "successfully."
" lines 16 and 17, for "general," read "governed."
72, line 3, for "sound," read "second."
73, next to last line of text, for "orbis," read "orbit."
75, last line of first paragraph, for "part of," read "past."
90, line 6, for "inactivities," read "inamities."
" " 16, for "part," read "past."
90, 4th line from bottom, for "confidence," read "coincidence."
101, line 11, for "arrayed," read "arranged."
113, " 12, for "Excited," read "Exiled."
125, next to last line, for "2,500,000," read "25,000,000."
129, line 21, for "denied," read "desired."
130, " 13, for "on," read "as."
135, " 6, for "uncurrent," read "concurrent."
" " 16, for "forms," read "forces."
138, " 7, from bottom, for "Disencumbered," read "Encumbered."
143, 4th line from bottom, for "obtained," read "chained."
149, in the table transpose the words "Gold" and "Silver."
160, line 8, for "one," read "our."
" " 11, for "denies," read "desires."
166, " 8, for "needless," read "needy."
" " 22, for "impregnation," read "impugnation,"

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