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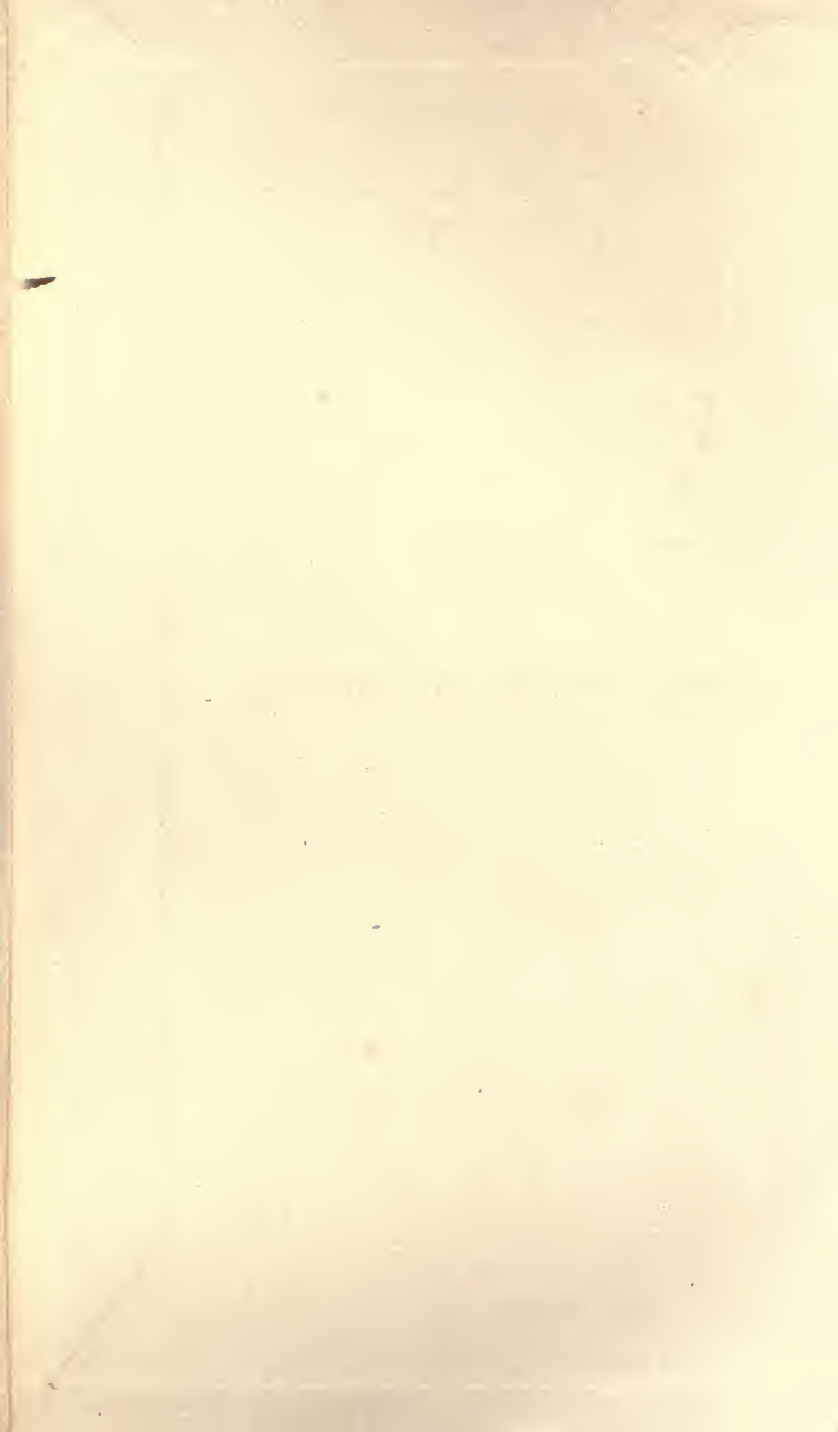
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REMARKS
ON THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
&c. &c.

REMARKS
ON
THE UNITED STATES
OF
AMERICA,
WITH REGARD TO THE ACTUAL STATE OF
EUROPE.

By HENRY DUHRING.

LONDON:
PUBLISHED BY W. SIMPKIN AND R. MARSHALL;
C. G. SULPKE, AMSTERDAM; AND
W. JACKSON, NEW YORK.

1833.

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W. WILSON, PRINTER, 57, SKINNER-STREET, LONDON.

PREFACE.

WHILE the Americans are painted in most diverging colours ; while by some individuals the institutions of the United States are recommended to the Europeans as the only political system worthy of their imitation, and by others the stability of these institutions, even in America, is much doubted ; and while annually so large a number of Europeans flock to America as to a land of golden promise, the Author of the following Remarks will, he hopes, not be deemed guilty of vanity or presumption, when, under these circumstances, he has thought it no useless

task to sift the truth from falsehood ; and, by submitting those different opinions and representations to the stern test of reason, to lift the veil of mystery.

September 1832.

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CHAPTER I.

WILL THE NORTH AMERICAN UNION LAST ?

CHAPTER I.

“ Les gouvernemens sont des edifices politiques : leur durée, leur solidité, dependent des bases sur lesquelles ils reposent ; et comme tous les monumens élevés par les mains des hommes, ils s’écroulent, quelque soit leur apparence, si les bases ne répondent pas à leur charge, et ne sont appuyées elles mêmes sur un terrain ferme et stable.”

GRASSI.

“ Young nations, like young children, seem destined to endure certain diseases before their constitution can be said to be well established. So also must they encounter a great variety of experience, before they can become wise.”

PAULDING.

WHAT is a government, or, more properly, what is a free, a constitutional government, but a power constituted for the promotion of mutual intercourse, protection, and happiness, and regulated or circumscribed by certain pacts laid down for that purpose? Frederick the Great has said :—“ Ne faudrait il pas être en démence pour se figurer, que les hommes ont dit à un homme leur semblable : nous vous elevons au dessus de nous, parceque nous aimons l’esclavage, et nous vous donnons la puissance de diriger

nos pensées à votre volonté ? Ils ont dit au contraire : nous avons besoin de vous pour maintenir les lois auxquelles nous voulons obéir, pour nous gouverner sagement, pour nous défendre, au reste nous exigeons de vous que vous respectiez notre liberté.”

Of similar constituted governments there are in the United States of America as many as there are states ; every state having its own, modified according to the local circumstances, and the peculiar wants of its inhabitants ; and with regard to its own, or its domestic concerns, totally independent, in all the three branches of government—the legislative, the executive, and the judiciary. Besides these state governments, the Americans have also their federal government. This is a compact entered into by all the States of the Union ; according to which, every state has yielded some of its powers to a superior power, instituted by the different states collectively, for the regulation and management of their combined interests ; as, the protection of their trade, internal as well as external—the integrity of their respective boundaries — their relations with foreign powers, and with each other—and further, whatever may concern the welfare of the whole Union.

If time and experience should have proved, as I think they have, that these different compacts suit the different States, and that also the federal government does not, nor can, at least for any length of time, misuse its delegated rights, or exercise them to the prejudice of one or more of the different states of which the Union is composed, what reason may we then have to doubt the stability of the Union? And let us suppose that those contracts above alluded to, were found defective, what prevents the Americans to alter them, without thereby disturbing the whole Union? Have not the Americans, separately and collectively, the power to do so? Does not the history of the United States prove that many such revisions of their constitutions have already taken place without the least emotion or embarrassment? To presume the different governments of the Union perfect, or lasting through ages which are still to come, would be ridiculous. All that possibly can be required from such institutions is, that they go hand in hand with the public feeling and interest: the character, the customs, and the genius of that nation, which is to be ruled by them. In the United States of America all authority being delegated by the people, every

authority must bear the character of the people, or it would not be borne.

What governments, also, have lasted the longest, or proved the most respected and the most fruitful--those that were egotistical, domineering, and tyrannical, or those that, by consulting the true interest, the character, the intellectual station, and the local wants of the nations, have modified their government system? How long did the mighty dynasty of Alexander exist? How long that not less mighty one of Napoleon? By these governments were the characters and wishes of the different nations, that by force had become unwilling members of so unnatural an empire, ever consulted, ever fostered? Were not, on the contrary, the national feelings, rights, or predilections of these nations, disregarded, insulted, and even trampled upon? Fortunately for mankind, that degrading period, when the rulers of nations were allowed to deal with their fellowmen as with beasts of burden, and to exchange them according to their own convenience or pleasure, has gone by.

Governments, too dull and too uniform, may also be compared to standing waters, which, after a time, corrupt. Do we not ob-

serve a perpetual change in all the innumerable surrounding objects? Is any creature, any plant, nay, the grain of sand we tread on, exempted from it? Would it, therefore, not be idle to suppose human institutions more stable? Do not the principles which constitute the groundwork of these institutions depend on the minds that first conceived them? If, however, these minds have become enlarged, or died away, and yielded the place of authority to others of a different stamp, will not this change affect the institutions themselves? Have not all human attempts to impede this change proved as vain as they have been destructive? Must we not acknowledge herein the hand or power of Providence? How beautiful is this idea expressed in the following words of Pasthofer:—

“ Ne maudissons point les peuples. Ils sont les instrumens d’un pouvoir suprême ; soit qu’ils renversent les digues des lois, soit qu’ils se répandent comme des torrens de lave sur des pays fertiles, ou se jettent sur les paisibles cabanes, ou qu’aveuglés dans leur servile obeissance, ils portent, au moindre signal d’un conquérant, la devastation sur le globe entier. La nation Française a été pour le monde moral ce que sont pour le monde physique les grands moyens de fer-

mentation. La matière qui fermente se clarifiera ; la vapeur empoisonnée deviendra de l'éther pur, et de belles formes sortiront du sédiment. Telle est la loi de la nature, et la destination de l'espèce humaine est le développement de toutes ses facultés, non le repos ou l'inerte jouissance ; et cette destination elle l'atteindra, dussent toutes les nations et toutes les puissances de la terre se conjurer contre elle."—And is this idea not further elucidated and confirmed by the following words of a man so enlightened as Herder :—" Das Mashienenwerk der Revolutionen irret mich nicht mehr ; es ist unserm Geschlecht so nöthig wie dem Strom seine Wogen. Immer verjüngt in neuen Gestalten blühet der Genius der Humanität auf, und niehet in Völkern, Generationen und Geschlechtern weiter."

To expect, likewise, that a constitution when first established will directly suit the interests and habits of every one, or will give no reason to partial commotions or to party spirit, would be demanding something that always has been, and ever will be, beyond human capability. Of the respective contracts, according to which the different States of the Union are governed, some at least certainly do, as yet, leave wishes unsettled ; but no doubt

these imperfections will, in the course of time and experience, be removed. The federal government will likewise, I think, require to be altered, when a more dense population, and with it civilization, shall have extended over all those virgin forests which still abound in this immense empire. And if it should be no presumption in the author of these remarks to utter an idea about it, then he might be inclined to believe that, out of a supercilious fear for their personal privileges, the Americans in general do trust too little power to those whom they invest with office. It seems to the writer that the members of the respective governments, at least in some States of the Union, are too dependent on their constituents, and are often removed from office when they have just learned to perform it well.

It may also be questioned whether these too often repeated changes of the delegates of the people, have not given too much occasion to the renewal of those passions which are inseparable from all popular elections? Is it not to be dreaded, that thereby a great number of citizens will learn to look on these scenes of contest either with disgust or indifference? Would not, however, in this case, corruptions and intrigues be favoured?

By these annually renewed elections, are not men taken too often from their different avocations? Does it not follow that the domestic habits, so necessary for the prosperity of every family, are too much disturbed? A greater degree of experience, a greater mutual confidence between the people and their delegates, will in time produce, I should think, a prolongation of that period for which the government members of some States are actually elected. The Americans will probably conceive, that though it certainly is for them of the greatest consequence to guard themselves against all arbitrary acts of their office-bearers, it is of no less importance to their well-being always to have at the head of their affairs men, not only of some independence and character, but also of tried judgment and experience. To devise a safe and practical combination of these two objects, or to guard themselves against both evils — arbitrary power, and want of energy, or weakness — without too much increasing or impairing the necessary power of their respective governments, is, perhaps, the most difficult task which the Americans have been called upon to perform.

It also appears that the right of suffrage in the United States has been too far extended.

When the actual degree of general independence shall have become somewhat affected by an increase of population, the Americans will find it necessary to modify this right; to guard themselves against that influence which talented and wealthy, but selfish and ambitious characters, under similar circumstances, but too often know how to gain and to wield over more dependent and less enlightened minds.

That, however, the Union of North America is already making rapid strides towards its dissolution, which is so often asserted in Europe, is an opinion contrary to my judgment. Are not the different States which compose the Union linked together by the most intimate connexions; as, a common language; a common general character; the self-sufficing variety and luxuriance of their soil; their unbounded collective resources; the general activity, intelligence, and enterprising spirit, of their inhabitants; an unfettered interior commerce; the fondest recollections, and the happiest prospects; in short, by the strongest tie which ever kept a confederation together—their mutual interest?

That this mutual interest of late has been disturbed, by some restraints laid by the federal government on the foreign trade, is a fact

of public notoriety. The right of the federal government to impose those restraints on foreign commerce, and to impose taxes beyond what is deemed necessary for the purpose of a national revenue, has not only been doubted, but openly denied. Whether, however, this opinion can be fully justified, I am rather inclined to doubt. The question is here not so much a question of revenue as of commerce; or, in other words, the federal government seems to have acted in this case, not so much in virtue of its power to impose taxes for the purpose of a revenue, as in virtue of its authority to regulate and to protect commerce. The said government seems to have acted in accordance to that principle, neither by reason nor by experience in the maxim, that the adoption of a restrictive policy, by one or more nations, makes it the interest of others to countervail those foreign regulations by reciprocating those restrictions. The chief question in the given case certainly is, whether by those commercial regulations, commonly called the tariff, the general interest of all the States, which to protect and to foster is the constitutional and only avowed object of the federal government, has not been more destroyed than protected. If the enemies of the tariff should be able to prove that this

tariff has been oppressive, unequal in its operations, and really detrimental to the interest and to the commerce of the whole Union—or that the participation in the benefits and in the burthens of the Union, has thereby indirectly been rendered unequal, with regard to all the States—then the true object of the federal government has thereby not been attained, and the tariff must be altered. After such a proof, any longer to enforce these commercial restrictions would be acting against the spirit of the confederation, or against those concessions which were made by the several independent States, when for their general welfare, by way of compromise, they instituted the federal government. This federal government does not fulfil its duties; when it does not equally protect the rights and interests of all the States: it always, more or less, steps out of its proper province, when, to relieve the inhabitants of some States that by false or untimely speculations may have entangled themselves in difficulties, it enforces commercial restrictions, which do not only deeply affect the well-being of other States, but which also, by alienating from each other the mutual affections of the Americans, are calculated to endanger the harmony of the Union.

- To prevent the further spreading of the existing seeds of discord, and to regulate to the satisfaction of all the States those mutual concessions which may be deemed of absolute necessity for the prosperity of some branches of industry, and which an independent nation always ought to cultivate, or on which too great a number of individuals depend already for their maintenance, this is of the greatest consequence for the federal government of the United States. It is obvious, however, that in the regulation of these conflicting interests the said government cannot proceed with too much caution.

Though at present it certainly would be connected with many and great difficulties, yet I entertain the strongest hope that, sooner or later, the government of the United States will gradually introduce into practice the principles of free trade. No nation ever was in circumstances more propitious for such an act than the American. The debt of the United States is to be paid off within a very short lapse of time ; and the annual national revenue promises to be beyond the wants of the federal government. Taxes of small amount will therefore be necessary for the future, to raise by their means a sufficient revenue ; and it would perhaps be better if for this purpose

another source were adopted. The Americans have so far surpassed all other nations in free institutions, that it has become their bounden duty also, to be the first of all nations that shall fully bring into practice the principles of free trade. This is a debt which they owe to mankind and to themselves.

As all branches of human industry work together to a mutual benefit, and jointly co-operate in the prosperity of each, so also will the different countries of the globe best increase their own wealth when they freely exchange the produce of their respective industry. Restrictive laws always interfere with the natural right of every citizen in applying his mental and bodily energy to such purposes as he may think most conducive to his own interest. In all industrious pursuits the partial protection of one generally means the oppression of another. By protecting one labourer by bounty, the government deprives others of their just rewards ; or, in the false opinion to do good, it takes money from the pocket of one man to give it to another.

The exports of a nation cannot prosper without importation ; both grow out of each other : so that we cannot reduce imports without also reducing some branches of exports. If, however, as above stated, the prosperity

of individuals is best secured by allowing them to follow their own inclination in the different modes of employing their stock of industry, should this same principle be less true with regard to large communities?—What is a nation but a society of individuals?

Mr. Cullen justly remarks, “that if freedom of commerce was established, and no monopolies existed, those commercial revolutions which occasion so much distress in the manufacturing districts, by throwing out of employment a great number of workmen, would but seldom, if ever, happen; or be of short duration, and far less disastrous than they have often been.” The rates of profit of manufacturers and merchants would then also be less uncertain, or only liable to those changes which are common to the whole productive industry of the country.

The restrictive policy of a nation may affect the interest of another nation, by excluding her from an accustomed and a profitable market; but is a retaliatory system calculated to diminish the evil? Is it, on the contrary, not calculated to increase it? An American, for instance, who has invested his capital in the production of grain, may suffer in his interest by the corn laws of Great Britain; but are his sufferings increased or diminished by a

retaliation?—are they not increased? He suffered by being partially excluded from a good market; but he doubly suffers by imposing upon himself an additional sacrifice, in laying taxes on English manufactures, which to him are of an indispensable necessity, and which he can no where else procure at the expense of so small a portion of his stock or labour. If retaliation did not affect home production and consumption, then it might be just: in all cases, however, where this happens, it will but increase the evil; and the evil does not stop here. Such a restrictive policy is also calculated to produce a displacement of capital from its natural channel, by inducing men to establish manufactures that would afford no reasonable profits, if such a prohibitive system was not in existence. These manufactures being founded on an artificial basis, are therefore but a very precarious branch of industry; and exposed to all the vicissitudes of such an artificial existence. As in Europe such an artificial system, which dates from a period when political economy was but little understood, has been followed by almost all nations for centuries, the interest of the greatest number of industrious classes is so intimately connected with it, that it would lead to the greatest pos-

sible confusion and misery if this system, false as it is, were given up, and in its stead the principles of free trade were established. But if ever freedom of commerce should be established amongst all nations—if so simple an act of common reason should be no visionary dream—then the respective interests of all nations would become thereby so interwoven, the bonds of mutual dependence and friendship would thereby be so much strengthened, that men but very seldom, if ever, would be exposed to the horrors of war; which, if all nations were equally enlightened, and all men equally blessed with the divine gift of reason, would be a disgrace to mankind.

The Americans, with regard to a restrictive policy, are in circumstances very different from those of the Europeans. The United States form a young, and in all other respects free country, abounding in numerous resources, and where, if any sort of industry should cease to be profitable, the capital invested in it may far easier be withdrawn than in Europe. The evil occasioned by a restrictive policy in America may perhaps still be cured by a wise system, and gradual change of policy. The Americans, by leaving all experiments, whether a manufacture will yield

profit or loss to individual enterprise, intelligence, and capital, would but act in strict conformity to the spirit of their constitution, framed for the equal protection of all the States. The federal government, so eminently popular and enlightened, sooner or later will be forced, I think, to adhere to these principles; and when thereby the well-founded cause of the existing international animosities shall have been removed, then it will be difficult to persuade me that the Union is any longer in danger. The benefits of this Union to the Americans in general, are however already so great, that the disaffected members would be very unwise and unjust if they did not bear with resignation the actual existing differences in the equal division of the burdens and profits of the whole nation, till, by the irresistible force of reason, they will have carried the point in question, and be as unfettered in their foreign commercial transactions, so far as this will depend on them, as they actually are with regard to their internal commerce.

All the fruits of those distinguished talents which conducted the Americans to their elevated station — all those advantages which they derive from the finest situation and combination which on earth are to be met with—

would be destroyed by a dissolution of the Union. Look on the map of the United States ! what part of them would you separate from the others, without more or less disturbing the prosperity, the wealth, the influence, and the happiness of the whole ? Wherefrom would these States derive that necessary protection for their far extending commerce, but from their united naval power ? Wherefore were expended fifteen millions of dollars to France for Louisiana ?—wherefore five other millions for Florida ? Was it to create new custom-house offices ; or was it not to remove them to the utmost and natural boundaries of the Union ? Are those vexations to which a merchant is exposed while carrying his goods along the rivers and roads of divided Germany, of so enviable a nature as to be thought worthy of imitation by a free and an enlightened people ? Should the Americans already have forgotten the difficulties under which their commerce laboured after the peace of 1785, before its regulation had been entrusted to the federal government ? How boundless are not at present the markets for every industrious American, in whatsoever State of the Union he may have fixed the abode of his industry ? What country is connected by so many, so easy, and such natural interior communications ?

And are not these natural and artificial bonds of the Union yearly increased, or brought to a greater degree of perfection? What was New Orleans under the Spanish government?—a swampy village! What is it now?—after New York, the first and most important mercantile city of the whole Union. The Americans *united* may defy all other nations,—*separated*, they are nothing! If, therefore, it should be permitted to suppose, as I think it is, that a sound judgment with regard to its true interest does or ultimately will prevail with a nation that perhaps excels all other nations in common sense—if one may also suppose that on such a nation the powers and intrigues of personal ambition or party spirit never will be permitted, at least for any length of time, to exercise their baneful sway—then one may also entertain the opinion, I think, that the Union of North America will not be disturbed.

Further: does the national character of the Americans justify the apprehensions of those who predict a dissolution of the Union, or a change of government in the United States? Do we meet in America with that turbulent spirit, that discontent, that ignorance, that fanaticism, we have observed nearer home? Does not a high degree of independence, of

personal confidence and dignity, form very conspicuous parts of the American character? Do we not find the feelings of liberty so strongly identified with the soul and body of the American people, that we might pretend as well to extinguish the latter as the former? Does a nation, wherein these principles so generally prevail, where they are almost imbibed with the mother's milk—does a nation, whereof every citizen is jealous, perhaps to a fault, of his personal rights and privileges—does such a nation, I say, give us any reason to suppose that it will forget so far its real welfare; that it will sacrifice to those instigators who preach separation and disunion, its dearest feelings, its strongest interest, nay, its very existence? Not the least, I presume.

“The cement of this Union is the heart blood of every American.”

JEFFERSON.

Where also do we meet in the United States with the elements of an hereditary monarchy? Where with the elements of a powerful, a firm, a tolerated aristocracy? With what justice, however, do we predict the establishment of powers, where the elements thereof are no where to be found?

Cunningham has said, — “In matter of

opinion, man is like a pig ; if you attempt to force him on he only retrogrades from the point you wish to urge him to, and you must coax him along quietly, if you are really serious in attaining your object, or else drive him onwards by making him believe the reverse is the object you have in view." Now I shall confess myself, as having been much mistaken with regard to the true character of the Americans, unless they prove themselves, in this sense of the word, to be the most obstinate sort of pigs that ever formed a part of this useful family of grunTERS ; and in particular so, whenever instigators may attempt to lead them to a point in so direct an opposition to their individual as well as to their general interest, as the separation of their Union.

When that great work, national independence, had been achieved, and before the confederation had been properly cemented, there certainly were some popular commotions,—the fruits of roused passions, party spirit, and of some vague, indefinite, or disappointed views and expectations ; commotions that for a short time kept the country in agitation, as the waves of the sea continue to run high after the storm has subsided : but were not these disturbances checked without

the sacrifice of a single drop of blood ? That “ safety-valve,” a term so often applied to the great extent of still unlocated land, and the numerous resources which in America are still at the command of every one, has contributed much, without doubt, to diminish this agitation ; but may we also not ascribe this, with much justice, to the national character ?

To deny all local animosities, prejudices, or party spirit, in America, would be painting the Americans like angels, and prove the greatest ignorance of their history, their institutions, and of human nature in general. But when, as we have seen, the recent planted tree, while isolated and unprotected, except by its intrinsic vigour and the peculiar favourable constitution of its soil, brave the fury of the storm, will the oak, after having spread its root far asunder, be uprooted by it ?

It is but too true what Addison says—“ The natural love which the gross of mankind have for the constitution of their fathers is very great. A man that is not enlightened by travel or reflection grows as fond of arbitrary power, to which he has been used from his infancy, as of cold climates or barren countries, in which he has been born and bred. Besides, there is a kind of sluggish resignation

as well as poorness and degeneracy of spirit in a state of slavery, that we meet with but very few who will be at the pains or danger of recovering themselves out of it." But have the Americans been used to arbitrary power? Have they been born and bred under arbitrary rules of government? Do we meet amongst them with that sluggish resignation, that poorness and degeneracy of spirit? Is their actual government not founded upon reason? Is, perhaps, this reason less strong or powerful than habit, to maintain its once obtained rights? No! the power of reason is immense, is irresistible, wheresoever it dares to show itself. And do the institutions of the United States place any bar against the free intercourse of this our better judgment?

What united the different branches of the German nation into one whole body?—what inspired the Prussians, the Bavarians, the Hanoverians, and others, with the same feeling, the same enthusiasm, with the same patriotism?—what animated them with the same courage, with an entire forgetfulness of all local and personal affairs, when struggling against a powerful enemy, but their roused spirit—their keen perception of long-suffered wrong and humiliation? Will, then, citizens,

who from their very infancy have breathed the air of freedom, and felt its inspiring energy, who by the experience of more than a century have learned to appreciate the great influence of their civil rights, their independence, and prosperity, will not such citizens feel a deep interest in the preservation of their actual independent and prosperous condition? Will they not have resolution enough to defend their rights, if necessary? Yes, they will!

CHAPTER II.

EXAMINATION OF AN OPINION SOMEWHAT PREVALENT
IN THE MOTHER COUNTRY, THAT THE WANT OF
AN ESTABLISHED CHURCH HAS PRODUCED WANT
OF RELIGION IN THE UNITED STATES.

CHAPTER II.

"Nature is indeed the only temple worthy of Deity. There is a mute eloquence in her smile, a majestic severity in her frown, a divine charm in her harmony, a speechless energy in her silence, a voice in her thunders, that no reflecting being can resist. It is in the beautiful scenes and seasons that the heart is deepest smitten with the power and goodness of Providence, and that the soul demonstrates its capacity for maintaining an existence independent of matter, by abstracting itself from the body, and expatiating alone in the boundless regions of the past and the future."

PAULDING.

"Sie (die Tugend) ist kein Wahlgesetz, das uns die Weisen lehren ;

Sie ist des Himmel's Ruf, den nur die Herzen hören,

Ihr innerlich Gefühl beurtheilt jede That,

Warnt, billigt, mahnt, wehrt, und ist der Seele Rath,

Wer ihrem Winke folgt, wird niemals unrecht wählen."

GELLERT.

WHERE, on earth, did men ever meet with a people or a congregation of human beings without all traces, rational or profane, of religion—without some kind of worship, direct or symbolical, of one or more superior spirits, that were considered as the creator or the creators, the bestower or the bestowers, the

preserver or the preservers, of all earthly and spiritual blessings ; and to whom, in one shape or other, prayers were addressed at stated intervals, or in cases of momentary need or distress ? Where do we meet with a large and prosperous community without observing at the same time strong feelings of morality generally diffused amongst its members ? Can independence of thought—the free exercise of mental and bodily energy—submission to established laws—security of property—can these elements of prosperity any where subsist, without a high degree of intellectual and virtuous feeling ?

The Creator of the universe—the Founder of those sublime laws we see established in nature—the Omnipotent Ruler of us all, and of every thing on earth and in heaven—has, to guide us from evil, instilled in our hearts a feeling of right and wrong, which only by a long course of vicious life, and by the most unfavourable external circumstances, can be smothered, or totally worn out. This “ voice of God,” this feeling of right and wrong, may, without doubt, by culture, be brought to a greater degree of perfection ; but the existence of such an innate feeling we cannot deny. This heart’s instinct of ours, and the love and reverence of its Giver, as likewise

the hope for a superior existence after this life, are the fundamentals of religion. To improve these feelings of right and wrong, to confirm this love and reverence of the goodness and power of Providence, and to strengthen that belief in a future remunerating existence, is, if we consider their importance for the happiness of mankind, one of the noblest objects of philosophy. Those who act otherwise, or who, by the spreading of doubts and false reasoning, attempt to destroy or to weaken in us this inward monitor, this love and reverence of God, and this prospect of a better world, are undermining the chief source, not only of individual happiness, but also of every state and community whereof religion forms one of the most essential parts. The true mission of a philosopher is to solve the various problems which have been advanced in different times and by different minds, and to elicit the truth from the various disguises and fallacies by which it is concealed; but not to use those reasoning powers with which we have been gifted by Providence, for destroying the foundations of human society and happiness; or for the overthrow of those religious maxims which in all ages and countries have proved

the best support and solace of mankind. Wollaston correctly observes : — “ Unless there is a future state, which implies the most extended of all schemes of Providence, the pleasures of brutes, though but sensual, are more complete — they go wholly into them — their sufferings are not heightened by reflection — they are not perplexed with cares of families and posterity — are not anxious about a future state — have no disappointments — and, at last, some sudden and unforeseen blow finishes them before they ever knew they were mortal.”

In every community where, by whatsoever events, this our better self, these moral habits and feelings, are suppressed, or not allowed to exercise on us their natural benevolent influence, there a total disorganization of the whole commonwealth soon must follow. These moral principles are of the uppermost necessity for the prosperity of every community. They teach us our duties towards others and ourselves ; they form our understanding, and lead us to the true happiness of soul and body. Where could we meet with security, where with real liberty, without them ? All ties of families and friendships, like those of larger communities, would be broken, because

all mutual confidence would have vanished ; nor could that superior blessing, peace of mind, any longer be enjoyed.

That governments, considering the importance of these moral or virtuous feelings and habits for the prosperity and security of mankind, have always been anxious to establish and to promote one or more particular manners of worshipping God, is very natural ; nor is it strange to me, that in less enlightened ages, and still in less enlightened parts of the globe, governments thought, or still think, it their duty to enforce a particular kind of public worship. But has true religion by these measures really been propagated ? Can you, by enforcing a particular sort of public worship, enforce true religious feelings, true moral or virtuous acts ? Has not experience proved how fruitless governments have employed the sword in religious controversy ; and how vain their cares have been to watch with a rigid eye over orthodoxy of one kind or other ? Have not the most unworthy, the most unreasonable, not to say the most ridiculous disputes, been carried on under the pretext of religious controversies ? Has it not occurred that a garb, a gesture, nay, a metaphysical or grammatical distinction, when rendered important by the disputes of theolo-

gians, and the zeal of the magistrates, have not these proved sufficient to destroy the unity of a church, and even the peace of society ?

The seat of true religion is the heart, where no power can reach, where no eye can scrutinize. Those same thoughts, those same fears, those same hopes in the all-powerful Director of events, which in moments of the utmost need and danger pervade every breast of a medley crowd, professing all sorts of religion, what do they prove but a common source ? And this common source, what part of us can it be ? Our mind, differing almost in every individual ? No ! this common source is our heart, or that divine emanation which cannot entirely be perverted either by customs the most absurd, by climates the most barren, or by forms of worship the most unreasonable. Whether the outward skin of man be white, red, or black, the heart that beats under it is guided nearly by the same impulses, though modified according to the cares bestowed on the mind's cultivation. True religion is a gift from heaven ; it is a subject above human legislation, and too sacred and too venerable to be profaned by the acts of moral governments, or by discussions in a popular assembly. You may regulate by law the manner of public worship,

but true religion does not consist in public worship alone. This latter serves to cultivate, to encourage it; in itself, however, it is nothing more than an outward manifestation of religious sentiments, whereof the true nature or depth is unfathomable for the human eye.

True religion consists in the love and reverence of that perfect wisdom and goodness which regulated the universe; and is exemplified in the will and act to imitate that perfection, as far as human beings are capable, and as much as our own individual position permits. And the Holy Scriptures teach us to manifest our belief, not so much by adopting certain religious opinions, or forms of worship, as by a true and active love of God and of our fellow men.

To pretend that in the United States of America the want of an established church has produced want of religion, is, if my own judgment does not mislead me, not only false, but shews a misconception of religion itself. What is a *church*, but a society of men agreeing in opinion, and who meet together in search of mutual instruction and devotion to the Supreme Being? What is an *established church*, but a civil institution for the same purpose; or, in other words, for

disseminating morality and religion among the people? Are they without those societies of men, agreeing in opinion, and meeting together in search of mutual instruction and devotion to the Supreme Being? Throughout the United States, wheresoever circumstances have permitted their institution, such are to be found. Are those societies left without control or wholesome regulation? No! Have the Americans no general conventions, no presbyteries, no synods, or synodical meetings, and other institutions of that kind? They have! And is it not in the United States of America where every one is allowed to worship God according to his own intellectual and physical station, and where, for the first time, it has been fully proved that refined religion, though unsupported by authority, the wealth of an establishment, or by any other aid except its own dignity and usefulness, it will not only maintain its ground, but prosper? Of what consequence is it, for the promotion of true religious principles, that all the externals of religion are duly or even ostentatiously observed, when the hearts and minds of the people remain unaffected or unmoved; or when the many follow but mechanically a prescribed course, which perhaps they neither understand or approve, and

therefore cannot properly appreciate and cultivate?—

“ Words without thoughts never to heaven go.”

SHAKESPEARE.

I am entirely misconceived, if any one should suppose in me an intention to lower the influence on the people in general of a well-regulated public worship. It teaches those to pray, who, not being accustomed to think, cannot of themselves pray with judgment. It teaches mankind to consider each other as members of one community, and it awakens our mutual regard and benevolence. There are some who, if religious sentiments have not already taken deep root in their minds, are unable to keep up in silence and solitude an intercourse of which they are only reminded by regulated periods, or by external impressing circumstances. It is truly remarked by Mr. Paulding, in his “Letters from the South”—“Nothing can more completely shew the importance of religion, not only to the morals, but the manners of the great mass of mankind, than the contrast afforded by a village where there is a regular service every Sabbath-day, and one where there is none. In the former you see a different style of manners entirely. Instead of

lounging at a tavern, dirty and unshaven, the men are seen decently dressed and shaved, for the purpose of going to church, and the women exhibiting an air of neatness quite attractive. Whether they go to church to pray or pass their time, to see the neighbours and be seen, or to shew off their Sunday clothes; it keeps them from misusing the Sabbath, and polluting the periods of rest and relaxation, by practices either injurious to themselves or disagreeable to society. Whoever has become acquainted with the nature of man, first by his own experience, and next by an observation of others, must be fully convinced of the importance of giving him amusements that are not vicious, and modes of relaxation that are innocent. 'All work and no play makes Jack a dull boy;' so does it make him a dull and stupid man. Men, in truth, cannot always be employed, and those that are unable to supply the tedium of bodily inertness by the exercise of mind, will, I say, amuse themselves in some way or other. If you afford them the means of attending church on the Sabbath, the most dangerous day of the week, because a day of idleness, whatever be their motives for going there, both their morals and their manners will be softened, by having some object for decency in dress and behaviour,

and something salutary to attract them in the dangerous interregnum of a day of leisure." All that I contend for is, that the object of public worship, can be attained, and is attained in the United States, without an established church.

"Public worship," to use the words of Mrs. Barbauld, "is the public expression of homage to the Sovereign of the Universe. It is that tribute from men united in families, in towns, in communities, which individually men owe to their Maker. This public worship, as well as every other practice, must stand on the basis of utility and good sense, or it must not stand at all; and in the latter case it is immaterial whether it is left to moulder like the neglected ruin, or battered down like the formidable tower. It will stand upon this basis, if it can be shewn to be agreeable to our nature, sanctioned by universal practice, countenanced by revealed religion, and that its tendencies are favourable to the morals and manners of mankind. There has never existed a nation at all civilized which has not had some organ by which to express this homage—some language, rite, or symbol, by which to make known their religious feelings. These modes of worship were not all equally rational, equally edifying, equally proper for

imitation; they have varied, according as a nation was more or less advanced in refinement and decorum, more or less addicted to symbolical expression, and more or less conversant with abstract ideas and metaphysical speculation. But whether the Deity is worshipped in this way or the other, wherever men together perform a stated act as an expression of homage to their Maker, there is the essence of public worship; and public worship has therefore this mark of being agreeable to the nature of man—that it has been found agreeable to the sense of mankind in all ages and nations.”

As the national character of the Americans, as their feelings and institutions, differ from those of the general mass of Europeans, so also must their manner of public worship differ from that followed by the Europeans in general. That same independence we meet with in their character—that same popularity we meet with in all their institutions—will also, as a matter of course, enter into their manner of public worship; because all regulations for public worship, like those regarding their other institutions, must emanate from their real authority—the people. If unity of church and state is of a paramount importance for the well-being of a nation,

then it is in the United States perfect ; because there, no collision between church and state is possible ; so long, at least, as both emanate from the same authority—the people. To accuse the Americans of want of religion, where they observe public worship, though in a different manner, yet as much and perhaps more than in Europe, merely because their own experience has induced them not to allow their Congress to make laws for the establishment of a national religion, is forming a very erroneous judgment ; and while advocating the cause of freedom of religion, is subversive of the end.

Certainly we do not, in the United States, meet with those splendid temples which are seen in some parts of Europe : but do these splendid edifices form an unquestionable criterion of true piety and religion ? You who have travelled in different parts of the world—you who have investigated and admired both the far famed beauties of nature and the superior productions of human art and ingenuity—speak !—was not your heart more affected by the living pictures of nature than by dead heaps of stones, though moulded in the most classical forms of antiquity ? Where, in general, did you find more innocence, more sincere and virtuous dispositions—in the country or in the

towns? Was it not in the former? Can we, the humble creatures of the Deity, pretend to build for him a superior dwelling than he has judged proper to create for himself? Where is a temple, made by human hands, to be compared with nature? Who can view that connexion which in nature all objects bear to each other, without thinking of that part which he has to perform himself? Who can contemplate the face of nature, without feeling religious emotions? Is not every root, every plant, every beast, a work of the Deity? Can you inhale that fragrance of awakened nature, that very breath which prolongs your existence, without thankfulness to its Giver? Have you never felt those pure and heavenly emotions witnessed in every well-constituted and well-cultivated mind, by the imposing beauties of nature; by the contemplation of the glorious majesty of heaven? Have you never, when surrounded by sublime mountainous scenes, felt the swelling of your heart—a superior fervour of religion? If not, I pity you!

We see in the United States no ministers of the gospel in splendid attire, or leading a life of luxury and grandeur: but was such a life their primitive destination? Is this in harmony with the doctrines, the life, and

the death of Christ, the founder of our religion? Is their kingdom of this world? He that cannot submit himself to privations is no fit minister of the gospel. He who would instruct others in submission to God's will, in resignation to what Providence has thought wise to decree for us, must follow his primitive instructions, or he is no good divine. He who pretends to teach others how to walk with righteousness in a humble way of life, must practise the same himself. That holy spirit, that direction of the mind towards another, a better world, which it is his duty to infuse into the hearts of his fellow-men, must first have penetrated himself.

In the United States the station of a clergyman, though often connected with a handsome income, is not however an object of ambition, but that of doing good; it offers no worldly rewards to those who are unfit for it, and who do not feel a real calling for so sublime a career in life. Every appointed clergyman must also live in his parish. He cannot lead a life somewhat unspiritual in a foreign capital or country, while a poor curate, who gets for his labours perhaps not the twentieth part of what the parishioners have to pay for their religious instruction, is ordered to perform the local duties. Such a

state of things has no existence in the United States, nor is it likely to last in the mother country. Already have inquiries been repeatedly urged, “whether the benefices of the church are not many of them too splendid for its true object; and whether their tendency is not rather to give the clergy secular than spiritual views.”

It has further been said, that the clergymen of the United States are too dependent; and this certainly is true, in so far as the American clergymen greatly depend for the continuance of their situation on their good conduct, and on the favourable opinion of the majority of their parishioners. That this majority has in all cases proved itself to be correct in this matter, or that it has never deprived of his situation a worthy clergyman, I am far from asserting. But are the clergy, belonging to the established church in England, as independent as some persons seem disposed to believe? It is stated in a late number of the *Christian Observer*,—“Ecclesiastical preferment for the last hundred years has been esteemed a bait and a reward, by which the ministers of state are to keep the aristocracy in good humour.” Is such policy calculated to render the clergy independent? And are not the lower clergy also greatly de-

pendent for their livings on the bishops? Whether the American or the English policy be the most likely to promote the principles of true religion, further experience sooner or later will teach us. If, however, it should be permitted to judge this question according to events of a very recent date, then what we have seen happen in the month of May of the preceding year certainly does not plead much in favour of that policy which is followed in the mother country. For who can maintain, that the election at Cambridge, and more recently the conduct of the bishops in the House of Lords, with regard to the Reform question, has raised the clergy of the established church in the general esteem of the English nation? To what truly lamentable discussions in the public journals has not this conduct given occasion? That opposition to the feelings of so great a portion of the nation, publicly avowed on both occasions by the majority of the clergy belonging to the established church, is it calculated to promote the true interest of this church, and indirectly of religion itself? This clergy, and at this particular time, by thus openly clinging to dictation and worldly dominion, which so little suits their proper character and calling—by loudly professing that they have no sympathy with the majority

of the people on the subject of reform—by showing themselves decided friends of the oligarchy, and bitter opposers to the correction of abuses—have they not rendered themselves unpopular? And can they, by rendering themselves unpopular, promote the true spirit of Christianity?

What was the duty of the English clergy in this struggle, between so great a portion of the people and the aristocracy of Great Britain, but to preserve undiminished, by the strictest impartiality, that superior feeling and benevolent influence which becomes their high station? When his Majesty, William the Fourth himself, honestly and openly acknowledged the rights of his people, and when his ministers used all the influence in their power to save the country from a threatening revolution, what was, under such circumstances, the duty of the teachers of the Christian faith? Was it not their duty to appease this hostile feeling; to favour, even by a sacrifice of their own worldly interest, an arrangement beneficial to both parties? Have they fulfilled this duty? Have they not, on the contrary, thrown the weight of nearly all their influence into one scale?

The American policy, by which the church is prevented from becoming a legal and poli-

tical establishment, and according to which the union of civil and religious duties in the same person is considered as incompatible with the profession of the ministers of the gospel ; is not this policy more in conformity with the true and avowed object of a church, and with the proper station and duty of a clergyman ?

The calling of a clergyman, professing the Christian faith, is of a nature so superior, and requires so much devotion and elevation of character, that no one should undertake the public discharge of its duties, and pretend to teach and to enforce the doctrines of the purest system of morality, benevolence, meekness, indulgence, and philanthropy, that was ever presented to mankind, before all his faculties have had full time, not only to develop themselves, but also to be enlightened and confirmed by experience ; by the knowledge of the human heart and mind ; and the season of passions passed away ; and left him a perfect master of his own actions. That mass of knowledge required for a man who intends to conduct others in their moral, and, more or less, also in their worldly concerns, is not the fruit of a few years spent at an University or in a seminary. “ How much cant and severity,” to use the just though forcible words of

Paulding, "do the beardless apostles of the present day not impose upon us. In their zeal to put down the innocent amusements of life, they seem to forget that vice, and not amusement, is the proper object of pulpit criticism. It is curious, as it is true, that among our aged pastors, whose years confer authority, whose whitened locks and blameless lives, and long-established character, give them a right to speak with all the authority of experience and virtue, we find religion represented in the beautiful and alluring garb of chaste and innocent vivacity. As drawn by their pencils, she enjoins no stripes or sackcloth, nor calls for any sacrifices at her shrine but those of vice and immorality : but our beardless youth, when first they essay their powers from the pulpit, appear to think they must signalize themselves by some new and stricter principles, than their liberal and virtuous predecessors thought sufficient to the welfare of mankind, here and hereafter. Experience has long since taught these aged pastors that mankind must have amusements, or they will indulge vices ; that by rendering the yoke of religion too heavy, it was apt to be cast away ; and that overheated or over-acted zeal was a more dangerous enemy to the church, in an enlightened age at least, than

even the most inflexible unbelief. The younger race of preachers, on the contrary, are heard to rail, with a sort of senseless impetuosity, against all that adorns, embellishes, and sweetens the leisure hours of an existence which at best is but a succession of labours. With an utter and monkish ignorance of human nature, they think themselves reforming it, by lopping away its flowers ; and with an arrogance, to which I feel too much respect for their calling to apply the proper epithet, they call down reprobation on the heads of their aged parishioners, because they have permitted their children to partake of those amusements, and to visit those places of polished recreation, heretofore considered innocent."

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CHAPTER III.

ON WASHINGTON, AND HIS PROJECTED MONUMENT
IN THE CITY OF WASHINGTON.

CHAPTER III.

"The purest treasure mortal time affords
 Is spotless reputation ; that away,
 Men are but gilded loam or painted clay.
 A jewel in a ten times barr'd up chest,
 Is a bold spirit in a loyal breast.
 Mine honour is my life, both grown in one ;
 Take honour from me, and my life is done."

SHAKSPEARE.

" La gloire est un grand mot, mais quand elle dépeuple les
 hameaux, désole les campagnes ; quand elle arrache le fils du
 sein de sa mère, sépare deux tendres époux, et détruit l'avenir
 des familles ; quand la veuve, dans sa couche solitaire, croit en
 vain presser l'objet qu'elle chérit, le protecteur que l'orphelin
 réclame ; alors les maledictions assaillent ces conquérants in-
 satiables, ces fleaux de l'humanité ; alors le laurier des con-
 quêtes n'est qu'une plante vénéneuse."

Une Mère Française.

WHAT signify these stones ? They are the
 monument of Washington. The monument
 of Washington ! A gilliflower in a gardener's
 nursery ! Traveller, cast your eyes around !
 Does not the name of this place, does not all
 you see, remind you of this illustrious name ? Is
 it possible, that here the name of Washington
 can ever be forgotten ? What is a monu-

ment but gilded loam, or painted clay ? Wherefore these stones ? Leave them to the vulgar great, whose fame is in want of such common materials. Washington's true monument is — " his spotless reputation." This wants no coat of lime against the injuries of time and season, nor will it ever want repair. But if to the eyes of a grateful nation his simple cave was wanting in outward show and splendour, why not adorn it with all the ornaments that the arts are capable to afford ? Can you disturb his venerable ashes ? Mourn you may, ye shades of Mount Vernon ! for the treasure ye are threatened to lose. It is yours ! Though you shaded not the infant ; though you yielded no sport to the spirited boy ; though it was, perhaps, not under you that his soul was first instilled with that heavenly fire which was to spread its glory over both hemispheres ; it was to you the full-grown man retired, after numberless fatigues and cares, with still increasing delight ; in your secluded quietude he cultivated all those unobtrusive, but not less glorious virtues of a private citizen. Where are you, guardian eagle ? Will you not desert your charge ? Will not the bustle of a rising town drive you into obscurity ? Friends, permit me to share your mournful feelings !

But at whatsoever place these remains may finally be preserved, it may safely be asserted that no reflecting being will approach them without a deep impression ; without that wholesome self-investigation which checks the growth of sordid passions, and prepares the mind for noble and heroic emulation. Where do we meet with a character that leads us to purer and sweeter reflections than that which once animated this heap of human ruins ? To what object, as an example, can a father lead his youthful son with more propriety ? What course of life may he point out to him with less hesitation, than that of this illustrious hero ? How often can we enter upon a minute investigation of the character, the actions, and the motives of men who have been called great, without mistrusting that our enthusiasm may be changed into indifference, or, perhaps, into contempt ? Those superior endowments, bestowed upon them by our Creator, how seldom have they been used for the benefit of mankind ! Has that being who feels a divine spirit stir within him—who, by the acuteness of his reasoning, the fascination of his eloquence, the authority or elevation of his station, may be enabled to impose upon the judgment of others, hide the deformity of a vicious action, render

deviation from truth more subtle and insinuating, and lead the multitude captive at his will—has that being no superior obligations, no superior responsibilities? Are his principles, are his feelings of right and wrong, as indifferent to mankind as those of common individuals?

If we reflect on that lasting influence which the inspirations of genius have on the feelings and the actions of the mass of the people; if we consider how many ages sometimes must pass before a false theory, set forth by a commanding spirit, is overthrown; if we also reflect on the general inclination of men, to shelter themselves under the cover of an illustrious name; then we must admit that all men endowed with genius labour under great responsibilities; and that in all cases where these superior minds cease to consider whether the end at which they aim be lawful, or worthy of their elevated character, the finest faculties are abused, and become poisonous to society.

The responsibility of those characters I speak of is naturally much greater than that of common men, as they are responsible to God not only for their own actions but also for all those which have been committed by their superior influence on others. But how

few men that history has called great, have cared about this responsibility! How few of them have been impelled to those actions by which their names have become immortal, by a real desire to benefit their country! That patriotism, openly so much extolled, was it not, secretly, often totally disregarded? Ambitious men in general, whatever their professions may be, have nothing in view but to gratify their depraved passion, and look upon their fellowmen but as the steps by which they hope to mount to the summit of their desires. Ambition, indeed, is a noble passion, when kept under due regulation by a powerful and a virtuous mind, which never permits a resort to means injurious to the welfare of others; but for the most part ambition has no fixed aim, and may be considered as insatiable. The old woman who always began her morning prayers with—"O Lord, preserve us from great men!" did so from experience and sound judgment. The author of "*Briefe eines Verstorbenen*," well observes; "*Liebe befriedigtzuweilen, Wissenschaft beruhigt, kunst erfreut, aber Ehrgeiz—Ehrgeiz gibt nur den qualvollen Genuss eines Hungers, den nichts stillen kann; oder gleicht der Zagd nach einem Phantom, das immer unerreichbar bleibt.*"

Truly sublime is that character who, after having freed his country from oppression, tyranny, and anarchy—after having achieved the highest honours, and the greatest influence—can, by his own free will, divest himself of his elevated station ; who, through the whole of his exalted career, civil and military, has uniformly and conscientiously discharged his important duties according to the laws of his country ; who never permitted human vanity to mislead him from the path of honour and integrity ; and whose exemplary conduct has thus given to succeeding generations the most heroic example of moderation, of firmness of character, of loyalty to his country, and, in short, of the most elevated principles which ever directed the acts of a human being ! Such a character was Washington. His spirit was “ a bold spirit in a loyal breast ; a jewel in a ten times barred up chest.”

How different the world already judges another hero, who, not yet twenty years ago, saw nearly all the potentates of Europe bowing at his command ; and, by his single will or caprice, created, extended, or dissolved the greatest kingdoms on earth ! Where is that everlasting, that commanding fame, he longed for ? Where that dynasty that was to govern

half Europe? Where that empire which extended from the Bidassoa to the Baltic; from the mountain shores of Italy to the rich meadows of Holland? Where are his eagles? —gone! While the United States of America, from year to year, increase in population, prosperity, wealth, and happiness; while the twenty-second of February is celebrated annually with joy, and grateful feelings, through all the States; and while, in the remotest parts of the globe, her navy are seen, with the American eagle hovering over her gallant sons, ready to defend the proud emblem of their country's Union!

Bright were Napoleon's talents; his campaigns in Italy set them forth in perfect glory, and rapidly spread his fame from province to province, from land to land. But the more he acquired the more his ambition extended, till at length all but his personal interest was disregarded by him. Millions of men were slaughtered, and the happiness and fortunes of other millions were destroyed, only to gratify his depraved passion. Did he not likewise desert his followers whenever he was forsaken by fortune? Did he not leave them in the scorching plains of Egypt? Did he not desert them in Russia's frozen fields? Even at Waterloo, where his last resources

were assembled—where the issue of all his further projects, where his very existence, depended on the chance of the battle—did he not even there command his faithful guards to attack, without risking a single effort for the achievement of that which personal courage and influence might have produced? And when the long-contested palm of victory was lost, did he not hastily quit the field of battle, without one endeavour to save the remaining thousands by a well-conducted retreat? The mass of wretchedness heaped by him upon innumerable beings, had long since overshadowed all the splendour of his former actions; he was still to confirm, by a conduct so opposite to his former character, the degradation of his own nature. What possible happiness could life still afford to him after such a day? “Take honour from me, and my life is done.”

CHAPTER IV.

SOME REMARKS REGARDING A STATEMENT MADE BY A
VERY POPULAR ENGLISH WRITER, "THAT THE
WOMEN DO NOT ENJOY IN THE UNITED STATES THAT
STATION IN SOCIETY WHICH HAS BEEN ALLOTTED TO
THEM ELSEWHERE."

CHAPTER IV.

" Lorsqu'une femme, à ses desirs fidèle
 Suit de ses douces mœurs la pente naturelle,
 Un sentiment plus tendre en son cœur repandu,
 Par sa délicatesse épure sa vertu.
 Mais lorsque la douceur, avec peine abjurée,
 Nous fait voir une femme à ses fureurs livrée,
 S'irritant par l'effort que ce pas a coûté,
 Son âme, avec plus d'art, a plus de cruauté."

DUBELLOY.

— " Nature formed you (women)
 To temper man : we had been brutes without you."

OTWAY.

WHEN we contemplate the union and harmony by which are connected all the innumerable surrounding objects, then must we almost everywhere observe a certain order, in conformity to which every being, animate as well as inanimate, has been submitted by Providence to a proper sphere or place, wherein it will best thrive or vegetate ; and from which it cannot be taken without danger to the continuance of its growth, if not of its very existence. The human being, by a particular favour, and in conformity to all.

his other predominant excellence, has been endowed by Providence with such a peculiar combination of qualities, that it is easier for him, no doubt, than for any other living creature, to change that situation in which he was placed at his birth; to accustom himself to different climates; to break through those ranks of society; and to create for himself, by his superior mental and bodily energy, a station by far superior to that in which he first began to move. But though the truth of what has been said cannot be contested, as it is daily confirmed by what we see take place on the wide surface of the globe, it has, however, if I am not misled by prejudice, by far a greater force, when applied to men than to women.

To contest with so various and with so many obstructions as we usually meet with in our common daily struggles, and in particular on the road to distinction; to bear with all the privations, all the offensive rebukes or vulgar sneers, all those disappointments which even the most fortunate will fail entirely to avoid; and to pursue stedfastly, without being misled by all sorts of contradictions or opinions, the once conceived plan or course; requires a combination of knowledge, a penetration of judgment, a firmness of mind, a

strength and even a boldness of character, which is not combined, in the same degree at least, with those charming qualities, so sweet, so attractive, nay, so irresistible, in women. That modesty, that delicacy, that softness, that unobtrusiveness, which are the principal charms in women, would they not be totally destroyed by an unshrinking display to all the world? This delicacy, this softness, this sensitiveness of women, are of too fine, too delicate a composition, to be exposed to the breath of the multitude. Would they not be profaned by mixing in a too indiscriminate society of men? And if those qualities of women cannot endure the public gaze without danger of their destruction, would they be able to withstand the passions of contending spirits, such as envy, hatred, disrespect, and calumniation? What would become of that bloom and alacrity of the female spirit? What of all those graces, which so peculiarly distinguish the senses and manners of women?

“Women,” says Dr. Goldsmith, “are not naturally formed for great cares themselves, but to soften ours. Their tenderness is the proper reward for the dangers we undergo for their preservation; and the ease and cheerfulness of their conversation, our de-

sirable retreat from the fatigues of intense application. They are confined within the narrow limits of domestic assiduity; and when they stray beyond them they move beyond their sphere, and consequently without grace." "La nature," says a French writer, "ne défend aucune profession; elle admet le bien dans toutes, mais dans toutes elle a voulu que la femme fut fille chérie et surveillée, épouse fidèle et protégée, mère soigneuse. Si l'homme peut s'aventurer, parceque fort, il peut partout se protéger lui même; la femme ne peut sortir de ses rapports naturels sans succomber de faiblesse et souffrir de tous les maux."

The true sphere of women seems accordingly to be—their home, their family, their domestic love. It is there that women, the

" Fairest gift of powers above !
Source of every household blessing"—

shine in undisputed excellence; and where all their never too much praised qualities are of so superior an influence on their own happiness as well as on those around them. What is a home, what is the most perfect dwelling-place, without them, but forlorn and comfortless? "Simple nature," to use the words of the author of Tremain, "certainly

abounds in happiness, for every one is made to feel it: the whole treasure of nature—the earth, the air, the sky, the freshness of the morning, the sedatives of eve, a walk with a friend, are all full of gratifications; but if a mistress adds grace to the scene—

‘ What pleasing seemed, for her now pleases more.’ ”

To cultivate, then, in young women their natural graces and those domestic virtues, talents, and habits, is but preparing them for their future situation in life; is assuring, in the safest way, their future happiness as well as that of their families. The higher studies, like the more independent pursuits, seem not to be made for them; and few women, even when in very independent circumstances, will derive from them the expected benefits. But to stipulate how far the mind of young ladies ought in general to be cultivated, would perhaps be presumptuous in any man; it is therefore with no small satisfaction that I am enabled to quote, with regard to this subject, the opinion of that excellent character Mrs. Barbauld, whose experience and judgment in this matter are above all doubts and praises.

“ Young ladies,” she says, “ ought only to have such a general tincture of knowledge as to make them agreeable companions to a man

of sense, and to enable them to find rational entertainment for a solitary hour. The thefts of knowledge in our sex are only connived at while carefully concealed, and if displayed, punished with disgrace. I am full well convinced, that to have a too great fondness for books is little favourable to the happiness of women, especially of those not in affluent circumstances. My situation, having myself stepped out of the bounds of female reserve, in becoming an author, has been peculiar, and would be no rule for others."

Women of an elevated station in life, and of independent circumstances, seem above all others in danger to forget, if not guarded against it by a very careful education, their true interest, their real destination and sphere in life; and often thereby heap upon themselves unconsciously and unwillingly a heavy burden of discontent and misery. "Die gefährlichste klippe des weiblichen Geschlechtes," says Schmidt Phizeldek, "ist derjenige äussere Zustand, welcher dasselbe, seyes aus Reichthum oder Bedürfnislosigkeit, der angemessenen Sorge für den Hausstand enthebt, und dem Müssig gange Vorschub thut, in welchem Gefallsucht, Eitelkeit und jede sonst schlummernde Leidenschaft zu verderblicher Entwicklung Raum findet.

Die dem Geschlechte einwonende Regsamkeit wird nemlich, in Ermangelung eines passenden Wirkungskreises, sich leicht auf Abwege verliehren, denn träge Ruhe und Hinbrüten ueber eigene Gedanken, wie es wohl dem Manne behagen kann, sind keinesweges die Fehler des Weibes, das vielmehr veränderlich in seinen Gedanken und desultorisch in Thun und Treiben, weil es zur Auzrichtung einer unzählbaren Menge kleiner Geschäfte bestimmt scheint, die sich nicht in einer zusammenhängenden Gedankenreihe abspinnen lassen, sich eine Sphäre mannigfaltiger Thätigkeit erschaffen muss, wenn kein äusserer Drang seinen natürlichen Wirksaamkeitstrieb in Anspruch nimmt."

To condemn, however, all literary occupations in women, is, I think, going too far. Why should not highly-gifted women as well as men grace some hours of their existence by committing to paper their thoughts and feelings, when this is done without detriment to those duties which their individual position and their sex may demand from them? I must confess, that the examples of authoresses working at their needle, making their own dresses, or caring much about their families or household duties, are not very numerous; but such examples are not totally wanting,

and that is sufficient to prove the injustice of those who declare themselves decided enemies of all women that have become authoresses. For women, however, in general, it is very dangerous to embark in occupations which seem not properly to belong to the calling of their sex; and this seems to be confirmed, as well by history as by the judgment of some of the most gifted and most accomplished of their own sex, who have left to us the written fruits of their genius.

If a woman, mentally or physically elevated above the general mass of her sex, forsakes her true character—forsakes those qualities with which she is so wisely and so abundantly gifted by our Creator—if, impelled by an ambitious and aspiring mind, she succeeds to smooth, and perhaps to suppress, those kind affections, intended for the solace and benefit of mankind—what is she, or what does she become? What, when by a false ambition she is driven to pursuits totally in opposition to her destination—to her duty? That esteem in which I hold the sex forbids me to name her character. And let us suppose that she succeeds in all her wishes, or in all her ambitious views, what are her triumphs, what her victories? Have they not justly been compared to those of a de-

serter, who has stolen away from his lawful camp, and whose victories are his disgraces? Does not ancient and modern history furnish us with sufficient proofs? What crimes have not been committed, even in modern times, by women, who, after having entirely lost sight of their true destination, were checked in their ruling passions, neither by virtue nor by want of power? Who can, without horror, bring back to his mind those diabolical acts and machinations which were planned and committed by princesses, such as Elizabeth and Catharine of Russia; Christina of Sweden; Maria Juliana of Denmark; Carolina of Naples, with her confidant Lady Hamilton; Charlotte Joachimo of Portugal;—but let me not prolong a catalogue so disgusting.

What was in general the lot of women during the French revolution, when they, amidst the wreck of all order and propriety, were drawn from their proper sphere; and when in that general uproar and confusion, they also gave themselves over to the influence of that dreadful conflict of passions? Let one of their own countrymen answer this question. “*Les femmes,*” says M. de Segur, “*perdaient beaucoup à ce grand changement; les passions douces conviennent seules*

à leur grâce, à leur délicatesse, à leur voix, comme à leur traits ; la modestie est leur premier charme : aussi rien ne leur sied plus mal que les passions politiques ; l'humeur les dépare et la colère les enlaidit."

"Kraft erwart ich vom Manne, des Gesetzes Würde behaupt'er!
Aber durch Anmuth allein herrschet und herrsche das Weib.
Manche zwar haben geherrscht durch des Geistes Macht und
der Thaten ;

Aber dann haben sie dich, höchste der kronen entbehrt."

SCHILLER.

All that hitherto has been said proves that women in general seldom increase their share of human happiness, or struggle successfully with the vicissitudes of this world, except by respecting that order of things which so wisely, no doubt, has been established, with regard to both sexes, by the Supreme Governor of the Universe. With regard to men, can they, in justice, be accused of presumption, or of exercising an arbitrary power, when such an order of things as above alluded to was established by a power to which we must all submit? And are women gifted with fewer sources of happiness than men? Even if Providence had inspired me with less confidence in the just distribution of her blessings than that which I profess to feel, even then I should be still inclined to doubt it. Do we,

men, poor creatures ! not feel enough already the powerful influence of the charms, so numerous and so superior in the other—the fairer sex ? To what does our so much boasted of independence amount ? Is it not dissolved into mere vapour, by a single glance of a woman's eye ? Did there ever exist a man who never felt the power of these soul-subduing looks ; or who was never led in chains by some dear member of the fairer sex ? Have not the greatest heroes, the proudest, nay even ferocious characters, been obliged to bow before the superiority of the sweet and entangling charms of women—the irresistible influence of their softening powers ? That wild robber, who is not checked in his habits by the severest laws, nor by any fear of God or man, can he resist the idol of his affections, the girl of his heart ? Must we not, and do we not cheerfully and thankfully acknowledge, that to women we owe the best, the happiest hours of our existence ? Well might the author of *Falkland* say : “ constantly engaged as we are in looking behind as before, if there be one hour in which we feel only the time being—in which we feel sensibly that we live, and that the moments of the present are full of enjoyment, the rapture of existence—it is when we are

with the one person whose life and spirits have become the great part and principles of our own." And, "where," justly asks the author of Tremaine, "where are the friends to be put in competition with a wife? Envy, selfishness, inconstancy, are perpetually laying siege to every other attachment; in a wife alone is there a security for unalterable friendship, because in her alone is there an absolute identity of interest; in her alone will it remain unalloyed by prosperity, and undiminished by reverses."

Let us then be mutually satisfied with our respective stations in life. If we only take the trouble to study them, and be candid enough to do mutual justice, then we cannot but increase thereby our mutual happiness.

Should it however be proved, as I am myself disposed to believe it is, that the true sphere of women has been placed by Providence in their home, in their domestic love and happiness, where, then, may women expect to feel the greatest enjoyments, or to meet with that degree of happiness which they are capable of, but in their home, in the circle of their parents or of their offspring, in the affectionate society of their husbands, and in all those tender cares which are the necessary consequences thereof? Are, however, these domestic

habits of the fair sex not generally cultivated and respected in the United States? Do not the Americans pay the greatest esteem, the greatest and sincerest homage, to the fairer sex, in every station of life? Are their females not preserved from all unwomanly employments? Are their labours not almost wholly domestic? Do you see them working in the fields, exposed to all the varieties of weather, as in Europe? Have we therefore no right to be astonished, when, in a work entitled "Travels in North America during the years 1827 and 1828," written by a man of high public character, we see it affirmed—"that it was the result of all the observations and inquiries of the author, that the women do not enjoy in the United States that station in society which has been allotted to them elsewhere, and that consequently much of that important and habitual influence, which, from the peculiarity of their nature, they alone can exercise over society, in more fortunately arranged communities, seems to be lost."

When I further found, that this statement was in total contradiction to many observations made by the writer himself in the very same volume, and that the gallant Captain seemed more in particular to have been led to so strange a statement when, at a cattle-show at

Brighton, in the vicinity of Boston, he counted during the whole day, amongst several thousand persons, only nine females, my astonishment was, if possible, still more increased.

Though I am myself a professed admirer of all which concerns agriculture, and though I should have been highly delighted, had it been my good fortune to spend that day at the cattle-show of Brighton, in the Captain's company, I should, however, most positively not have entertained the least expectation to meet with the fair lasses and ladies of the neighbourhood, or of Boston, at a fair, whereof, according to the writer himself, the chief attractions were—"a ploughing match with 20 teams of oxen, various trials with regard to the strength of cattle in drawing loaded carts, and numerous pens with inclosed bullocks and sheep." The author in question, however, was, to use his own words, "struck to the heart, with what seemed to him the cruel spectacle of such a numerous assembly of people on such a fine sunny day, in as pretty a little valley as ever was seen, close to a romantic village, and within four miles of a great and populous city like Boston, and yet," our author exclaims, "amidst all this crowd there were no women, no groups of lads and lasses were seen romping on the grass."

At Stockbridge, in Massachusetts, where the author also had the good fortune to assist at a cattle-show, a considerable number of women were present, but they were carefully separated from the men, and afterwards occupied one side of the church. Some other attractions, however, than a mere cattle show and whisky booths, were most probably the chief cause why so large a portion of the fairer sex attended the cattle show of Stockbridge. For there were also, according to the writer, merry flutes, drums, gay flags waving over the heads of the lads and lasses, and bright muskets of the militia. But most unfortunately the hilarity of this meeting was essentially impaired by a heavy rain, that destroyed very uncereemoniously the poor people's best clothes and finery, the merry flutes no longer yielded forth their melodious tunes, soaked the drums, so that they would scarcely yield a sound, though ever so well thumped, made the gay flags hang dripping down in the very mud, tarnished the splendour of the muskets, and kept the whole multitude silent and dissatisfied.

That the Captain was struck, as he says, in every part of the country through which he passed, with the strong line of demarcation between the sexes, is probable. Many Europeans, while unacquainted with the manners, the

feelings, and the character of the Americans, have shared these impressions. Had our author, however, pushed his observations or inquiries a little farther, before he finally made up his mind about the matter, and committed his statement to paper, then also he, like so many others, would have come, I cannot doubt, to a somewhat different result, notwithstanding those human prejudices which we all share, but with which our author seems to be rather abundantly gifted.

Want of good female attendants, and of proper servants, must increase household duties, and are certainly obvious reasons why, in general, the American ladies have less time at their disposal than their European sisters for idle gossiping and shopping, and why they are perhaps deficient in that sort of refinement which is the fruit of idleness and dissipation, and not unfrequently carelessness of morals, provided that the prevailing rules of society are observed; but in what way these domestic cares, this "mixing of puddings and cakes," this non-attendance of cattle shows, and of electioneering parties, do affect the sanctity of the female character, and the benevolent influence of women on human society in general, or how these habits disturb the intimate and even elegant

and enlightened companionship of families, relations, and friends of both sexes, this I never could understand.

When we hear others, who also, like the author in question, trusted to their own senses, to their own eyes and ears, then it becomes somewhat difficult not to share their opinion, that the veneration in which the better, the fairer sex, are held in the United States, is, if not superior, certainly not inferior, to that which in general is paid to them in Europe. That the writer in question has not seen or heard the contrary, seems to be confirmed, as clearly as possible, by his own words; because in the same volume which contains his grave statement, he says:—"He never saw or heard of any rudeness towards females, nor had he any reason to suspect that incivility towards females was ever practised, or would be tolerated, even in those parts of the country which have enjoyed the least advantages in the way of civilization and refinement." He further says, "that he found it to be a rule, which he saw universally observed in America, never to think how the men shall fare till every female has been fully accommodated." Can any one who has visited those high emporiums of European good breeding, manners, and fashions—as London, Paris,

Berlin, and Vienna, say as much, how well disposed he otherwise may be to acknowledge and to praise all those peculiar charms and numerous resources in which the said cities may excel?

With regard to that alleged "strong line of demarcation between the sexes," we may also observe that it is but a very relative one. The intercourse between the young unmarried persons is, perhaps, in no country easier, and submitted to less restraint, than in the United States of America. The freedom with which in general the young people visit and see each other, has, by some European travellers, even been thought highly injudicious. This familiar and unconstrained intercourse between both sexes of the rising generation in America, can therefore by no means be said, I should think, to be of such a nature as to check that wholesome influence of female society on the manners, the good breeding, and the temper of the future men of America: nor does the Captain seem to have met with any symptoms of the contrary; for when speaking of those sharp but amicable national discussions in which he and the company in which he found himself sometimes took their respective stations at the opposite poles of the question, he is candid enough to state, "that he does not

recal a single instance in which any thing captious, or personally uncivil, was ever said to him, though openly and in all companies he repeated every thing which he had written in his work, and even a good deal more, that, upon cool reflection, he did not choose to say again." He further says, " that he must do the Americans the justice to say, that he has rarely met a more good-natured or more good-tempered people ; that though he never disguised his sentiments, even when opposed to the favourable opinions of the Americans, whereby he often must have bored them, he never saw an American out of temper." He, the author himself, on the contrary, was often, as he frankly confesses, a good deal harassed by these national discussions, and not always able to keep himself in good temper. How far this proves the influence of that superior control or scrutiny of his fair countrywomen, which control or scrutiny extends itself in his own country, as the author informs us, over all manners, and over every conduct, public as well as private, of the men ; that I shall be somewhat puzzled to make out, unless the gallant Captain, without much justice, however, in honour be it said of his profession, should claim a reasonable allowance of our indulgence, for that time of his life which he

has spent on board a man-of-war, where, most probably, even when she is bearing the standard of Great Britain, such a superior female scrutiny is but seldom to be met with.

When I further consider, that the writer in question is of high parentage, that he is a member of those aristocratical classes, which, according to his opinion, expressed in another work,—“can alone give a right tone to manners, by setting the fashion in every thing which is true in principle, or practically wise in morals and in politics ;”—then my doubts about the inferior female scrutiny in America, or about the Captain’s ability to profit by that in his own country which he considers superior, are, if not increased, certainly not removed.

I entirely agree in opinion with the author when he says, “that the whole texture of society shows the extent of female influence ; and that we all know that the result is eminently powerful in its reaction upon the men, in every walk of life.” But that the understanding, and the discriminating faculties of the mind and heart, of the fairer sex, in America, would be elevated, if, as the author thinks, the ladies and lasses of the United States shared with the men in all the intellectual, moral, and bodily enjoyments of cattle

shows; when they participated in all those angry discussions about politics, electioneering, and money-making concerns, which in all public and more mixed societies form the predominant topics for conversation; or when they were equally exposed to the rancour of party feelings; this my own experience and judgment will not permit me to believe.

A traveller cannot be too cautious in his judgment on the institutions, the manners, and the feelings of a foreign nation; and above all is this caution necessary to a man who intends to communicate to others his opinion concerning so tender an object as the more intimate intercourse of the two sexes in a foreign country. Never should he send forth his opinions undigested into the world. Otherwise he may, perhaps, often have the mortification to learn, that his inferences were drawn after too superficial an investigation, and that, of consequence, his statements will prove incorrect, and even highly injurious, as the statement in question certainly is.

According to my own experience in different countries, it seldom happens that a stranger, of whose manners, feelings, and character, the inhabitants must, in every case, be more or less ignorant, is readily admitted into the intimate and domestic circles

of a family ; or into the less guarded meetings of a few chosen friends. This cannot well be expected. Besides, every nation has some peculiar habits, manners, and feelings, which frequently escape the attention of a passing stranger ; or, if observed, cannot in all cases be clearly explained to others. “ The goodness of a land,” to use the words of an able writer in the *North American Review*, “ is not built up in its bricks and stones ; does not abide in the bridges and turnpikes, nor chaffer on its exchanges : but it retreats to the fire-side ; it exists, if it exists any where, in family and social circles ; it slumbers commonly in every-day times, and only awakes at a loud call, and on a great occasion. The traveller may not be present at these moments ; he cannot get an unceremonious admission to these domestic retreats ; he makes a few dinner-table acquaintances, picks up a few dates, and names, and facts, and fills up the rest of his book from the geographers, the newspapers, former travellers, and his own imagination.”

After what has been said and quoted, I cannot help professing my opinion, that, if the Captain was fairly asked how he came to publish such a statement as above given, he would be gallant and good-hearted enough,

nor consider it beneath his new dignity of Doctor of Laws, conferred upon him by that *alma mater*, the university of Oxford, also to answer in this case like Dr. Johnson, when a lady asked him how he came to define *pastern*, the *knee* of a horse : “ Out of ignorance, madam, pure ignorance.”

That I am only doing justice to the character of our author, in supposing him capable of so much candour, he has sufficiently proved, by giving a similar answer to Mr. Du Pontecau, at Philadelphia, when, by more learning than he could stand, the incorrectness of another statement, respecting the nature of the languages used on the shore of the China sea, and published by him on a former occasion, was easily and clearly pointed out to him.

As my rambles on the surface of our globe cannot enter into competition with those of the gallant Captain—having navigated neither in the South-Sea, nor on the coast of China—my own judgment may be supported by less authority ; but such as it is, I am of opinion that the fair ladies and lasses of America have no cause to envy the lot of their sisters in Europe.

“ The sweetest days in summer are those in which the sun, partly hid behind the light clouds, warms without dazzling ; and the sweetest women are those who never shine, except to those they love.”

PAULDING.

CHAPTER V.

**ON EDUCATION, AND ITS CONNEXION WITH CIVIL AND
POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS.**

CHAPTER V.

“Provide for the mind as you provide for the body; first necessities, then conveniences, lastly luxuries.”

“A little learning is a dangerous thing;
 Drink deep, or taste not the Pirian spring.
 These shallow draughts intoxicate the brain,
 And drinking largely sobers us again.”

POPE.

THE word Education, is, according to my understanding, a word of a very comprehensive signification. That scientific or mechanical instruction given by private teachers, or in public institutions, forms but a small part of it. A far superior influence on education, are numerous circumstances, private as well as public, bodily as well as mental. Instructing young persons in reading and writing, in arithmetic, in book-keeping, in a mechanical art, in the language of their country, in foreign languages, in geography, history, and all the higher sciences; as chemistry, the law, medicine, &c. : or young girls in those arts which more particularly regard their future domestic avocations; these are

only fitting them, more or less, for a particular trade or calling ; or enabling them to spend, with dignity, those hours which less fortunate beings spend in their various trades, or in the daily struggles for their means of subsistence.

It is, however, of no inferior importance for the rising generation, to be instructed with regard to other relations in life ; as the relations with our Creator, and the duties which we have to perform as men and as citizens. All men ought further to be made acquainted with the true bonds of human society, and its natural gradation—with the necessity we are placed under by Providence to exert our faculties—and with the total impossibility of others to better our condition, without our own active co-operation.

But as those moral and civil rights and duties greatly depend on the intellectual, physical, and political station of men and of nations, the education of the rising generation cannot be the same in the different ranks of society, and in the different countries. I submit, therefore, that the real object of education would consist in the following :—to make the young individual a proper member of human society ; to enable him, sooner or later, to provide for his own existence, in any honourable or lawful career of life ; to infuse

into his mind the principles of true religion ; to teach him his moral and civil duties ; and to instruct him in his national rights or privileges ; each modified according to his individual station, situation, and probable future prospects in life.

This object may partly be obtained by public or private instruction, but, as already stated, only in part. Education, in general, depends not less, nay, perhaps even more, upon the example, the conversation, the business, the likings and dislikings, of those who daily surround the youth in his progress. Direct precepts have but little share in education. Children know better than we are generally inclined to believe ; they discern between the maxims we bring forward for their use, and those by which our own conduct is directed. How difficult is it, in education, to succeed with children who belong, or daily return to families, wherein domestic, amiable, and virtuous dispositions and habits are but little cultivated ; or wherein no regulated periods of occupation are observed ? Must we not agree with M. Delacroix, when he says :—" On croiroit, qu'après tant de beaux traités sur l'éducation pour la jeunesse elle a beaucoup gagné en politesse, en modestie, en délicatesse d'expression, en pureté de senti-

mens ; par qu'elle fatalité n'est il donc arrive ? Ne seroit ce pas, parceque les exemples domestiques détruisent les meilleures leçons ?” Even under very favourable domestic and external influences, false ambition, extravagant zeal, parental fondness, but too often have an evil influence on education. “ Si vous voulez que vos enfans soient heureux,” says a French writer, “ soyez donc justes mais sévères envers eux, ne bouleversez pas l'ordre de la nature, ne faites pas vos idoles de vos créatures, que ceux qui doivent vous obéir ne deviennent pas vos maîtres et vos tyrans. Commencez de bonne heure à les endurer contre les maux qui les attendent dans la vie ; apprenez leux à supporter la contrainte et les contrariétés ; formez leur caractère, et n'en faites pas de petites despots Asiatiques ; car en sortant de votre maison pour entrer dans le vaste champ des peines, des contradictions, leur despotism les rendra aussi ridicules que malheureux. L'éducation est le noviciat de la société. C'est un spectacle revoltant que celui de cette idolatrie pour les êtres faibles et dépendans de la nature : on n'est occupé que d'eux, ils sont le centre de tout ce qui les environne ; on les rassaie de plaisirs qui ne sont point de leur âge ; on oublie que des enfans qui ne sont pas encore membres de la société,

doivent avoir leur jeux à part ; on ensence tous leur caprices ; on admire leur habit ; et ce qu'ils retiennent le mieux de leur première éducation, c'est de parler sans savoir ce qu'ils disent."

It is very fortunate, though at first somewhat surprising, that, notwithstanding all the faults, from which no system of education is exempt—only because it is a system, and notwithstanding so many unfavourable domestic and external influences, still we find superior and shining characters, from time to time, impress themselves on our notice, and serve as beacon-lights to their own and to future generations. But to whom are we principally indebted? The All-Governing Providence! What the best education has not been able to produce, what want of education, or many unfavourable circumstances, did not permit us to expect, are thus accomplished. But what are the evident means?—how do they operate? Affliction, loss of fortune, disappointed ambition, humbled self-consequence, faded beauty, and numberless difficulties; these are the means by which Providence ameliorates our temper, corrects the offensive petulance of youth, develops a thousand latent good qualities, inspires true

genius, and brings out all the energies of a finished character.

“ Le malheur affaïse les âmes communes, et redouble l'énergie des âmes supérieures.”

DE SEGUR.

Education may be decisive for ordinary men ; but does not the history of distinguished characters prove, that most of them, if not all, wrought an education for themselves ; or, at least, greatly improved that which they had received ? And how many shining and excellent characters have not started up from obscurity, with scarcely any foreign aid at all. “ Avoir l'imperfection de toutes les machines d'éducation,” says M. Sismondi, “ et que de tous les métiers, celui d'instituteur se fait en général le plus négligemment et le plus mal, on serait tenté de s'étonner de ce qu'il-y-a tant de gens si bien élevés, tandis qu'il devroit y en avoir si peu ; mais si l'on y fait attention, on trouve, que la plupart de ces gens là ont commencé leur éducation après qu'elle a été finie, et souvent sans le savoir et sans dessein.”

It certainly will always be found more or less difficult to modify education, not only according to the different classes of human society, but also according to the different

civil or political institutions of a country ; but modifications of some such sort there must be. Whether, however, these limits of learning have always been well chosen, well observed, or whether in some cases or countries they have not been too far extended, and in others too much contracted, appears to me of the utmost importance to examine.

In countries where the leading men entertain and profess the conviction, that men, in general, are incapable of self-government—that absolute, monarchical, or aristocratical forms of government suit best to the character, the capacities, and the happiness of a people taken *en masse*—there, the duty of the leading men would be to modify accordingly the instruction of the general mass of the people, and to inculcate into their minds those maxims only which harmonize with the leading principles of the government. You should banish, then, from your schools all lectures, by which the independent feelings of man, the knowledge of his natural rights, might be awakened, cultivated, and developed. The whole nation should be kept, as much as possible, from all contact with any other nation enjoying institutions or forms of government more liberal. The least you deviate in

the given case from the said maxim, the least occasion that is given by you, or by the influence of others, to the development of man's feelings of independence, of self-dignity, your whole social system will immediately be exposed to great danger; the necessary harmony between the forms, the acts of the government, and the ideas and views of the people will be disturbed; the old doctrines, prerogatives, and supposed rights, till now believed indisputable, sacred almost, will be nearer investigated, questioned, perhaps opposed; and the fundamentals of the existing government will thus become paralyzed; the tranquil or passive submission to its laws can no longer be expected; and the peace of society is in danger of being disturbed. Though many governments have for centuries, and in times of peace and tranquillity, been following such a maxim as above alluded to, and some are so doing at this moment, the period has however arrived, when it will not much longer be possible to follow similar principles. You may chain men, but you cannot chain a spirit. Barriers and citadels are no defence against it. But though we cannot prevent the spreading of a spirit, mightier than all earthly power combined, we may—*direct its course*.

Do you, however, acknowledge equal rights in every man ? are you guided by disinterested views ? is the greatest possible development of man's capacities—is the emancipation of the minds of the people from ignorance, superstition, and bigotry—your professed object ? then let your acts become in accordance with your professions ; no longer pretend to keep a nation, whose minds have been emancipated under your own sanction, and by your own acts and institutions, in the same subjected state as heretofore ; no longer pretend to govern despotically men whose mental faculties have been enlightened ; do not pretend to keep them in fetters which, after the generally acquired or diffused notions, can and will no longer be borne by them. A nation, thus constituted, ceases to be an inert mass of matter which may be moulded according to your will or fancy. That spirit with which a people, in whose bosoms the ideas of our natural rights have been awakened, will oppose your arbitrary commands, is but natural ; such a people, far from doing wrong, only act in strict conformity to the common laws of nature. As sound seed, after it has been committed to its proper soil, will sprout, flourish, and fructify, so also will human efforts be in vain to prevent a

nation from following the said course, after the mental faculties of its greater portion have become enlightened by instruction. Every nation on earth, that is at all capable of mental culture, sooner or later must and will follow this same course. Under such circumstances it becomes your duty; your strongest interest—that of self-preservation, to develop the once awakened faculties; to cultivate the minds of the people as much as circumstances permit; to prepare such a people for a participation in the management of its own concerns; or to lead it in the smoothest way possible to the enjoyment of free institutions; a gift, nay, a debt, which now, without endangering the well-being, the continuance of the whole fabric, you cannot longer withhold from it. That authority which formerly you exercised can now only be preserved by interesting all orders of the state in its preservation; by convincing the general mass of the people, that it is for their interest, for their own welfare, and for the protection of all that is dear to them, that you are invested with it, and exercise it to that end. It is by reason only that you can now maintain your former influence. The institutions of a nation must therefore be in constant harmony with its physical, intel-

lectual, and moral station ; or their stability cannot longer be depended upon.

“ Donner des lumières à ceux qu’on retient dans la servitude, c’est les éclairer sur leur malheur.”

DE SEGUR.

With many governments, this harmony, this unity between the leading principles, and the wants, the desires, and views of the people they govern, have been disturbed ; and that the consequences thereof are becoming apparent in Europe, cannot well be contested. The facts recorded already by history, which justify this opinion, are too numerous and too obvious to be overlooked or misunderstood. All those popular commotions, those numerous revolutions, those fallen dynasties, known to us all, what do they prove but a breach of harmony between the feelings, the character, the intellectual station, the wants of the nations ; and the leading principles, or the acts of their respective governments ? Whether these principles and acts are in favour of absolute prerogatives and absolute customs, or whether, on the contrary, they are in favour of more liberal institutions, and of a more popular government, that, in both cases, leads to the same consequences, whensoever those acts or principles are not well adapted

to the actual intellectual and physical circumstances of the nation which is to be ruled by them.

To ascribe these revolutions, which has often been done, only to a desire of the poorer classes to possess themselves of the property of the rich, is solving the question in a very erroneous, or, at least, a very superficial way. Certainly, as in nearly all European states, the working classes hardly earn the bare means of a miserable existence, even when willing to exert all their powers to the utmost, it cannot be a matter of surprise, when, under such circumstances, these less enlightened classes of the community sometimes become disaffected, begin to grumble, and greedily listen to all schemes which may be presented to them, for the stated purpose, to extricate them from such a state of sufferance. But to accuse these classes of the desire to rob the affluent of their property, is doing them, I believe, a great injustice: collectively, at least, they certainly have no such intention. To be doomed to work, without being able to accumulate some property, or even to enjoy life in a decent way, is a hard case, and may affect even the strongest spirit. And when, besides, these industrious classes of the community have perhaps learned to

feel and to understand, that contempt in which they are still often kept by the higher classes, then it is unreasonable to wonder that their patience is sometimes exhausted, and that, in a moment of excitement, or while labouring under the influence of uncontrolled passions, they follow but the instigations of an unhappy moment; and, by destroying the property of the rich, increase only their own portion of moral and physical wretchedness. The chief reason of all those revolutions must be looked for in that manifest and irresistible transition from the absolute to the liberal system of government. This is actually shaking nearly all parts of Europe; and as all governments have been instituted for the promotion of human intercourse and happiness, so it is their bounden duty, in every possible way, to avoid these dreadful contests of conflicting interest and opposed principles, by introducing liberal measures, and such alterations as may restore the necessary harmony and confidence of the people.

For this purpose it is much to be lamented, that, even in our age, the education of princes is still often conducted with so little regard to the altered circumstances in human society. Men, who from their very infancy were gra-

tified in all their fancies and passions—who saw every body bend before them, when they had no direct claims to such a distinction—such men, indeed, must be gifted by nature with a very high degree of understanding, or they will become infatuated, idle, and sensual men; not at all fit to be placed at the head of those constitutional forms of government, and which are daily on the increase? What occasion have such men to know the real cares of life, and the true springs of human society? Surrounded by an artificial, a luxurious, and a flattering world, they cannot learn to understand the true nature of their position with other nations. For the interest of the peace of Europe, for the interest and prosperity of those high families themselves, who form such old constituent parts of the European communities, and who are so strongly linked to their actual welfare, such a state of things as above alluded to, can, where it still does exist, no longer be allowed to go on. Acts of such stupidity and wickedness as those of Charles X. are as dangerous for the royal families as for the people of Europe, and cannot but raise feelings which greatly disturb the mutual confidence between the nations and their governments.

Several of those expensive court-pageants,

are they still in harmony with the feelings of a more civilized and a more enlightened community?—are they still compatible with the heavy burthens by which almost all nations of Europe are depressed; and with the actual condition of the generally diminished national resources? Do they really contribute to the happiness or enjoyments of an enlightened prince?

Can it be a matter of wonder to an impartial observer, not totally unacquainted with the progress of intellect, and with the spirit of the age we live in, when he sees, that many of those artificial and unnatural distinctions which formerly separated the rulers from the people, and which, by surrounding them with an imposing splendour, or a mysterious holiness, imposed upon the multitude; when he sees, I say, that such unnatural distinctions are no longer respected by a more enlightened community? The times, when you might expect from a people to believe and to obey without inquiry, or to worship, at a respectful distance, a mysterious idol, without prying into its nature, no longer exist. That veil, which during centuries covered (to the eyes of the multitude) numerous imperfections, has been rent asunder. In many countries the citizens are no longer afraid to look into

the innermost recesses of all those government institutions which so much affect their dearest interest—their very life. Men are no longer divided in such distinct classes as formerly, and the higher classes are no longer more, nor the lower less, than men. Every thing daily appears more and more in its true light. All that is really good, and in conformity to the age we live in, will remain—all that is false, or contrary to human reason, will and must, sooner or later, disappear. This progress of human intellect is but natural; and no power on earth will be capable to arrest it. It is, however, the duty of all superior minds to use their influence in regulating this progress, so that in the actual animated contest for changes and improvements, nothing is demolished that is worthy of being preserved; and that no well-founded and beneficial institution be totally overturned, on account of real or imaginary abuses, which ultimately may be found intrinsically unimportant.

We cannot be surprised with less enlightened nations, where we observe egotism and tyranny, supported by a crafty priesthood and the fanaticism of the people, succeed to crush the liberal principles of liberal governments, or of well-intended patriots. As, however,

the greatest portion of all those popular commotions, those thunder-storms of the political horizon, certainly may be attributed to that manifest transition from the absolute to the liberal forms of government, one may ask, whether they might not be made more harmless, or perhaps even totally avoided, by a more general and gradual abrogation of old and fading powers—by showing more practical tact in the exercise of them—and, by yielding in time, and with grace, a reasonable share of absolute prerogatives, which, being no longer in harmony with the spirit of the age, can no longer be consistent with the welfare of the nations and with the stability of the several governments? If the natural and reasonable wishes of the more enlightened people were listened to with attention, it would be found that liberal enthusiasts and insurrectionists would lose much of their importance; they would seldom, if ever, succeed in kindling the flame of revolt, or in overwhelming whole nations with the evils of disorganization, anarchy, or tyranny.

Liberty, or liberal institutions, can only take root and grow by the slow progress of reason, and are totally inconsistent with bigotry, superstition, and ignorance. When, in consequence of insurrection, or any other

sudden change, self-government is offered to a people who are unprepared for it, then such a nation will generally derive therefrom more evil than benefit. Sudden changes are always dangerous ; the result of good as well as evil, when sudden and excessive, are equally mischievous. And, as every art requires regular and progressive instruction, before it can be exercised with benefit, so also must a people gradually be led to self-government, to ensure its advantages and duration. Besides, both ancient and modern history seem to confirm the truth of the humiliating observation, that it has been found more difficult to maintain the equilibrium of liberty than to sustain the weight of tyranny. It is therefore not without reason, that in Europe, where the general character of the Americans is seldom understood, the stability of the government of the United States is so often doubted. Certainly, all attempts which have been hitherto made in Europe, strictly to imitate the North Americans in their forms of government, have entirely failed, and *will fail*.

Should it be necessary to prove by evidences the truth of what has been said, I would ask—has not (at the close of the last century) a great and civilized nation of the European continent, in its struggle for a higher degree

of personal liberty, for a greater share of participation in its own government, and for a diminution in the burden of its taxes, been led, first, to the most desolating anarchy; and later to the very reverse of that liberty it was contending for? The passions of unenlightened men, uncontrolled, if once they have been roused to a certain pitch, will rush into the most destructive avalanche, and can then no longer be arrested. Nations generally receive with gratitude all concessions which are made in due time; but, if neglected, and when their passions are let loose, when once they have learned that they have the right to demand and the power to enforce, they then seldom perceive how far their own demands are reasonable; and they will not easily be persuaded to listen or to place confidence in existing powers, or to the dictates of reason. The minds of many in those conflicts soon get debauched by factions, intrigue, and corruption; lose all sense of honour and decorum, and are no longer capable of being influenced or directed by circumspect and patriotic characters. The voice of these patriots is no longer heard; violence, tumult, and disorder, become the order of the day. The flame of destruction will go on raging, till, exhausted by its own violence,

nothing remains but the ashes of the general conflagration ; or till it is arrested by a counteracting, a domineering power, to which a ready submission will be given by a wearied people, panting for rest.

May that nation I am speaking of derive all possible benefits from her second revolution !—may she succeed in recovering her former character, free from all pollution, high and low !—and may she, while modifying her own institutions, according to her own peculiar wants and circumstances, never forget to respect those of others. Let her, therefore, keep in mind those excellent words addressed to her in the Chamber of Deputies, on the 13th of April, 1831, by Casimir Perrier :—
 “ La France se sent remontée à son rang ; elle sait que le monde a les yeux sur elle ; elle l’a frappée par l’éclat de sa revolution ; elle l’éclaire par l’exemple de sa liberté ; elle doit le rassurer par son respect pour la justice.”
 Let her also, in her eager desire for more liberal forms of government, pause, and well consider the practical importance of those wise admonitions given to her deputies, on the 9th of August of that year. by that same distinguished statesman already quoted :—
 “ Après l’intervalle immense que la France a franchi depuis un an, ce dont elle a besoin,

c'est de prendre haleine. Ses habitudes, vous pouvez le remarquer souvent, sont encore en arrière de ses lois, et ce n'est que dans un avenir éloigné qu'elle pourra trouver insuffisantes les institutions qu'elle vient de conquérir. Il faut donc la préserver d'une de ces croissances trop précoces qui enervent et font dépérir le corps social."

Is a second evidence necessary to prove the truth of what has been previously stated? Has not recently another nation, in the animated contest to get rid of some real, but more imaginary grievances, been led to such a pitch of excitement, and to such a forgetfulness of its own history and dearest interests—the true foundations of its previous unrivalled state of prosperity and wealth—as completely to overturn a combination of states which were, to themselves at least, so highly useful and important, and blessed with one of the most enlightened and the most liberal governments of Europe—a government, whereof the venerable head is by no means an unworthy member of an illustrious family, whose struggles in favour of religious and political liberty may be traced back till lost in the darkness of ages? and that at the very moment when the said government, though perhaps tardy, had already assembled the lawful delegates of the

people, for the purpose of investigating the nature of the complaints or grievances of the nation, with a view, if possible, to remove them, observing a perfect conformity with the prescribed forms of the constitution. Acts so inconsiderate, not to say of wickedness or madness—acts so decidedly and so peculiarly obnoxious to those who were led to commit them, by drawing on themselves all sorts of misery; by demoralizing the people; by destroying social happiness; and by blasting the reasonable prospects of thousands—acts of such gross stupidity, but too clearly prove what mischief a once roused and infuriated mob (for that is the proper term by which the common mass of a bigotted and unenlightened people ought to be styled) is not capable, when guided by ultra-liberal enthusiasts, and when further instigated by a most illiberal priesthood, and by the wealth of some ignorant and bigotted noblemen.

With what right can a nation boast of liberty while her constituted government is overruled by a selfish faction? while in her very bosom, and in the very face of her mock authority, the greatest crimes are committed with impunity? while respectable citizens, who do not choose to worship the domineering faction, are not only insulted, but murdered?

while the presses and houses of journalists, who are bold enough to doubt the wisdom of acts emanating from a factious body of intriguers, and who, in labouring to promote order and justice, are destroyed and plundered? and while other acts are committed, of which hitherto savages only were thought capable?

Gefährlichist's den Leu zu wecken,
 Verderblich ist des Tigers Zahn,
 Jedoch das schrecklichste der Schrecken
 Das ist der Mensch in seinem Wahn.
 Weh, wenn sich in dem Schoss der Städte,
 Der Feuerzunder still gehäuft,
 Das Volk, zerreissend seine kette
 Zur Eigenhülfe schreitlich greift,
 Da werden Weiber zu Hyänen
 Und treiben mit Entsetzen Scherz :
 Noch zuckend, mit des Panihers Zähnen,
 Zerreißen sie des Feindes Herz.
 Nichts Heiliges ist mehr, es lösen
 Sich alle Banden frommer Scheu ;
 Der Gute räumt den Platz dem Bösen
 Und alle Laster walten frey.

SCHILLER.

Freedom, liberty, constitutional forms of government, certainly are most excellent institutions, if well understood and well guaranteed. They are seeds which promise the richest fruits, when planted in a soil congenial to their nature and favourable to their

growth and fructification. But too many individuals, however, still associate with these words such splendid imaginations and exalted ideas as are by no means consistent with the real truth, or the real meaning. To correct these extravagant notions, these futile conceptions, and to reduce them to their just limits, is of the utmost consequence for the promotion of true liberty. Perfect liberty is a visionary dream, an indefinite chaos, and totally inconsistent with the well-being of society : it is so far from being wholesome to the human race, that it would prove to be a total dissolution of human society. Is it not entirely against those laws we see established in nature—that just standard of all our institutions ? For where do we observe in nature such an ideal freedom ? Has nature, on the contrary, not prescribed to every object, animate as well as inanimate, celestial as well as earthly, a more or less circumscribed sphere ? Are we not all connected by a great and mysterious chain, without which that sublime harmony in nature would have no existence ? by a chain which, according to Lady Morgan, “ is so nicely and delicately constructed, that not a link snaps, rusts, or refuses its proper play, without the shock being felt, like an electric vibration, to its utmost limits ? ”

Does our Almighty Father encourage by prosperity any infraction in those laws which have been established in nature by His all-governing wisdom? Is He not, on the contrary, most inflexible in the punishment of those infractions? Has not every plant, every tree, been subjected to a fixed order of vegetation; to well-regulated periods in the production of their leaves, their flowers, and their fruits? Can a fish leave with impunity its element; an owl or a bat their dark abode? Can even the most perfect, the most independent creature on earth—man,—supported and guided, as he is, by his mental faculties, can he entirely withdraw himself from the influence of these laws?

What is the true meaning of *freedom, liberty, free institutions, the sovereignty of the people, but person l liberty, freedom of industry, security of property, equality before the laws of the land, and absence of all personal privileges?* Where a man may use the powers given to him by nature, in any way not injurious to others; where he is sure to enjoy in peace the fruits of his industry; where he is subjected to no control, except to the laws of the nation; where he may worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience, as far as thereby he does not disturb

the general peace of society ; where no single being, or a favoured few, are allowed to direct the public affairs to their private advantage, and to quarter, as Lady Morgan has it, “ noble indigence upon plebeian activity ; ” where the road to distinction is open to every one ; and where every citizen, by his personal industry and his superior intellect, may rise in the scale of society—there a man is *free* ! If freedom were synonymous with anarchy—if it professed moral license, profligacy of manners, or, in short, the corruptions of all those principles which constitute the ground-work of our peaceful social existence, then there would be no true liberty at all, and, like the beasts of the field, men would be ruled by the strongest or the most cunning of their species.

Further : what means *community of property* ? and how far consistent with truth is the assertion, that *all men are born free, equal, and independent* ? If, by any proceeding whatever, fortune or wealth could be equally divided amongst men, would such a state of things exist for any length of time ? Is not perfect equality between human beings denied by nature itself ? In what is a babe in swaddling clothes free and independent ? Where is the equality of children in size, in health,

in strength, and in mental capacity ? Do we observe in all workmen the same degree of intellect and dexterity ? Are all men equally capable to direct, with sound judgment and advantage, the affairs of a community, or the concerns of industrious pursuits ? Is every mechanic an Arkwright or a Fulton ; every sculptor a Canova ; every painter a Raphael or a Rubens ? Is every soldier a Buonaparte, or a Wellington ; every sailor a Perry, a Collingwood, or a De Ruyter ? Does every advocate plead like a Brougham ; every physician advise like a Boerhaave or a Hufeland ; every surgeon operate like a Dupuytren or a Cooper ? What, however, is wealth but the produce of human power and intellect ? and what is therefore more natural than that the most industrious and the most intelligent men are, in general, also the most successful in life ; or that this difference of human power and intellect leads to a difference in worldly circumstances ? Further, this difference of intellect and of bodily strength, or dexterity, which we also observe in the whole creation, are they not the wise aim of Providence ? Are not these gradations that which constitutes our mutual happiness ? Is it not that bond which keeps us all together, and which makes us all dependent on each other,

for our mutual benefit? If accumulated wealth never had existed, would so many and such highly-important inventions ever have been accomplished? And if wealth were actually destroyed, could numerous and highly-useful pursuits, which require a large advance or investment of accumulated wealth, any longer be followed?

A certain degree of independence, if not of wealth, forms the great object, which, by some industry to acquire, all individuals more or less have in view. But if its possession or enjoyment were not assured to those who have acquired it, would men persevere under so many hardships and privations for that end? Would not labour and enterprise cease? Would not the whole frame of society be dissolved? In all communities property must be sacred. Render it insecure, and the ruin of all prosperity is its unavoidable consequence. If the popular system was incompatible with the honest possession and secure enjoyment of large private fortune, it would no where have existed for a year. Such an imaginary equality of condition, falsely assumed to be necessary to a republic, exists as little in the United States as it does in Europe, and it certainly cannot be said that on account of that the popular system does not work well

in America. These plans of community of property, therefore, are but the dreams of vulgar and presumptuous ignorance—they are the miserable sophistry of some wrong-headed men, misnamed philosophers.

According to free institutions, all persons are born free, equal, and independent, only in so far as their civil equality and independence, or their equal protection by the laws, are concerned. The law creates no bodily power or dexterity; no mental faculties, nor wealth; but it affords equal protection to all men, or guards the existing wealth of all. Thus it affects but indirectly the industrious pursuits by which this wealth is amassed. By the laws, that difference which exists among men in conformity to nature itself, is properly regulated. Without those laws no human society could exist. No peace of society can be enjoyed where the right of property is not sufficiently guaranteed, because men must there look upon each other more as enemies than as friends. The moment that this protection, this guarantee of accumulated property, is withdrawn from us, both the moral and political bonds of society are dissolved, and we return to a comparative state of anarchy or of despotism.

In every community, ruled according to

free institutions, all its members, without distinction, are subjected to its laws, and live in it, under the penalty of being punished, or even of being ejected from it, if they do not conduct themselves according to the existing laws. It is but just that he who wishes to enjoy undisturbed, those gifts with which nature or fortune may have blessed him, or those which he may have earned by his industry, should not be allowed to disturb others in the enjoyment of their blessings. If every one were allowed to follow his own caprice or passions, if the different members of a community were not kept under a certain restraint imposed upon them by the laws of the nation, then we could enjoy no rest or security whatever. The natural and common desire to enjoy these blessings, imposes on us the necessary obligation to renounce a certain share of our personal liberty, and to submit ourselves to some restraint. The extent of those restraints which the laws of the community impose on us—the greater or smaller guarantee which secures to us a just regulation and application—the degrees of privations or of bodily labour which are required from us for the maintenance of that establishment which is to assure to us the security of our property, the free exercise of our religious tenets, &c.—these are some

of the most essential points required to form a scale, by which the degree of our civil, moral, and political liberty, is to be ascertained.

The laws of a nation are regulated, under all forms of government, by a more or less numerous body of men, who compose the legislative part of the government. The most exalted champion of liberty never entertained an idea that every member of the community, whatever be his capacities, must have a direct share in the making of these laws. But though the greatest part of the nation cannot be admitted into the council of those men who are to legislate for the community, a great part, however, of an enlightened people, can and ought to have a direct share in the appointment of those of their fellow-citizens to whom the management of so important a part of their public concerns is to be entrusted. And it is only so far as a people has a direct share in the choice of its office-bearers, and by which it exercises a certain degree of control over the conduct of its delegates, that a people can be said to be its own Sovereign.

In all countries, however, where the laws assure to a great portion of the citizens a certain share in the management of the national affairs, it is of the utmost importance that these citizens should have been properly

instructed with regard to their real wants and necessities, before they are allowed to participate directly or indirectly in the management of the public concerns. The minds of men must first have been enlightened—their reason must already have been formed, or it is impossible for them to understand those pacts which form the groundwork of their social system; much less can they be expected to reason upon them, to respect, to alter, to ameliorate, or to preserve them. It is therefore highly important to observe, that, before we emancipate the body, we must emancipate the mind, by making it capable and worthy of freedom. This desired object can, however, only be obtained by a very extended system of national education, and by bringing the institutions for elementary instruction to the greatest possible perfection. Elementary schools, established on sound principles, in harmony with the institutions of the nation, the character, and the manners or customs of its inhabitants, and conducted by skilful masters, to spread, through every township, and through every village of a free country, is the first duty, the duty of self-preservation, individually and collectively. In the United States of America, the great fountain, from which flows all authority, is the people; its

voice is the law of the Union. To enlighten this omnipotent, this all-directing voice, or the source from which it proceeds, is an imperious duty, demanded by the institutions of these States; and when the duties which every citizen has to perform are taken into consideration, the wisdom of such policy will be evident: it is in perfect harmony with the pacts by which these States are governed, and with their general and mutual interests, as well as with the private rights of every citizen. The efforts of all free nations must therefore be directed to the promotion of elementary instruction as a leading principle, and never be permitted to slumber.

A nation labouring under superstition, bigotry, or mental incapacity in general, may prove herself to be a very good, a very powerful nation, under an absolute government; but such a nation can never enjoy free institutions in perfect safety; for every nation that is still divided by a great physical, intellectual, and moral inequality, political or civil equality, can never constitute a sound groundwork of its government. Minds incapable of reasoning on their own concerns are also incapable of guiding them, and in such case, these concerns, as well as the men themselves, must be guided by others; for, by

what stipulations could it possibly be prevented in a country enjoying free institutions, that the guidance of the mass of such a people as above alluded to might not be taken up by selfish and ambitious characters? What are the reasons that the South Americans, notwithstanding their independence, and their free institutions, still labour under all the evils of anarchy or despotism? What are the reasons that these nations are still so far from having realised their splendid dreams of prosperity and happiness, but their ignorance, their superstition, their total general incapacity to understand, to foster, to preserve free institutions, and to live under them in peace and harmony?

Before a nation can enjoy free institutions or self-government, she must not only have been properly instructed, but also previously taught and practically administered, a wise domestic policy. The policy, however, pursued by Portugal and Spain, with regard to their American possessions, might well be calculated to rouse, to the utmost degree of indignation, the minds of a misused, and even of a degraded people; but this policy was, with regard to popular instruction, and to the preparation of a people for self-government, certainly the worst possible in existence.

At the Pennenden Heath meeting in the year 1828, an Irish orator (Sheil) has said :—
 “Republic after republic is bursting out through that immeasurable continent (America), and the fire of liberty mounts like a volcanic flame from the summits of the Andes, and with its vast illumination lights up one half of the world.” These words may be very oratorical, but the orator himself, I cannot doubt, will lament with me the truth of his own metaphor. For the fire of liberty has proved itself as destructive in South America as a volcanic flame possibly ever can be : and, to pursue the metaphor, as innocent and thoughtless beings of a humbler nature are attracted by the brilliancy of a common flame, so were the South Americans attracted by the brilliant glare of liberty ; but not knowing its nature, they carelessly rushed into it, not perceiving its burning, its destroying qualities, till their wings had been singed, and till they had become the blind instruments of those contending factions, those different divisions and conspiracies, which still impede the progress and the development of the natural resources of these republics. How well did Bolivar know his countrymen, when, in a speech to the congress of Venezuela, he used the following words :—“ With members be-

numbed by fetters, and eyesight weakened by the darkness of dungeons, are they capable of marching with a firm step towards the august temple of liberty? Are they capable of supporting its splendid rays, or breathing freely the pure ether that reigns there? The relics of Spanish dominion will continue a long time before we can completely destroy them; our atmosphere is impregnated with the contagion of despotism, and neither the flame of war, nor the specific of our salutary laws, has purified the air we breathe. Our hands are indeed free, but our hearts are still suffering from the effects of servitude."

In the United States of America, self-government—the majesty of man—was planted in a soil, and under circumstances, both totally different. The North Americans never were slaves, but, like all British subjects, free men, and accustomed to act and to be respected accordingly. Liberty was their cradle. The American States, whilst but colonies, had their own institutions, framed by the colonists themselves, and adapted to their local circumstances, and to the genius of the people. These institutions were as free, if not freer, than those of Great Britain. Though the governors and councils of these colonies were appointed by the crown, each colony, by

virtue of a royal charter, was allowed to have its own legislative assembly, for the regulation of all matters regarding the internal government and taxation. The members of this assembly, like the members of the House of Commons in England, were chosen by the people; and like the Commons in England, so also the Commons in America, enjoyed the constitutional right of giving and granting their own money, or of raising taxes. Thus the English colonies in America grew in liberty. As long as the British government respected their chartered rights and privileges, these colonies entertained no idea of declaring themselves independent, and granted aids whenever these were required of them in the constitutional way; that is, by an application to the colonial legislature. But when the British government, instead of directing its requisitions to the governor, council, and general assembly of the colonies, wished to tax the Americans by the British parliament, where the Americans were not represented, then this naturally led to a more strict inquiry into the extent of the powers of parliament over them.

Men who had been accustomed to the blessings of free institutions for more than a century, were naturally alarmed when their

dearest feelings, their ideas of justice and freedom, were disregarded, by a haughty, jealous, and selfish government; when their chartered rights and privileges, were, one after another, wrested from them; when, finally, all power was taken out of their hands, and when they were condemned to be dragged before a British court, at the option of their Crown officers. It was but after a long train of similar abuses and usurpations, and when, as Mr. Pitt said in parliament, "the Americans had been driven to madness by injustice," that the natural affections of the colonies for the mother country were alienated, and that they were forced by self-defence to declare themselves independent. By this act, by the declaration of their independence, the Americans overthrew no old and deep-rooted forms of government, abolished no dear and long-possessed privileges, nor customs, sanctioned by ages. The right of suffrage was not thereby suddenly delivered over to hands unprepared and unaccustomed to wield it. The Americans, by declaring themselves independent, by placing their free institutions beyond all foreign control, and on a greater, a more natural, and on a more independent basis, only assured to themselves the peaceful enjoyment of rights which they and their

forefathers had already enjoyed for more than a century.

As a friend of liberty and of free institutions, I implore from the Almighty the salvation of the American Union ! May this noble, verdant, and flourishing tree of liberty, planted by a free hand on a savage but fertile strand, which has already struck its roots deeply in the American soil, and produced the richest and the most abundant fruits, still gain in strength and in majestic stateliness ! May its bark be preserved from any injury ; its wood from the meanest worm ! May its roots never moulder ; its sap never dry !

The able American author of the " Prospect of Reform in Europe," justly observes, " we cannot but feel the peculiarly delicate position in which our own country is placed. It rests with us to make the popular system attractive and respectable. Our political errors will not only fall heavily upon ourselves, but they will, in the most exaggerated form, be held up to discountenance their imitation in Europe. We can in no way so much accelerate the political emancipation of the Old World, as by showing mankind that liberty is a spirit of justice, law, morality, and intellectual improvement. At present, the word revolution is a word of dread, made, by the reign of

terror in France, the abhorrence of mankind. Let us show to the world that blood is not the natural cement of liberal institutions ; that the arts of society flourish under their influence, and that man is not the worst enemy of his neighbour or himself."

But while we thus openly admire the institutions of the Americans, and send our fervent prayers to heaven for their stability and prosperity, we cannot suppress a very natural desire that justice may also be done to the Europeans, and their forms of government. The circumstances wherein the Europeans in general are, and always have been placed, are very different from those of the Americans. Hitherto, of the European nations, few have enjoyed liberal institutions, and many of them are still, by their moral and physical position, but little, if at all, capable of understanding, and of enjoying them. According to the Americans, an hereditary succession to the chief magistracy is an institution in arrear of the present state of civilization. We will not dispute the truth of this doctrine, as far as it concerns the Americans themselves ; but with regard to its just application to the European nations in general, we have strong and well-founded doubts. The governments of Europe, consecrated by

the veneration of countless ages, do not only rest on a dry *historical* basis, but not less also on a strong *moral* principle. They are firmly entwined around the hearts of the people in general; so that if even reason should condemn them, a strong voice from within would still plead in their favour. The mass of every nation, as it has been well observed, are not philosophers, and in their view long-standing forms of government are too venerable to be surrendered without an age or two of deliberation, if not of positive or doubtful struggle. It cannot be wondered at, that the Americans, who comparatively have no recollections of former times, and, at least in their country, no old renowned ancestors to boast of, should rate too lightly their influence on nations that live as well in the past as in the present. But as, for instance, the deepest veneration for the memory of William of Nassau has already propagated itself in the Netherlands, during three centuries, so also will the memory of Washington equally adhere to the Americans through all future ages. While, however, these remembrances of former times survive; while they adhere to us as closely as the consciousness of our own existence; while the monarchical systems of government form so vast an edifice on the European continent:

and while the characters of several European nations remain what we too distinctly see them to be, it will be idle to talk of the establishment of democracies in Europe.

To all those wrong-headed demagogues, and ultra-liberal enthusiasts, who preach their doctrines without the least consideration of moral and physical circumstances, or without any respect for long-cherished habits and feelings, and who thereby only sow the seeds of discord, without in any way favouring the promotion of true liberty, I would address the following words, translated (by Moir) from Schiller :—

“ What is your purpose ? Have you fairly view'd it
Yourself ? You seek from its broad base to shake
The calm enthroned majesty of power,
By ages of possession consecrate,
Firm rooted in the rugged soil of custom,
And with the people's first and fondest faith,
As with a thousand stubborn tendrils twined.
That were no strife where strength contends with strength.
It is not strength I fear—I fear no foe
That with my bodily eye I see and scan,
Who, brave himself, inflames my courage too.
It is an unseen enemy I fear,
Who in the hearts of mankind fights against me—
Fearful to me, but from his own weak fear.
Not that which proudly towers in life and strength
Is truly dreadful ; but the mean and common,
The memory of th' eternal yesterday,
Which ever warning, ever still returns,
And weighs to-morrow, since it weigh'd to-day ;

For out of common things is man made up,
 And clings to custom as her foster-son.
 Woe then to him whose daring hand profanes
 The cherish'd heirlooms of his ancestors !
 There is a consecrating power in time,
 And what is grey with years to man is godlike.
 Be in possession, and thou art in right ;
 The crowd will lend their aid to keep it holy."

Cooper has said, " Europe has not yet had an opportunity of learning that the most durable government is that which makes it the interest of every citizen to yield it cheerful support." Europe is in no need to look to America for such an opportunity; it had it long ago in the United Provinces of the Netherlands, and has it now again in the same country. When lately this land was in a most critical position—when the least timid looked with dejection into futurity, and the most faithful were shaken in their confidence—*a noble candour saved all!* A glorious campaign, and numerous instances of the greatest patriotism, have loudly proclaimed to the whole world the energy of this small but honest and loyal people. Awakened are the feelings of former ages; renewed are the links with dear ancestors! and while in the raging struggles between diverging opinions and contested rights, kings and emperors have been dethroned and exiled, and many a throne rests

on a tottering basis, Holland and Oranien's banner are but *one* again ! Heavy is the burden which time and many vicissitudes have heaped upon the land, but, with due submission to the will of our common Ruler, they are borne ; scarcely a murmur is heard ! But by what superior qualities has so small a nation for ages been able successfully to struggle with furious elements, and with the secret and avowed workings of powerful enemies ? By what means has a nation that numbers only about two millions of citizens, been able to bear the burden of its enormous and overwhelming debt ? Those qualities, those means, are—Religion, Patriotism, and Industry !

That which in the present age and circumstances, all men who labour to promote true liberty, and to whom the welfare of their country is dear, have most to dread, is less of despotism than anarchy. The greatest enemies of mankind are not kings or emperors, but ignorance, superstition, and bigotry ; for no ruler on earth can now-a-day, without danger, brave the mighty and daily-growing power of public opinion. To vanquish these worst of tyrants, and to subdue them for ever, we want no soldiers, no fire-arms, no men of war ; but schools ! schools ! schools ! It is,

and ever will continue to be, the duty of free nations zealously to promote elementary instruction; the widest possible diffusion of knowledge, through all classes of society, is the ground-work of their very existence. It is not, however, necessary to infuse into the minds of the labouring people, idle theories, vain ideas of the fine arts, or other luxuries of that description : such a superfluity of benevolence would only tend to create an appetite which, with few exceptions, is not in our power to satiate ; it would only animate faculties that, if left in a half-cultivated state to their fate, seldom lead to a happy end. What we must endeavour to spread by elementary instruction, are, sound practical doctrines, useful for every day or common life. The rational faculties of the people must be awakened and exercised, to enable them thereby to reflect and to judge for themselves, and to appreciate those infusions, those clandestine insinuations, by which ambitious and depraved characters too often gain the assistance of the vulgar and thoughtless, to promote their personal views and interests.

Another reason of no small moment, why the greatest possible perfection, and the greatest possible number of elementary schools, are above every thing necessary for all free na-

tions, is—their *free press*. In all nations of a religious, calm, steady, reflecting, and industrious character, and all governments where mystery has been banished, it must be desirable that all views and measures regarding the administration and the general welfare of the country, be discussed openly and freely by all parties. These views and measures are thereby properly sifted and winnowed from all the chaff which many still adhere to them ; or, if already enforced, they may be modified before they will have done much harm, if any. These thousands of channels, however, created by a cheap and unfettered press, (and which are even more enlarged in the United States by an exemption from all duties whatsoever,) might they not be, or have they never been, used for a wrong purpose, by wicked and selfish characters? That these numerous channels, by the means of which, all sorts of opinions, theories, and inventions, spread to the utmost borders of the empire, much contribute to enlighten the general mass of the people, I by no means deny ; nor do I entertain the slightest desire to see them suppressed or even curtailed. The only object I have in view is, to guarantee the community against those evils which a free press is capable of committing ; and this can only be done by multiplying good ele-

mentary schools, and by improving by their means the understanding of the people of all ranks and condition.

What regards *classical learning*, is, according to the prevailing opinion, less cultivated in the United States than in Europe. An eminent American author has said, "The purely intellectual day of America is yet in its dawn." The Americans have still too many incitements to occupy themselves with objects of immediate and practical utility, and therefore seldom push learning beyond its practical or most useful point. "We cultivate our literature," says another American writer, "as we cultivate our soil, with the greatest possible economy of labour. A poem is made like a shoe, to answer the present demand." Purely or strictly literary men, who, as often is the case in Europe, pursue their studies without caring much about the bustling world around them, can therefore hardly have an existence in the United States. "Our atmosphere," the remark also of an American writer, "is one of active impulses, in which the delicate plant of pure literary industry droops and dies. The institutions of the country require the participation of every citizen to sustain them, and the first symptom of fatal decay will be the abandonment of

that universal trust to the oligarchy of politicians."

But classical learning is a sort of luxury. It is in a man what fine pictures or silk trappings are in a room—an ornament of refined society, which cannot well be expected to abound but in those countries where such a state of society is more universally established. In the United States, however, whereof a vast extent is still uncultivated land, such society can only be partial. But that sooner or later the Americans will not linger behind other nations in these graces, numerous instances already sufficiently show. Of how great an importance these graces undoubtedly are for the intellectual enjoyments of a nation, and for what we call the comforts of life, or for those elegant luxuries which give a zest and an agreeable variety to human existence, it would be mistaking the effect for the cause if we did consider them more as the sources than as the consequences of the prosperity, the power, or the wealth of a nation. The more physical qualities of a people, on the contrary, will generally be in a better condition in countries which are still in the progress of their growth, than in those that have passed already the zenith of their prosperity. And let me add, that, as a heart may beat as

happy under a home-spun waist as an embroidered coat, as the body fares as well and better when fed with simple bacon or hominy, than when nourished with pâtés de foies, or dindons aux truffes, so, likewise, will the human mind be more fruitful and content when well stocked with simple practical truth, than when intoxicated by those bewitching vanities, as mental theories and delusions; or when totally absorbed by those luxuries, as poesy, archiology, and supernatural philosophy. To wander in the realms of fiction may be both delightful and harmless for hours and even days; but we should enjoy these wanderings only occasionally. As soon as they are allowed to interfere with the duties of that active and real life, from which we cannot disengage ourselves, then they will seldom, if ever, promote our mind's content or our body's vigour.

Culture of the mind, like culture of the soil, is intended to produce wholesome fruits. But if a soil is to produce good fruits, it must not only be scratched, but carefully cultivated, properly divided, and trenched; it must be cleared of its obnoxious weeds, or these will affect the growth of the desired plants. Not less cares are to be bestowed afterwards upon these plants, by keeping them clear of weeds,

and by protecting them against numerous enemies. To be able to perform all this work as it ought to be, the ground you cultivate must stand also in proportion to the working hands that are at your disposal. By this metaphor I only wish to indicate, that an unfinished or an imperfect culture of the mind is as unproductive in sound fruits as a similar culture of the ground. That short space of time which the great mass of a rising generation has to bestow upon its intellectual cultivation, should therefore entirely be devoted to that instruction only which afterwards may be of practical use to them. No desires, no feelings, no wants, should be created which it is impossible to satisfy; and which, under these circumstances, can and will only serve to disgust the individuals from that course of life which it is their destination to pursue.

If possible, occasion must be given to every person to instruct himself in the general principles of true religion, in his moral and civil duties, in reading and writing, in the fundamentals of arithmetic, and of some mechanical art or of some handicraft work. You may, without risk of harm, instruct the people in the general outlines of geography and history, but no farther. More is neither

wanted nor desirable for the well-being of the social system. If in a young person a particular disposition should be noticed, open to him, if possible, the access to a higher cultivation of his faculties ; but let this only be an exception from the general rule.

No one, I trust, will suppose me insensible to the advantages of a highly cultivated education of the mind. Nature has created those resources for that philosophic mind on which she best can work—to those inestimable intellectual pleasures, always in our power, and totally independent of season, fate, and fortune—to those lofty and heavenly emotions she in particular knows how to produce and to cultivate ; by no means would I be accused of such an insensibility. I fully feel all these advantages. But though I do acknowledge all this, its dazzling brilliancy has not affected my judgment ; nor have I been able to shut my eyes to those obnoxious effects of a shallow cultivation of the mind ; such as vanity, pride, arrogance, dissatisfaction, and unhappiness. By such an unfinished education—by imbibing vain ideas and views—by penetrating themselves with conceptions at least undigested, if not totally false—the minds are alienated only from industrious pursuits, while thereby they neither do nor can become learned enough

to be of any real service in the ranks of science.

By far the greatest number of human beings have neither the time nor the means to extend their studies to that degree which is likely to produce the fruits of a superior education ; such as indulgence, perfect independence, sublime recreation, rational content and happiness. The higher sciences, like refinement and delicacy of feelings, do not suit every one ; nor are they suitable to every station in life. They were never intended by Providence to share the woods with the huntsman, the fields with the shepherd, or the manufactory with the workman. If we meet them there it is only by accident, or under very particular circumstances. No one expects to meet in a farmer's cottage with ornaments that suit the dwelling of a counsellor or a senator.

Dr. Goldsmith truly observes : “ In order to make the sciences useful in any country, it must first become populous ; the inhabitants must go through the different stages of hunter, shepherd, and husbandman ; then, when property becomes valuable, and consequently gives cause for injustice, then laws are appointed to repress injury, and secure possession : when men become, by the sanc-

tion of those laws, possessed of a superfluity, when luxury is thus introduced, and demands its continual supply, then it is that sciences become necessary and useful—the state then cannot subsist without them—they must then be introduced, at once to teach men to draw the greatest possible quantity of pleasure from circumscribed possession, and to restrain them within the bounds of moderate enjoyment. The sciences are not the cause of luxury, but its consequences; and this destroyer thus brings with it an antidote which resists the virulence of its own passion.”

With regard to the study of the old or dead languages, many erroneous ideas still prevail. To maintain, that without having passed through those studies men will never become good scholars in the living languages, is, at least, as regards the more northern languages, certainly going too far. Nor can I agree with those who profess, that, in awakening the faculties of the human mind, the study of the old or dead languages is of so decided a superiority to the study of the modern or living languages as to make it a general rule to begin with it, in order to the instruction of all the more elevated classes of society. Teachers who have been brought up according to the old fashion naturally cling to imbibed

prejudices, and not less, perhaps, to their personal interest. Among young men generally, who have no intention to enter what we call the more learned professions, the period is but very short for their intellectual culture, and should carefully be made use of to instruct them in all that may be practically useful for them. The knowledge of several living languages is daily becoming of more importance ; and to study the works of distinguished writers of their own age certainly will be found more generally useful, and yield greater satisfaction, than a vain ability to impose upon the vulgar mind by some Latin or Greek quotation.

“ Even allowing the works of our ancestors better written than ours,” to use a striking illustration of this doctrine, given by Dr. Goldsmith, “ yet those of the moderns acquire a real value, by being marked with the impressions of the times. Antiquity has been in the possession of others, the present is our own ; let us first, therefore, learn to know what belongs to ourselves, and then, if we have leisure, cast our reflections back to the reign of Shonou, who governed twenty thousand years before the creation of the moon. The volumes of antiquity, like medals, may very well serve to amuse the curious, but the

works of the moderns, like the current coin of the kingdom, are much better for immediate use ; the former are often prized above their intrinsic value, and kept with care ; the latter seldom pass for more than they are worth, and are often subject to the merciless hands of sweating critics, and clipping compilers ; the works of antiquity were ever praised, those of the moderns, read ; the treasures of our ancestors have our esteem, and we boast the passion ; those of contemporary genius engage our hearts, although we blush to own it. The visits we pay the former resemble those we pay the great ; the ceremony is troublesome, and yet such as we would not choose to forego : our acquaintance with the modern books is like sitting with a friend ; our pride is not flattered in the interview, but it gives us more internal satisfaction."

Very justly says also a writer in the *Revue Britannique* :—"Après une fausse opinion l'érudition antique usurpe tous les honneurs, enlevés au savoir ; opinion d'après laquelle un chimiste est rangé parmi nous, dans une classe presque voisine de celles des artisans ; tandis qu'un annotateur d'Euripide, père d'un volume en 4to, marche d'un pas rapide à la considération. Pour que l'éducation fut raisonnable, et servit au bien être de la so-

cieté, il faudroit qu'une revolution totale, détrônât l'érudition, et mît le savoir à sa place ; que le jeune homme apprît, non plus comme autrefois quelques mots d'une langue morte, mais les sciences qui lui seront nécessaires pendant tout le cours de sa vie."

Private instruction in the United States, as compared with Europe, is of rare occurrence. The general opinion in America is strongly in favour of public instruction. In a country under a democratical government, this method of education is well chosen, as it prepares the young men, better than any other, for their future public duties, and for their necessary intercourse with very different and independent characters, all equally ambitious to be heard and to see their opinions, though not adopted and followed, at least duly respected. "Prendre un instituteur pour un seul élève," to use the words of the Chevalier Jacob, "c'est vouloir manquer son instruction. Les efforts du precepteur seront faibles et les progrès de l'élève y seront proportionnés. L'enfant n'a point de rivaux qui stimulent ses efforts, pourtant, point d'émulation : aussi tout est languissant dans l'éducation privée ; les récréations elles mêmes sont dépourvues d'impulsions et de vrai plaisir. Comme il ne peut pas comparer ses progrès

avec ceux des enfans de son âge, il en juge avec vanité ; la fatuité lui tient souvent lieu d'instruction. L'amusement devient de très bonne heure sa principale affaire, et il s'estime moins par ses progrès dans ses études que par ses petits talents, sa grace, et son adresse. Il-y-a d'ailleurs rarement cette ingenuité courageuse de l'élève des écoles, parceque l'habitude et la nécessité d'étudier le caractère de ceux avec lesquels il vit le disposent à la dissimulation, à la ruse. Il est réservé, mais par politique, et non par principe. D'ailleurs il est en quelque sorte impossible qu'il ne se trouve pas souvent dans la société des domestiques, et qu'il n'oublie dans la cuisine ou l'écurie ce qu'il apprend dans le salon ou dans le cabinet d'étude. L'indulgence qui accompagne presque toujours l'éducation privée n'établit pas ordinairement le caractère d'une manière forte, et qui met le jeune homme à l'abri des effets des passions."

CHAPTER VI.

ON EMIGRATION.

CHAPTER VI.

“ But what is life ?

’Tis not to stalk about, and draw fresh air

From time to time, or gaze upon the sun :

’Tis to be free. When liberty is gone,

Life grows insipid, and has lost its relish.”

ADDISON.

“ What is man,

If his chief good and market of his time

Be but to sleep and feed ? a beast no more.

Sure he that made us with such deep discourse,

Looking before and after, gave us not

That capability and godlike reason

To rust in us unused.”

SHAKSPEARE.

IN no country, perhaps, has the progress of human industry and national prosperity ever been beyond human conception so rapid, as in the United States of America. It is therefore not to be wondered at that this unprecedented development of the natural resources wherewith these States were blessed by our Creator, has attracted the attention of other nations, and that whole masses of individuals have emigrated to this land of promise, attracted

by the hope of gain, or of enjoying life free from those hardships which we are almost every where destined to endure for its preservation. Even men of a superior understanding, and not without experience in life, are apt to magnify in their own minds the resources of distant countries, and to nourish with regard to them so ardent, so extravagant, and such romantic notions of perfection, which cannot but end in disappointment.

The truth, however, is, that man is doomed by Providence, and wisely so, to labour every where. Nothing worth having can be gained without effort ; and there is on earth no real enjoyment without it. To change the forest or the prairie into cultivated fields ; to cover them with those productions which are necessary for our existence ; to raise dwellings for our shelter ; is done only by the agency of labour ! labour ! labour ! Land in its natural state, however rich, produces very little or nothing whereof man may derive nourishment, or clothing, without personal exertion, or without a sacrifice of accumulated fruits of former industry. Richness of soil ; an advantageous situation ; proximity of a good market ; extent of territorial possession ; and few taxes ; are, with regard to the productiveness of human labour, certainly circumstances

of very great importance; but without wealth, talent, and industry, they are of no use to any one.

The profits which we have in view, when we pursue any branch of industry, depend as much, and often more, on the institutions of a country, than on its fertility. “National prosperity,” to use the words of M'Culloch, “does not depend nearly so much on an advantageous situation, salubrity of climate, or fertility of soil, as on the adoption of measures fitted to excite the inventive powers of genius, and to give perseverance and activity to industry. The establishment of a wise system of public economy can compensate for every other deficiency; it can render regions naturally inhospitable, barren, and unproductive, the comfortable abodes of an elegant and refined, a crowded and wealthy population; but where it is wanting, the best gifts of nature are of no value; and countries possessed of the greatest capacities of improvement, and abounding in all the materials necessary for the production of wealth, with difficulty furnish a miserable subsistence to hordes distinguished only by their ignorance, barbarism, and wretchedness. Countries, with every imaginable capability for the profitable employment of industry and stock,

may have the misfortune to be subjected to an arbitrary government, which does not respect the right of property; and the insecurity thence resulting may be sufficient to paralyze all the exertions of those who are otherwise placed in the most favourable situation for the accumulation of capital and wealth."

All men have a strong attachment for the land in which they were born and educated, or which, by ties of family, friendship, and long habit, has become their own; and when this love of country is founded on just grounds it brings forth the best and most lasting patriotism; it ceases to be a blind passion, and becomes a rational, and thereby an irresistible power. But how strong soever this love of country may be, it has its limits like every thing else. When the public profession of our religious tenets is not tolerated; when our personal freedom is laid under vexatious fetters; when our personal property is not respected; when our industrious undertakings, after that produce expended in carrying them on has been replaced, hardly yield to us any surplus or profit; when all reasonable hope to improve our condition, to rise in the world, or to provide for the exigencies of a rising family, of old age, or sickness, is

taken from us ; then this love of country will naturally be weakened, and men become disposed to emigrate.

The love of gain is also not a less and constantly operating principle ; and whenever capitalists feel assured that their stock may be laid out with security, and greater advantage, in a foreign state than at home, its efflux, to a greater or less amount, invariably takes place. Every capitalist is naturally tempted to convey his capital to a country where the rate of profit is highest, and to remove it from a place or country where it is on the decline. Emigration may thus be considered but as a speculation, which must be regulated by the same laws by which every other speculation is regulated : for in what does emigration consist, but in the transfer of a man's capital, be it wealth, talents, or the mere dexterity of a common workman, to another country, where that man expects that the said capital will yield to him larger profits than it did to him at home ? However, this speculation, like all others, may fail ; and it certainly requires no common foresight and judgment in a person to be successful in it. Common workmen, by emigrating to the United States, risk but little, if any thing, as, if industrious, they have a well-founded

hope to better their circumstances. There is in America so much demand for labour, at one place or another, that no workman need be long out of employ. But emigrants who have enjoyed the comforts and refinements of cities, and who have at their disposal but a small capital, will, in the United States, have to overcome many and great difficulties, whatever may be their manner of industry.

A large field for the exercise of industry, in the United States of America, is certainly open to all classes of emigrants. Nature is there not frugal and grudging; she offers freely and bountifully all her capacities and powers to those who know how to use and to profit by them. The greater fertility of the soil in many parts of the Union also makes a given quantity of labour produce more than could be obtained by it in long cultivated lands, or in a soil less rich. Security of property; freedom of religion; liberty in all professions; an unrestricted internal trade, the Americans enjoy to a very high degree; and the great progresses, made by the United States, may justly be considered but as the natural consequences of their superior sources of prosperity. Human industry is so active, that, wherever impediments do not obstruct its development, it will press forward, nor cease

to work until it has reached those limits which are established in nature by the all-regulating Providence. Millions of fertile acres are still unoccupied in America, and will amply reward those who locate upon, and cultivate them. "If you have room and subsistence enough," says Dr. Franklin, "you may make ten nations out of one, all equally populous and powerful."

The average rate of profit, which is generally considered as the criterion whereby the progress or decline of any country ought to be measured, is also, in nearly all industrious undertakings, higher in the United States than in many, if not all, European countries. In America nearly every branch of industry is still in a progressive state of development, and population is far from being checked by a scarcity of the ordinary means of subsistence. A general fall of profits can never take place but where industry in general has become less productive, and industry will not become less productive but where the progress of society has been impeded. However much a particular, and it may be an important, branch of industry is depressed," to use again the words of M'Culloch, still, "if the average rate of profit be high, we may be assured that the depression cannot continue,

and that the condition of the country is really prosperous. On the other hand, though there should be no distress in any particular branch ; though agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, should be carried to a greater extent than they have ever been carried before ; though a nation should have numerous, powerful, and well-appointed armies and fleets ; and though the style of living among the higher classes should be more than ordinarily sumptuous ; still, if the rate of profit should have become comparatively low, we may pretty confidently affirm that the condition of such a nation, however prosperous in appearance, is bad and unsound at bottom ; that the plague of poverty is secretly creeping on the mass of the citizens ; that the foundations of her power and greatness have been shaken ; and that her decline may be anticipated, unless measures be devised for relieving the pressure on the national resources, by adding to the productiveness of industry, and consequently to the rate of profit."

Smith has said,—“ The progressive state is cheerful and hearty to all the different orders of society ; the stationary is dull ; the declining, melancholy.” Is the truth of these words not confirmed by the general prosperity, the general satisfaction, which prevails

in the United States ; and by the decline and dissatisfaction evinced in so many parts of Europe ? One does not want a high degree of intelligence to be convinced of the declining state against which so great a number of Europeans have to struggle, and perhaps in vain. Much dissatisfaction is already felt, nearly from one end of Europe to the other, and still threatens to increase. The decline of whole empires, though more tardy, seems to be not less certain than that of men. History not only confirms this in its records, but the present age furnishes us with many proofs of its truth. Does not also the course of nature clearly show that the descendants of men, whose talents elevated them above the common mass of mankind, but seldom for two or three generations maintain this superiority ? Should this be otherwise with large communities, subjected, only on a larger scale, to the fluctuations of the world ? Are not centuries for communities what years are for individuals ? “ The genius of culture,” says the author of ‘ *Austria as it is*, ’ “ draws towards the west : it rose on the beautiful plains of the Euphrates, Tigris, Araxes, and Ganges. They are now a desert. It moved towards the borders of the Mediterranean, and Lydia and Ephesus shone forth. Their

glory is gone too, to make place for the bright star of beautiful Greece, whose splendour sunk with the walls of Corinth, and imperial Rome took the command of the world. She is now only extant in the records of history, and Europe's hope rests on the proud rock of Albion. But the tide runs towards America, and, perhaps, before two centuries shall have elapsed, the genius of Europe, to avoid Scythian fetters, will have alighted on the banks of the mighty Mississippi."

But how much soever the United States of America may abound in natural resources for improvement, and in all the chief materials necessary to render a nation prosperous and happy, these States, like all other countries, produce, as already said, nothing of the necessities and comforts of life, without labour. Here, also, nothing that is valuable has ever been obtained, except by the exertion of that physical force, or those talents with which we have been gifted by our Creator. In America, as every where else, it is an absolute impossibility to obtain any thing of our numerous wants and comforts, except for personal or accumulated industry. The bread we eat, the clothes we wear, the house we live in, are the produce only of exertion ; or can be had only for money, which also is obtained only at the

expense of great toil and suffering of those that work in the mines. The inclination of mankind to enjoy without labour is checked every where, and we are constantly taught that on the exertion of our faculties depends our existence as we progress in society. Wherefore did Providence endow us with reason, if not to profit by it, and to use it for our benefit?

Men, when persecuted by the vicissitudes of human life, have often gone so far as to question the goodness of the Deity! Every one must, perhaps, confess that in moments of despondency, when afflicted by severe losses and misfortunes, we have grumbled at Providence. But have these calamities not always proved themselves of the greatest benefit to us? Did they not re-animate our lost activity? Did they not rouse and restore our necessary vigilance and energy? Have they not been the means by which we were purified from many an obnoxious quality?

“The gods in bounty work up storms about us,
That give mankind occasion to exert
Their hidden strength, and throw out into practice
Virtues which shun the day, and lie conceal’d
In the smooth seasons and the calms of life.”

ADDISON.

Providence compels us, and wisely so, in

all situations of life, to exert our faculties, if we will not be left behind, or sink into a lower class of society. It is to this pressure of want, or of rival industry, and to the spurs of ambition, that society is indebted for every improvement. Without such a stimulus men would seldom submit themselves to the fatigues of extraordinary exertion, whether of mind or of body. This is clearly proved by the fact, that comparatively few men who were born in affluence, and thereby enabled to live comfortably without any personal exertions, have ever distinguished themselves by superior inventions, or productions of genius. An easy mediocrity of circumstances, which does not keep a man constantly occupied in providing for the immediate wants of life, nor permit him to be totally idle, seems best calculated to produce those superior beings who are the honour of their country and of mankind in general. “C’est dans la classe moyenne,” says Mr. Storch, “également éloignée des extrêmes du luxe et de la misère ; c’est dans la classe où se rencontrent les fortunes honnêtes, les loisirs mêlés à l’habitude du travail, les libres communications de l’amitié, le goût de la lecture et des voyages ; c’est dans cette classe que naissent les lumières ; et c’est de là qu’elles se repandent chez les grands et

chez le peuple ; car les grands et le peuple n'ont pas le tems de mediter ; ils n'adoptent les verités que lorsqu'elles leur parviennent sous la forme d'axiome, et qu'elles n'ont plus besoin de preuves."

There is a most valuable capital in every man of a cultivated and active mind, consisting in nothing else but the union of all his faculties, which, called into activity by favourable circumstances, and animated by favourable prospects, will, under proper direction, yield large profits, and open resources that were before unknown. This peculiar encouragement, however, in the ordinary course of things, is chiefly confined to such communities alone as are in the progress of their development. In old and crowded countries, where all industrious pursuits are overstocked, the particular bias of a man's mind is circumscribed. Considered in this point of view, the United States of America have numerous advantages over Europe. In many States of the Union a progress of culture and of general prosperity is observed, whereof, with the single exception, perhaps, of Odessa, we have no example in modern Europe. In these States is ample space for the development of the various powers and resources of human talent and ingenuity ; and many hidden doors of

opulence are, as yet, most probably still unopened, and waiting only for those who shall have the means, talents, and energy, to call them into life and action.

Those checks on the successful expansion of human capacities, which we so often meet with in Europe, are certainly less frequent in nearly all the States of the American Union, yet there also a great deal of sagacity and foresight is required, if a man will succeed in any superior industrious undertaking. Without prudence or judgment a person will but seldom prosper any where, nor succeed to better his circumstances by emigration, even when thereby he should be placed in the most favourable external circumstances. If, therefore, a person who is deprived of the necessary talents and means, by emigrating to America only increases his misery, this is nobody's fault but his own. The disappointment of a speculator, who can offer elegant services of cut-glass and china to South Americans, whose most splendid drink-vessels consist still of horn, or the shell of a cocoa-nut; or who sends skates to Rio-Janeiro; or a large consignment of spectacles to Lima, is but natural; and nobody, the speculator himself perhaps excepted, will throw the blame of it on the South Americans,

the Brazilians, or the sharp-sighted Indians. That some European emigrants have been disappointed in their expectations, with regard to the superior resources of the United States, proves therefore nothing but their own want of foresight, want of means, want of energy and perseverance, or an accidental pressure of local or bodily calamities, to which men are exposed every where. What also is a single being, what are whole families, in such a rising country as America, but drops of the Ontario?

Whoever may have taken the trouble to inquire into the circumstances and expectations of emigrants in general, will, I dare say, have made the observation, that not a small portion of them were mere enthusiasts or projectors, allured by the most extravagant and romantic accounts or notions, and very imperfectly, if at all, prepared for so important an undertaking. Others were unfortunate men with families, who, pressed by unfavourable circumstances, formed the resolution to emigrate in a moment of dejection or desperation. Unacquainted with the numerous difficulties which unavoidably awaited them, they lost all their remaining portion of mental and bodily energy, at the very first, and often but trifling difficulties, they met with; and

thus, by the speculation in question, aggravated only their different embarrassments. That confidence which is only the fruit of a long and deep investigation into every object regarding any certain plan which we may have in view, could not exist in them. Often, without any plan at all, or without a true judgment of their means, they became the sacrifice of a hasty and an ill-considered step. All that a person, with but a small capital, by emigrating to a new country reasonably may expect there to earn by his labours, is, simple plenty, total independence, and cheering prospects.

Before a man finally resolves to leave his country, to forsake his former habits, and to break the ties of family, friendship, and of social comfort, he should well reflect on what he is doing, and whether the prospects or advantages, which he reasonably may expect, are worth the trouble and danger he, in all cases, will more or less be exposed to. Without these precautions, our imagination is so active that it hardly leaves us any rest to enjoy in comfort a few moments of repose. Constantly seeking a distant and imaginary advantage or felicity, which we are, perhaps, never destined to realize, we lose many opportunities of improving our condition, or of enjoying life at home. Thus while sighing for a shadow, and

while neglecting the reality, or while on the full gallop through life, riding post after our own conceits, the best moments of our life are often spent without profit or enjoyment. If men, in their course through life, could only find some leisure, and the necessary inclination to stop a little, or to turn out of their road, and while enjoying for a while "otium cum dignitate," reflect at their leisure, and with the necessary peace of mind, on their own conceits, then they would find them, as I can assure them by my own experience, highly amusing. How well did Shakspeare know human nature, when he wrote,

" Against our peace we arm our will ;
Amidst our plenty something still
For horses, houses, pictures, planting,
To thee, to me, to him is wanting.
That cruel something, unpossessed,
Corrodes and leavens all the rest."

The gratification of a want or wish is with us often but a step to some new desire. After we have attained to that which at a distance appeared to be the summit of our expectations, we in reality have come only to a point at which new objects present themselves to our imagination and ambition ; and thus we are constantly urged on by the spurs of our

once-awakened love of wealth, power, or consideration.

Few feeling and thinking minds wander through their earthly course without those vivid pictures drawn by the pencil of imagination. These, however, are but very seldom, if ever, to be realized. These feelings seem intended by our Creator to soften the hardships of human existence ; to reanimate that earthly blessing, hope ; and to keep the passions in due submission to our mental faculties ; but in themselves they are as light and as inconstant as the rainbow's ethereal colours.

Men who have been gifted by nature with an abundant share of the powers of imagination ; all who have been accustomed to the elegancies and luxuries of a refined life ; all who have been brought up in large towns, and have tasted the allurements of the European capitals ; all who do not merely exist upon bodily nourishment, but for whom mental recreations are almost as necessary as meat and drink ; all these should deeply reflect on the object which they have in view, before they embark, if not through necessity, and quit the shores of Europe, to wander, perhaps, to the outskirts of civilized life. They never can be perfectly sure whether their

imagination does not mislead them ; whether their keen senses do not point out to them a phantom, which, like an “*ignis fatuus*,” will lead them into a pool, and—vanish.

When, however, we recal once more to our memory the great resources, and the many superior encouragements to industry, wherein the United States of America abound, as a vast extent of fertile soil ; a combination of very different, but in general salubrious climates ; a yearly-extending interior communication, both natural and artificial ; security of property ; personal liberty ; freedom of religion and industry ; diffusion of sound and practical information ; a wise system of public economy ; and a highly enterprising national character ; when we also reflect on the astonishing progresses already attained by the Americans since their independence,—then it becomes impossible to say to what greatness the United States in justice may not aspire ; and well might that highly-gifted American—Cooper—say, “That Almighty Being, who holds the destinies of nations in his hands, must change the ordinary direction of his own great laws, or the American population will stand at the head of civilized nations long before the close of this century.”



CHAPTER VII.

SOME REMARKS ON AGRICULTURE, AND THE ADVANTAGES WHICH AN AGRICULTURIST, EMIGRATING TO THE UNITED STATES, HAS TO EXPECT THERE.

CHAPTER VII.

“Blest who can unconcern’dly find
 Hours, days, and years, slide soft away,
 In health of body, peace of mind,
 Quiet by day.

Sound sleep by night ; study and ease,
 Together mixt, sweet recreation ;
 And innocence, which most does please,
 With meditation.”

POPE.

“O, friendly to the best pursuits of men,
 Friendly to thought, to virtue, and to peace,
 Domestic life in rural leisure passed.

* * * * *

Friends, books, a garden, and perhaps his pen,
 Delightful industry enjoyed at home,
 And nature in her cultivated trim,
 Dressed to his taste, inviting him abroad ;
 Can he want occupation who has these ?”

COWPER.

AGRICULTURE is of all branches of industry, the object which by far the greatest number of persons who migrate to the United States of America intend to pursue for their subsistence, or to better their circumstances and future prospects in life. Even men, who in Europe never

handled a plough, or who knew nothing of its construction and application, have imagined that in America they might prosper as agriculturists, and that, too, without the assistance of scarcely any capital,—so prevailing is that false notion, that every man may become a farmer without previous learning or education.

The fact, however, is very different from what many seem to anticipate. No business requires greater sagacity or more constant application and prompt activity than that of the agriculturist. A farmer, to name only some of the most important of his occupations, has to seize upon the proper moment for performing the various operations of the farm, and to arrange them in such a manner that none may be neglected or cause the neglect of others; he has to study the best rotation of crops for that soil which he cultivates, and to make a proper choice with regard to the different breeds of cattle; he must understand the different compositions and application of manure; he should know the principles on which his different machines have been constructed; he has to ascertain the most advantageous period for the sale of his produce; and to perform or to superintend so many other practical matters requiring experience as would be tedious

further to enumerate. And is he sure to reap the fruits of all his labours? Does not the success of his speculation depend on so many influences over which he has not the least control? Are not his best laid combinations and plans liable to be overturned by sudden changes of weather, by devouring insects, or by accidental alterations in the anticipated market prices? And if he does not succeed according to his expectation, is it very easy for him to withdraw his already invested capital from this sort of industry?

It is true the United States still abound in unappropriated and fertile land, which in some States of the Union may be had for comparatively little money. But of what value are thousands of acres of excellent land unless the owner has an opportunity of disposing to his advantage that produce he has raised on it? This, however, is not so easy in those States where the acre of land is still to be had for a few dollars, or even for less. In these distant parts of the country the roads are in so rough a state that bulky produce cannot well be transported on them, except at certain periods of the year, and even then not without considerable wear and tear. And at the said periods, when the access to the markets is comparatively easy for the farmer, these markets are in general

overstocked, because the greatest number of farmers are men of but little property, and therefore totally without the means of withholding their produce from market, in order to speculate upon any further advance in prices. Men of wealth are in those parts of the Union I am speaking of rather scarce, as they are generally deterred from them by the difficulties attending a new settlement.

As also the ability of a man to maintain himself in comfortable circumstances depends on the quantity of necessities for which his earnings, be it corn, tobacco, wheat, or money, will exchange, he cannot, in general, be but in poor circumstances, where this exchange of produce is still in its infancy. And when a cultivator of the soil meets with so many difficulties to exchange his produce for other commodities, he will hardly be tempted to produce more than is sufficient to supply the necessities for his own family and household. If we further consider how many different processes of industry are necessary before the most common of our utensils are brought to a tolerable degree of perfection, and how small a part of what is required for our subsistence and enjoyment is produced by a single individual in a more cultivated state of society, then we must clearly perceive how

many wants those have to struggle for who reside in parts of the Union which have but a few years been under cultivation.

It is also perfectly clear, that no product, whatever may be its nature, can be brought to market, unless the rate of wages be such as will at an average suffice to raise it. The rate of wages of farm hands is, however, very high in nearly all the States, so that these wages often absorb the greatest part of what the farmer can make for his produce. Hence it is, that a large family, as long as its members keep together, and perform the greatest part of the farm labour themselves, will be more likely to prosper than single individuals or small families unaccustomed to farm labour. For those who work their farms by hirelings, it often becomes difficult to obtain any rate of profit for the capital which has been invested by them in the undertaking. That assertion, however—that a farm, even if well managed, cannot be cultivated to a profit in America, if the whole labour on it is done by hirelings—has been found to be erroneous.

That some large fortunes have been made in the land business, is, with few exceptions, if any, entirely owing to some men of wealth having invested a part, or the whole of their property, in a certain tract of land, to which

the annual influx of new comers, desiring to buy land, was particularly directed. Those landholders were thereby often enabled to sell again for a very high price, that, which only a few years back, they had bought for comparatively a mere trifle. But let no one suppose that such speculations are at little or no risk. The land bought as just stated is subject to some annual taxes, and when the owner or capitalist does not reside upon it himself he also has to defray the expenses of a residing agent, who is to take care of his interest. However moderate these annual charges may be, the capital invested in the land is annually increased by them, and if the rise of the price of the land does not exceed the annual increase of the capital invested in it, the whole speculation will at last prove itself to be but a very profitless, if not a ruinous concern.

The chief advantages which the United States offer to agriculturists with a small capital, and which Europe (if I except European Turkey, which, if under more liberal institutions, would be still enabled to offer room to millions of industrious beings) no longer affords, consists in the circumstances, that the ground property in nearly all the States of the Union has not yet become so valuable as to

be totally out of their reach; and that too in good situations, or in those parts which nature has blessed in point of fertility, situation, and climate, with all the elements that, besides good institutions, are necessary to render an industrious man as prosperous and happy as any where on the whole face of the earth. Even a man who at his outset can purchase only two hundred acres of good land, with the necessary stock of cattle, agricultural implements, &c. and who understands American farming—whose mind does not revolt at the idea of working with his own hands, and of living with assistants and neighbours, as unrefined as, in every country, men placed under similar circumstances will be—may look into futurity with an always increasing delight, as every succeeding year he may reasonably expect a new harbinger of means for the increase of his prosperity and happiness. But such a man must look for his comforts into futurity, and submit during many, many years, to numerous and great privations. Should, however, such an emigrant expect to lead in the new States of the Union, an elegant country life, which with reason can only be expected in a highly cultivated and well-peopled country, or should he dream of a cottage orné, and neatly kept

pleasure grounds, then he will be most grievously disappointed. Such rural luxuries, which are the offsprings of long accumulated wealth, and the protracted labour of years, can have no existence in a country just emerging out of a state of wilderness. In a new country, where so much personal labour is required—where a man is chiefly dependent on himself for the supply of nearly all his wants, and has to perform the greatest part of the labour of his farm—there all that is useful must predominate over the ornamental.

As far as my own information reaches, agriculture yields in no country so great a return to the capital invested, as other industrious pursuits. It is but seldom that a farmer makes a fortune. To live respectably, and to leave some decent competence to his children, is all, if not more, than he may expect. That preference which has often been given to agriculture over manufactures and commerce, even by men of high authority in all that regards political economy, is, at least as far as pecuniary profits and general utility are concerned, without any sound foundation. To call agriculture the *only* source of wealth, as Mr. Quesnay and his followers did, or to call it the only *honest* way for a nation to acquire wealth, as Dr. Frank-

lin did, is equally erroneous. Men who entertain similar ideas, completely overlook that connexion, in which all branches of useful industry stand and work together to the common end. It is true that the soil must first be occupied, and the raw produce of the earth procured, before the manufacturer can begin to work and prosper, but the farmer cannot do without the manufacturer, nor the manufacturer without the merchant, and so on.

“All the modes,” says M'Culloch, “in which capital can be employed in productive industry, or, in other words, the raising of the produce, the fashioning of that raw produce after it is raised into useful and desirable articles, the carrying of the raw and manufactured products from place to place, and the retailing of them in such portions as may suit the public demand, are equally advantageous; that is, the capital and labour employed in any of these departments contributes, equally with that which is employed in the others, to increase the mass of necessities, conveniences, and luxuries. Without a previous supply of raw produce, we could have no manufactures; and without manufactures and commercial industry, the greater part of that raw produce would be entirely worthless. Manufacturers and merchants are to the body politic what

the digestive powers are to the human body. We could not subsist without food, but the largest supplies of food cannot lengthen our days, when the machinery by which nature adapts it to our use, and incorporates it with our body, is vitiated and deranged. Nothing, therefore, can be more silly and childish than the estimates so frequently put forth of the comparative advantages of agricultural, manufacturing, and commercial industry. They are inseparably connected, and depend upon, and grow out of each other. The agriculturists raise raw produce for the manufacturers and merchants, while the latter manufacture and import necessary, convenient, and ornamental articles, for the use of the former. Whatever, consequently, contributes to promote or depress the industry and enterprise of one class, must have a beneficial or injurious influence upon the others." "Land and trade," to borrow the just and forcible expression of Sir Josiah Child, "are *Twins*, and have always, and ever will, *wax and wane together*. It cannot be ill with trade but land will fall, nor ill with land but trade will feel it."

But though agriculture offers no unusual rate of profit, requires great energy of thought and action, and subjects a man to great privations and disappointments, it may, how-

ever, in justice be considered as a very noble, a very independent, and as the most natural profession which a man of some wealth can resolve upon ; for that employment is doubtless best suited to our nature which engages at the same time our physical and our intellectual powers, without impairing them by too much excitement. And if it is with some good reason that agricultural habits and education have been considered as the two indispensable conditions for political self-government, we may with reason look for those independent feelings and habits—those soul and body strengthening pursuits—which prevail amongst an agricultural nation, as also in the superior force of those bonds which bind the owners of the soil to their country and its liberty. As the more speculative and elegant studies are best prosecuted by those who, in the possession of a decent competence, are attracted to these pursuits more by the gratification resulting from them than by those pecuniary emoluments which may be attached to them, so also must those who pretend to pursue agriculture as a science, not so much have in view pecuniary profits as those peculiar enjoyments which a judicious culture of the soil certainly affords. If the study and practice of agricultural pursuits

did not yield these peculiar enjoyments, and men of talent, activity, and wealth, had not been tempted to become practical agriculturists, few improvements comparatively would have been made in agriculture ; as it is a very general observation, that common farmers, in all countries, are little disposed to innovations ; that they remain strongly attached to ancient customs or routine ; and but seldom acquire much more knowledge than what is traditionary.

Poets, novelists, and panegyrists of the country, by mistaking the delusive fabrications of their heated imagination for the reality, have so much extolled the charms of a country life that comparatively but few beings really know what to make of it. In general, however, it may be said, that men who cannot be happy in a town will not be happy in the country. With them it is not the place that brings them satisfaction. If a person quits a town or city under a temporary disgust, or if perpetual agitation was his delight, the country will to such a character produce no relief ; he may remove his body, but his temper will remain unchanged. Some, at an advanced age, have retired to the country, in the hope there to enjoy, in unmolested happiness, the remaining part of their days :

that they experience disappointment is the fault of none but themselves. How can a man who, during his whole life, has toiled in a totally different career—that retires only from other business, or from town, because he is worn out—how can such a being create for himself an agreeable existence in the country? If a man has not laid the foundations for it in the spring of his life, or, if later, he has not become properly prepared for it, let him expect no gratifications from a country life. To cultivate it, as it may be cultivated; to enjoy it, as it may be enjoyed; and to bear it cheerfully, with all those privations which are generally connected with it, requires an extension of knowledge little known to those bred in towns. Even a person well prepared for a country life, and gifted with great and various endowments, will, after having tasted for years the conveniences and excitements of what we call a more refined life, perhaps not enjoy a life of seclusion, and bear, without danger to his happiness, with the evils of comparative solitude. If possible, to unite the charms of a country life with the occasional intercourse of a large town, will doubtless after all be the most agreeable.

Of the different enjoyments which are to be found in nearly all careers of life, none are so

pure, so lasting, so direct, and so agreeable, as those which arise from the studied or scientific culture of the soil. The book of nature is so voluminous and so entertaining, that no one who in the least understands its language will be able either to exhaust or become weary. And when we thus constantly see before us the benevolent intention of the Almighty displayed in the meanest object of his creation, must we not also perceive, and may we not without blushing confess our conviction, that life has been bestowed upon us for our own benefit, and that we cannot be wrong in the endeavour to promote its improvement? Where, however, can we look for greater enjoyments than in the occupations with the works of nature, or in the study of the laws by which those works exist? That object whereupon the agriculturist bestows his cares and affections, is the least changeable, the least uncertain occupation, in human life? What passion but that for agriculture never dies? Does it not increase with our increasing age? And what occupations offer also to a leisure mind sweeter reflections?

“Je voudrais,” says the amiable Prince de Ligne, “echauffer tout l’univers de mon gout pour les jardins. Il me semble qu’il est impossible qu’un méchant puisse l’avoir. Ab-

sorbe par cette passion, qui est la seule qui augmente avec l'âge, l'homme perd tous les jours celles qui dérangent le calme de l'âme ou l'ordre des sociétés. Quand il a passé le pont levé de la porte de la ville, l'asyle de la corruption morale et physique, pour aller travailler, ou jouir de la campagne, son cœur rit à la nature, et éprouve la même sensation que ses poumons à la réception d'un vent frais qui vient les rafraichir. Pères de familles, inspirer la jardiomanie à vos enfans. Ils en deviendront meilleurs. Quand on pense à ombrager un ravain, quand on cherche à attrapper un ruisseau à la course, on a trop à faire pour devenir jamais citoyen dangereux, général intrigant, et courtisan cabaleur. Si l'on vouloit écrire contre les lois, se plaindre au conseil de guerre, culbuter son supérieur, ou manigancer à la cour, on arriveroit trop tard, puisqu'on auroit dans la tête son bosquet d'arbres de Judée, ou son buffet de fleurs, ou son bosquet de platanes à arranger."

How many arts and professions have not the last fifty years only, produced by fashion? Throughout all ages, civilized society ever has depended, and must continue to depend for existence, on the cultivation of the soil. The earth is the great primary source of the supply of human wants: whatever we eat or drink

comes originally from her bosom. If, therefore, agriculture has an advantage superior to those offered by other branches of human industry, then this advantage must consist, I should think, in the comparative greater security of that prosperity which is founded on a judicious and speculative agriculture. manifold are the vicissitudes to which manufacturers and merchants are exposed, and where, by their industry, this year thousands live in a degree of comparative affluence, the next year poverty and wretchedness may dwell. "God made the country," to use the words of Paulding, "and man made the town ; and the difference of the work is exemplified in their progress and decay. The one is subject only to the operations of the elements, while the other depends for its growth and prosperity on a thousand accidents. The variable course of trade, the caprices of a despot, the establishment of a college, or the opening of a canal, can make a city flourish or decay. But he who draws his support from the bosom of the earth is independent of these chances, accidents, and caprices. This is illustrated by the unceasing complaints, petitions, remonstrances, and clamours, of merchants and manufacturers, asking protection, monopoly, or bounty, when contrasted with

the independent silence of the farmer, who asks nothing from his government but equal laws; and nothing of heaven, but rain and sunshine.”

But when the charms of nature have faded away; when the earth is no longer covered with that virgin green our eyes are so much pleased to dwell upon; when no leaves, no flowers, and no birds, animate the shrubbery, and pelting showers and furious winds succeed, what enjoyment offers then a country life? Even then, under these circumstances, they are, though curtailed, yet not entirely wanting. Many little household wants will give occasion to exercise the carpenter’s and joiner’s skill. Perhaps an uninvited stranger, of rather a vulgar appetite, has also succeeded to enter into your cabbage-garden, and, by feasting there at your expense, rouses your passion, and out you start, gun in hand, to expel an intruder, that probably, on a following day, furnishes your table with no unwelcome morsel. Your books, too, which during the fair season had remained in quiet and neglected, will now afford an agreeable and useful entertainment: their society, if well chosen, will be valuable. “*Quoi qu’on dise,*” says M. Sismondi, “*personne après tout ne cause mieux et plus agreeablement*

qu'un livre. Personne n'est plus complaisant et plus discret ; vous pouvez interrompre cette conversation quand il vous plait, faire un somme même, la renouer ou vous l'avez laissé, révenir sur ce qui vous intéresse, sauter sur ce qui vous n'intéresse pas, et vous enfermer tête-à-tête avec un livre, toujours sûr de ne jamais en avoir plus que vous ne voudriez. Cet sentiment de sureté est inestimable !”

While thus cultivating the mind, and preserving health by useful exercise, while enjoying the well-regulated society of a family, and the occasional visits of friendly intercourse, or while planning near a cheerful fireside new schemes for occupation and enjoyment during the approaching summer, your hours, days, and nights, will glide imperceptibly away, and you will never, or very seldom, have occasion to complain of the length of an evening, but often, perhaps, of the shortness of a day.

“ Il n'y-a point de saisons steriles pour celui qui veut cultiver à la fois sa terre et son esprit.”

DELACROIX.

For a man who is fond of what is called the world—who has so few resources within him, that he entirely depends for his recreation on public amusements, or to whom the constant

agitation of a public life, and all the superfluities of an artificial one, have become, by habit or sentiment, of absolute necessity ; and who thinks it beneath his personal dignity occasionally to use in some household occupations those limbs intended for industry—for such a being to spend the winter in the country, will prove itself to be but a very irksome affair. Those gay resorts of fashion which of late have supplanted the more intimate and friendly intercourse of men, and which large towns only afford, do these medley meetings really contribute to further mutual enjoyment, mutual instruction, mutual benevolence, not to say friendship ? Are they not, on the contrary, calculated to destroy the more solid, the more wholesome, and the more lasting enjoyments, of domestic and familiar society ? Have they even no bad influence on all those domestic affections and virtues which constitute, if not the highest, certainly the most useful qualities of man ?

“ Si on veut être de bonne foi,” says Mr. Jacob, “ cette société qu’on appelle en general la bonne compagnie, donne peu de satisfaction à ceux qui l’observent avec attention ; convenez, que ce n’est ni le goût ni le cœur, pas même la certitude du plaisir, mais plutôt une

vaine et monotone habitude, qui rassemble parmi nous tant d'êtres bizarres qui ne savent point apprécier les véritables jouissances. On se cherche sans s'aimer, on se voit sans se plaire, et on se perd dans la foule, sans se regretter. Quels sont donc les motifs de ces réunions des gens du bon ton ? L'égalité du rang, de la fortune, l'empire de l'usage, l'ennui d'eux-mêmes, et ce besoin de s'étourdir qu'ils sentent continuellement, et qui semble être le partage exclusif de la grandeur et de la richesse."

Fortunately we are blessed with something by far superior to such sources of pleasure—something that is constantly in our power when we seek it, and which to cultivate and to embellish, be it in the town or in the country, should be our constant duty and delight—this something is, our home ! " There is," to use the words of the author of ' De Vere,' " such a charm in this magic word, that he must be lost indeed to whom it does not bring some comfort. For there is not, in the whole range of moral observation, any thing so pregnant with satisfaction or interest as the associations that cling to this simple word. Shelter, if not independence of all that may be without, together with the gratification of all the charities that are within, are

the general notions which here lay hold of us. They are not confined to any rank or any station—to any scale of enjoyments, or any degree of wealth. On the contrary, the more modest the home the greater the chance for those peaceful reflections upon which the whole value of it depends. If ever the poor man thinks himself a man, if ever his mind is erect, or his manners are softened, it is at home. It is there he feels himself God's creature equally with his master; it is there that he may laugh at the struggles of ambition, which, if even successful, can give no more than the power he has already—of fancying himself supreme in his own little domain. Hence it is not marble, nor gold, nor crowds of followers, that form any part of the value of this treasure, but the self-sufficing spirit which it calls up, and which, in a moral sense, equals us with monarchs. That this is true, is proved by every man who has ever found pleasure in the silent hour, when he shuts out the world, to converse with himself. Nor do I know a more enviable situation than his, who, with his thoughts at peace, turns the key of his chamber upon the struggles of man, and while the lords of kingdoms quarrel with fortune for not giving them wider rule, says to his own heart, within the precinct

of perhaps a few square feet, "Here am I, lord of myself!"

If, then, our simple home abounds in so many gratifications, why should we, by looking for them out of it, disturb so often our body's ease or our mind's peace? You honest wanderer, however, whom persecution, want, or other circumstances, may have driven from your native land, and who art in search of a distant home, be not dejected! The life of a new settler, though far from being easy or comfortable, is not bereft of all charms. That constant, though slow change, of a mere wilderness into a more habitable place, and this according to one's own peculiar taste and habits, and under one's own direction and influence, has offered to many cultivated beings pleasures in a high degree attractive.

"Einshönes Herz hat bald sich heimgefunden,
Es schafft sich selbst, still wirkend seine Welt.
Und wie der Baum sich in die Erde schlingt,
Mit seiner Wurzeln kraft und fest sich kettet,
So rankt das Edle sich, das I'reffliche
Mit seinen Thaten an das Leben an."

SCHILLER,

CHAPTER VIII.

ON THE GOLDEN AGE.

CHAPTER VIII.

“ Wenn Du das grosse Spiel der Welt gesehen
 So kehrst Du reicher in Dich selbst zurück ;
 Denn wer den Sinn aufs Ganze hält gerichtet,
 Dem ist der Streit in seiner Brust geschlichtet.”

SCHILLER.

“ Those who have various resources in themselves feel that independence of mind which all must covet ; nor are they ever conscious of the oppression of time ; they meet its approach with joy, and only blame the rapidity with which he seems to steal away from them. Such as have the most of them will ever be found the happiest. Cheerfulness is the natural result of exertion ; and man the only being we know of, in creation, to whom time appears often burthensome.”

KEATE.

IN all times men have much dreamed of a golden age—when the human race was yet free from frailties, and allowed to enjoy life in a blessed primitive simplicity ; that is, unmolested, and nearly without labour. It is only with regard to the time and place, when and where, this El-Dorado existed, that men rather differ. If we were to believe some writers, then, to enjoy again those days of perfect simplicity, innocence, and happi-

ness, we have only to destroy all those numerous inventions and perfections in the different arts and institutions which hitherto were regarded and respected by us, as the true sources of our improved and more comfortable position in life, and to return again to a state of comparative brutality. According to those men who profess similar opinions, the true period of human happiness must be looked for in the age of our great great grandfathers; or of those patriarchs, called Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, who lived somewhat about two thousand years before Christ, our Redeemer from misery, was born. If we consult more modern writers about this El-Dorado, they tell us that perfect happiness cannot exist in a civilized society; that it fled from earth when civilization was introduced amongst us; and that we can only meet with it again by emigrating to countries which have scarcely ceased to be a mere wilderness: as, for instance, the shores of the Swan River, some parts of the Brazils, some islands in the South Sea, or Mr. Owen's late establishment on the Wabash. There are still others who pretend that men enjoy no perfect happiness except in their childhood, when the cares and vices of the world are yet unknown to them. It may be worth while

to examine somewhat more minutely what we ought to believe of these diverging opinions.

Those men who praise so much the age of the patriarchs, and who seem to believe that at that period mankind was not exposed to those human passions, such as envy, selfishness, cupidity, brutality, and so forth, could they ever have read the first book of Moses? Does this book, however, not contain the history of that period they are speaking of in such high terms? If we consult the said book, do we find it there confirmed, that our old, old grandfathers, the patriarchs and their progeny, were free from those human weaknesses we still every where meet with? Did not both Abraham and Isaac deny their wives? Were they not afraid to be killed, on account of their wives being fair women? Does that prove that the fear of God was in the land? Were Abraham and Lot not obliged to separate, to avoid strife between them? Did both Abraham and Jacob not go in to the handmaids of their wives, and had children by them? Did Abraham not cast forth into the wilderness his concubine Hagar, with her son Ishmael? Did Jacob not deprive his brother Esau of his birthright, and of his father's blessing? And if we go back still further in human history, and see why God destroyed

the world by the flood, then we shall see that it was because "God saw that the wickedness of man was great on the earth, and that every imagination of the thoughts of his heart was only evil continually. And God said unto Noah: The end of all flesh has come before me, for the earth is filled with violence through them, and behold I will destroy them with the earth. And as thou art a just man thou shalt be saved. Make thee an ark of gopher wood, and go thou and all thy house into it, when the flood of waters shall come upon the earth."

To what do we owe those perfections in all the different arts and sciences which are of so great an influence on our comforts and general happiness? Is it not to the labour and inventions of whole generations which have preceded us? Those ameliorations in our political institutions—that personal and mental liberty which we enjoy, and which is spreading with an irresistible step from land to land—are they not the fruits of severe struggles, of numerous disappointments, and of much perseverance and hard-earned experience? Those refinements in all our daily wants, are they not the fruits of a dense population, and of the division of labour? All the more speculative and elegant studies,

which contribute so much to our enjoyments, can they prosper where wealth has not yet been amassed, or where man is constantly occupied in providing the bare means of his existence? Is there any or much time left for the culture of their minds to men placed in similar circumstances? What degree of happiness, then, may we reasonably expect in regions that are inhabited only by a few poor settlers, living at great distances, without social comfort and all the resources of civilized life? What comforts can men possibly enjoy, who, by their situation, are exposed to a continual struggle with the elements, wild beasts, savages, or the stubborn quality of a virgin soil; and surrounded by an atmosphere filled with wide-spreading pestilence, the necessary consequence of the powerful action of a southern sun on a soil suddenly stripped of its long enjoyed shade, and covered with mouldering trees and a putrifying vegetation?

Is it in the spring of life only that happiness may be enjoyed? Are we not generally too fond of extolling this charming period of human nature—this season of human life, when our heart and mind, filled with fire and confidence, aspire to the very summit of human happiness. When, yet unacquainted with

indulgence, all but perfection is disregarded by us, is this period really the happiest of our existence? To what do those exalted plans lead a youthful mind, if not guided by prudence or checked by Providence? “ Cette fièvre qui pousse la jeunesse sur le chemin de la vie, ces passions qui l’entraînent, cette ardente curiosité qui l’attire, si elle ne trouvent d’obstacles dans les conseils de la sagesse, que trouvent elles au bout de la carrière qu’elles ont dévoré qu’un fantôme, le désenchantement ? ”

Let every one enjoy his youth and the alacrity of his spirits while he can; they will not wait for him; they yield a tune which has no *lacapo* in human life. I am no preacher of monkish abstemiousness in this sprightly period of our existence; all I wish is, to impress upon others my conviction, that he who in the prime of life destroys not his constitution, or who, in the enjoyment of that delicious period of his existence, forgets not to cultivate his mind, will, without regret, exchange buoyancy of spirit for happiness more tranquil. Our common Father is so just and benevolent, and so well balanced are the advantages and disadvantages of all human conditions, that there is happiness for us all, if reasonably pursued.

In youth there are so many objects and passions which divide and distract our life, that we are scarcely sensible of a collected conviction of our existence. "Spring," says the author of the *Borderers*, "is the youth of the year, and, like that probational period of life, most fitted to afford the promise of better things. There is a constant struggle between reality and hope throughout the whole of this slow moving and treacherous period, which has an unavoidable tendency to deceive. All that is said of its grateful productions is fallacious, for the earth is as little likely to yield a generous tribute, without the quickening influence of the summer's heat, as man is wont to bring forth commendable fruits without the agency of a higher moral power than any he possesses in virtue of his innate propensities. On the other hand, the fall of the year possesses a sweetness, a repose, and a consistency, which may be justly likened to the decline of a well-spent life. It is in all countries, and in every climate, the period when physical and moral causes unite to furnish the richest sources of enjoyment. If the spring is the time of hope, autumn is the season of fruition. There is just enough of change to give zest to the current of existence, while there is too little of vicissitude

to be pregnant of disappointment." How often, also, are those charms which captivate our senses in the spring of nature, not suddenly interrupted by a cold or rainy day? How many trees covered with blossom, promising the most abundant harvest, have not lost this beauty in a single night? How often did those human plants, which in youth spread an almost supernatural splendour around them, bear sound fruit? On the contrary, he whose spring of life was rainy and stormy has often enjoyed a fine summer. And should a man even be disappointed in his summer; let him look into the book of nature, and he will there learn, that often, nay, in general, the finest autumn succeeds to an unprosperous summer and to a rainy spring.

"En avançant en âge, en se calmant," says Azaïs, "l'homme acquiert la faculté de supporter plus patiemment les contrariétés de la vie. Comme il se retire chaque jour un peu plus en lui même, il demande moins de plaisirs aux hommes et à la nature; il désire avec moins de vivacité ceux qu'il demande encore; il éprouve par conséquent moins de refus, et il est moins agité par le refus qu'il éprouve; il voit chaque jour diminuer le nombre de ses rivaux, de ses ennemis, des hommes auxquels il porte ombrage; il s'affecte

moins vivement de l'ardeur avec laquelle d'autres hommes portent ombrage à ses désirs et à son sort ; sa raison lui montre qu'une telle ardeur, dans tous les hommes, est légitime et naturelle. L'homme qui peut raisonner est toujours près de la paix intérieure, puisqu'il est juste avec moins d'efforts."

To what period in life but to that of our youth are also most applicable the following words of the same author :—" Dans tout l'homme sensible, les combats intérieures, entre de nouveaux penchans et des idées anciennes, sont le ferment de l'âme. Les pensées, ainsi que les résolutions, sans cesse agitées et discordantes, impriment à la conduite ainsi qu'au langage ; le désordre en même tems que l'éclat. Alternativement jétée vers ce qu'elle désire, et vers ce qu'elle regrette, l'âme est étrangère à la moderation paisible ; elle s'exalte, s'irrite, elle défend avec véhémence ce que bientôt elle abandonne ; elle repousse avec ardeur ce que bientôt elle va soutenir ; il lui faut des passions, des ressentimens, des paradoxes ; la raison tente rarement à se faire entendre ; prudente et discrète, elle se tait et attend."

When Dr. Franklin was asked by Madame Helvetius, whether he did not feel himself happy, he said, " Je n'ai jamais eu la maladie

de me trouver malheureux. D'abord pauvre, puis riche, j'ai toujours été content de ce que je tenois, sans regarder ce que je ne tenois pas ; mais depuis que je vieillis, depuis que les passions se sont éteintes, je sens un bien être d'esprit et de cœur, que je n'avois point connu, et qu'il est impossible de connoître étant jeune. A cet age *l'ame est au dehors*, au mien *elle est en dedans* ; elle régarde par la fenêtre le bruit des passans sans prendre part à leurs querelles."

That perfect happiness we in youth may dream of, is seldom, if ever, realized in this world. Nothing is perfect but what dwells above. Here, on earth, no happiness will be found without alloy, and we must take every thing with its possible chances of good and evil. The sensations of our mind and body also depend on too many circumstances which are totally beyond the limited range of our humble means, and whereon our foresight and actions have but a very limited influence. There cannot exist, therefore, a human being who has not been disappointed, more or less, in his dreams of earthly happiness ; though the following words, used by Chateaubriand in expressing the same opinion, are certainly too gloomy :—" Point de cœur qui n'entretient une plaie cachée. Le cœur le plus serein en

apparence ressemble au puit naturel de la Savane Alahua : la surface en paraît calme et pure, mais lorsque vous regardez au fond du bassin, vous appercevrez un large crocodile que le puit nourit dans ses eaux.”

But what is human happiness? Is it an effect without a cause—a spontaneous production, that is created and that grows, one cannot tell how, without human care or trouble? Is it a gift of caprice or of the goddess Fortune? Wealth, power, and even honour, she may confer, but can she give happiness? Are her gifts instilled alone into the minds of a favoured few? Does she reside in the dwelling of the rich only? Or does she dwell with the poor? Is she to be found with the idler, or with the constant toiling labourer? Is she the effect of our earthly or of our heavenly elements? What then is happiness, and where may we look for it? Happiness is to be found every where around us, and nearly in all circumstances of life. Place, riches, and other outward circumstances, have but an indirect influence on it, and all that is required to enjoy it is but an eye to discern and a heart to feel it. The discerning powers of our mind may be strengthened—the susceptibility of our heart may be awakened and

cultivated—but without a discerning eye and a feeling heart there is no happiness in this world.

“ Smaecht u een dayf gelijk patrijs,
De geerst soo wel als einigh rijs,
Het ende-vleys gelijk kapoen,
Wat habje met veel goets te doen ?
Het is alleen een lukigh man
Die sijn gemoet vernoeegen kan.”

CATS.

As, however, things not known or understood can be of no interest to us, as knowledge extends our interest, and ignorance and indifference are almost the same, we may justly believe that that being will be the happiest or the most content among us who has conquered time, who has ceased to know what herculean work it is—the killing of time; and who, endowed with such a self-sufficing spirit, has rendered himself independent of others.

Pleasure or happiness, also, often comes “à saute et à gambade,” as Lady Morgan expresses herself, and are then only caught by the alert and attentive. And, like every thing else in this world, so also pleasure is mortal. M. Dupré de St. Mauer very justly observes, “Demander que l’existence soit

une fête perpetuelle, un enchainement de plaisirs, c'est tuer le plaisir, c'est n'avoir aucune science du bonheur veritable." Would the charms of nature be so agreeable to us if they did not continually change, if they did not totally fade away, to reappear clothed in a new and in a fresher garb? This uninterrupted change, this constant growth and decline of every thing in nature—and of course our own decay—do they not constitute the sources of deep felt pleasures? The idea of decline certainly is in itself not very fascinating; but is there a single reflecting mortal who would renounce all those pleasures, mental as well as bodily, which naturally grow out of this continual change of circumstances, and who would prefer to them the absence of that transient, though for the moment depressing idea, of the inconstancy and mortality of our nature, and of all that is dear to us? Would our existence, would the whole nature, not be of the most monotonous and depressing character? Would there be a creation at all?

Every day I become more and more of Dryden's opinion, "that if a straw can be made the instrument of happiness, he is a wise man who does not despise it." To cul-

tivate this art, to draw pleasure and entertainment from the meanest object, should be our study, our delight. For the art to live requires study, like every other art ; and we must subject ourselves to a certain course of training and champooing, before we learn to understand it. It certainly, however, does consist in an endeavour to content ourselves with the present, and to draw from every situation in which we may be placed by Providence, whatever amusement it is capable of affording.

“ The art of life,” to conclude my remarks in the words of Jefferson, “ is the art of avoiding pain ; and he is the best pilot who steers the clearest of the rocks and shoals with which it is beset. Pleasure is always before us, but misfortune is at our side ; while running after that, this arrests us. The most effectual means of being secure against pain, is to retire within ourselves, and to suffice for our own happiness. Those which depend on ourselves are the only pleasures a wise man will count on, for nothing is ours which another may deprive us of. Hence the inestimable value of intellectual pleasures. Ever in our power, always leading us to something new, never cloying, we ride serene and su-

blime above the concerns of this mortal world, contemplating truth and nature, matter and motion, the laws which bind up their existence, and that Eternal Being who made and bound them up by those laws.”

THE END.

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