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IN THREE VOLUMES.

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AMERICA, HISTORICAL—STATISTICAL—AND DESCRIPTIVE.

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Stay in the city of Buffalo—Sketch of its history—Destruction by the British—Subsequent grant of Congress to repair its losses—Revival and re-building—Rapid progress from thence— Statistics of its commerce—Financial report to the State legislature —Prospects of future greatness—Advantageous and agreeable situation of Buffalo—The Welland canal from Lake Erie to Lake Ontario—Description of Buffalo, its buildings and population —Projected public buildings, university and exchange— Environs, rides, villas, prospects, climate—Steam-boats, schooners, brigs, and ships—Source of the great river St. Lawrence— Size, depth, and elevation of the lakes—Lakes Superior, Huron, Michigan,

Erie, Ontario—Public meeting of the Bethel Society of Buffalo—American picture of the maritime population.

We remained ten days at Buffalo, during which I had an opportunity of being introduced to most of the leading merchants and principal inhabitants of the place, of attending one public meeting for a benevolent object, and taking part in the proceedings of it; of enjoying the private hospitalities of the citizens in some agreeable evening parties, and of visiting all the remarkable places within and around the city, so as to make my acquaintance with it tolerably complete. From what I saw myself, therefore, and what I learnt of others, the following history and description of the place has been compiled. VOL. III. B

2

Previous to the year 1814, Buffalo was a small village, surrounded by thick forests; and from about 1800, the period of its first settlement by any white inhabitant, its progress had been so slow, that there were not more than 200 dwellings in it, and these all small, and tenanted by very humble dwellers. In this year it was set fire to by the British, then at war with the United States, in retaliation, it is said, for a similar act of destruction first committed on some Canadian village, on the Niagara strait, by the Americans.

The conflagration was so effective, however, that only one house escaped destruction, and this, it is asserted, was spared at the earnest entreaty of a widow to whom it belonged, and who was bold enough to make her way to the commanding officer of the detachment, and personally to secure his order to exempt her house from the general devastation. The population fled into the wood for safety, and some time elapsed before they were re-assembled again. At the termination of the war, the sum of 80,000 dollars was appropriated by Congress to repair the injury sustained; and this giving a new motive to exertion on the part of the few inhabitants then remaining, they put forth their efforts to rebuild their town.

Up to the year 1825, however, there were not more than 2,000 inhabitants in Buffalo. But from this period it began rapidly to increase. The completion of the Erie canal, opening the navigation between the Atlantic and the Lakes, the transfer of the shipping from the adjoining village of Black Rock, and the liberal appropriation of the general government for the erection of a light-house and 3 pier, in 1827, materially assisted its prosperity. In 1829, a branch of the United States' bank was established here, to which other banks soon followed. In 1831 an act of the State legislature conferred on the town the dignity of an incorporated city; and the village of 2,000 inhabitants in 1825, has become, in 1838, a city of 20,000 inhabitants at least.

The estimated amount of business transacted here, as compared with what was done ten years ago, makes the increase in that period 5,000 per cent. The tonnage, in sailing vessels and steam-boats, in 1830, was 1,950 tons. Last year it was 10,361 tons, being an increase of 430 per cent. in seven years. In 1832 the wheat, passing through the port, was 100,000 bushels. In 1837, it was 450,000 bushels; being an increase of 350 per cent. In 1832 the flour, passing through Buffalo, was 22,000 barrels. In 1837 it was 127,000 barrels; being an increase of 600 per cent. But the increase since the last year has been even still more remarkable. The canal tolls on the Erie canal have, for the first half of 1838, up to the 1st of August, already exceeded the whole receipts of the previous year, by 50,000 dollars; the wheat trade has increased from 265,000 to 463,000 bushels; and the flour trade, from 41,000 to 154,000 barrels, in the same or corresponding periods of time; being an increase of 163 per cent. in the exports of a single half year only. The following passages, from the last Financial Report of the Legislature of this State, are full of deeply interesting and important matter, illustrative of this subject:—

“The steady progress of population and wealth of that portion of our State which is tributary to the canal, needs little remark. Whether, owing to the growth of the country on its immediate B2 4 borders, or to the influence of the lateral canals in swelling its commerce, the tables of tonnage exhibit a rate of increase which will probably be maintained for many

years. Although the contribution thus furnished by this State to the revenues of the canal, at the present time is large, (for two-thirds of the whole of its tolls are now drawn from the trade of our own people,) yet the amount becomes relatively unimportant, when compared with the enormous results we are hereafter to derive from our commerce with the west. Let us advert briefly to the present extent and future progress of that commerce, and the probable effect which it is hereafter to produce upon our fiscal affairs.

“The western termination of the Erie canal looks out upon Lake Erie, the most southerly and central of that great chain of navigable lakes, which stretches far into the interior from our western boundary. Around these inland seas, a cluster of five great States is rapidly rising. The territory which they comprise, and which is to become tributary to the canal, embraces that great area, extending from the lakes on the north to the Ohio on the south, and from the western confines of this State to the upper Mississippi, containing 280,000 square miles. To measure its extent by well-known objects, it is fifteen times as large as that part of the State of New York, west of the county of Oneida—nearly twice as large as the kingdom of France—and about six times as extensive as the whole of England. It contains 180,000,000 of acres of arable land, a large portion of which is of surpassing fertility.

“In the brief period of twenty-one years, such has been the influx of population into this great district, that Ohio, the eldest member in this brotherhood of nations, now numbers 1,400,000 inhabitants, Indiana upwards of 600,000, Illinois and Michigan, (both of whom have organized their governments and come into the Union) 700,000; while west of Lake Michigan, not only is Wisconsin rapidly rising, but even beyond the upper Mississippi, 30,000 citizens have already laid the foundations of yet another State. Such is the onward march of this population, that the amount of its annual increase alone exceeds in number the white inhabitants of ten of the States in the Union. The population already embraced within the district in question falls short of three millions, and if the same rate of progress shall be maintained for the twelve years next to come, by 1850 is will exceed six millions

“This group of inland states has two outlets for its trade to the ocean; one by the Mississippi to the Gulf of Mexico; the other through Lake Erie and the navigable communications of this State to the Atlantic. Whether it be attributable to similarity of origin, or laws, or habits, or to ties of consanguinity, or superior salubrity of climate, their people evidently prefer the market in the Atlantic, and they are making prodigious efforts to reach it. Three great canals, (one of them longer than the Erie canal,) embracing in their aggregate length about one thousand miles, are to connect the Ohio with Lake Erie, while another deep and capacious channel, excavated for nearly thirty miles through solid rock, unites Lake Michigan with the navigable waters of the Illinois. In addition to these broad avenues of trade, they are also constructing lines of rail-roads, not less than 1,500 miles in extent, in order to reach, with more ease and speed, the lakes through which they seek a conveyance to a sea-board. The undaunted resolution of this energetic race of men is strikingly evinced by the fact, that the cost of the works which they have thus undertaken, (and most of which are in actual progress,) will exceed forty-eight millions of dollars— a sum far exceeding all that New York, with two millions of inhabitants, and two hundred years of accumulated wealth, has ever attempted. The circumstance, moreover, is particularly important, that the public works of each of these great communities are arranged on a harmonious plan, each having a main line supported and enriched by lateral and tributary branches, thereby bringing the industry of their whole people into prompt and profitable action, while the systems themselves are again united on a grander scale, in a series of systems, comprising an aggregate length of more than 2,500 miles with Lake Erie as its common centre.

“It is estimated that the agricultural products which annually descend the Mississippi and its tributaries, have already reached 70,000,000 dollars. The value of the property transported on the canals of the State of New York during the year 1836, is shown by official tables to be 67,000,000 dollars. Of that amount, it may be estimated that 50,000,000 dollars consisted of property belonging exclusively to a portion of the

population of this State not exceeding a million and a half in number, being at the rate of 33 dollars 33 cents for each inhabitant; and the amount which they paid for its transportation 6 exceeded two millions of dollars. If the same scale of production and consumption shall be assumed for the population in the district in question, (and no reason is perceived why it should not be) the six millions of inhabitants in the west, who will resort to the Erie canal for the means of conveyance, will furnish tonnage, in exports and imports, of at least 200,000,000 of dollars in value. The experience of other nations will show that this amount is not over estimated. The food produced in England alone in the year 1835, by an agricultural population of about eight millions, was valued by their political economists at 604,000,000 dollars; and that of France was ascertained by its minister of finance to be 5,237,000,000 francs, or 980,000,000 dollars.

“But there are peculiar reasons why the proportion of agricultural exports of this great inland population should far exceed that of other nations. The exuberance of their soil, the salubrity of their climate, and the cheapness of their lands, (arising from the vast supply within their limits) will enable them always to furnish food to every other portion of the continent, on more advantageous terms than it can be elsewhere produced. Labour there reaps its best reward, and harvests of an hundred fold repays its exertions; and such will always be the superior productiveness of this region, that when the great series of public works shall be completed, and a bushel of wheat on the plains of Indiana shall be brought within a few cents in price of a bushel in New England, its production in New England must cease. The same cause will probably operate to change the culture of portions even of our own State; for the unequalled fertility of the west will always enable it to supply those products requiring richness of soil with a less amount of labour, and consequently at a cheaper rate, than they can be produced within our own borders.

“We know that the western part of our own State is increasing in numbers with considerable rapidity, and yet that it furnishes an export of at least 20,000,000 dollars in value. The States of the west, around the lakes, by the year 1845 will probably hold the same relative position in respect to the whole of the Erie canal, which the counties of New

York, west of the Seneca lake, now bear to that part of the line east of Utica. Our trade will then be measured, not by counties, but by sovereign States, themselves 7 containing their fifty counties; and our revenues, then no longer dependent on the villages and townships scattered along the borders of the canal, will be drawn from the wide-spread and populous communities, inhabiting the broad expanse between the Ohio and the Lakes."

It is impossible to read these accounts of the immense resources for the production of food, which the United States of America contains, and which a journey across the State of New York alone is sufficient to verify, without lamenting the first imposition of any prohibitory laws against the freest intercourse between this country and Great Britain, in the interchange of their respective productions. The first effect of our refusing to receive American grain free of all duty, has been to induce the Americans to prohibit our manufactures by a high tariff, and to set up manufactories for themselves; and the next effect has been to keep up the price of food at so high a rate in England, as to put it out of the power of millions of our population to obtain sufficient for their full and proper nutriment. We thus do each other mutual injury, without the slightest countervailing good. If we would permit a free trade in grain, the Americans would take from us more than double the amount of manufactures that they now consume, paying us in wheat and flour, and would never think of becoming our rivals as manufacturers. But because we will not take their products in payment, therefore they not only will not buy of us, but they set up as our rivals or opponents; and, from their abundant food, they will in a short time produce goods at rates sufficiently cheap to meet us in foreign markets, while every year will increase our difficulties and lessen theirs, 8 till they pass us in the race, and leave us unable to overtake them.

The most melancholy feature of this question, however, is this—that by our free admission of cotton and other southern products of America, we really uphold the system of slavery, under which these articles are produced; while by refusing the same free admission to the

grain of the north, we force them to become manufacturers, and thus in a double sense take the bread out of the mouths of our own citizens.

It is, indeed, high time that this evil were corrected. There is, perhaps, yet time to amend it now, but if left for a few years longer, it will be too late; and those influential and powerful classes in England, who now vainly imagine that they are protecting their own incomes from land, by this fatal policy, will be among the first to lament that they did not take warning, before the labouring classes of the country were reduced to a state of want, of which the wealthiest among the landholders will then feel the burden.

Of all the daily extending commerce, already described, Buffalo may be said to be the chief point and centre in the west; as she is, to the navigation of the Lakes, what New York is to the navigation of the Atlantic, and New Orleans to the West Indies and the Gulf of Mexico—namely, the port of entry and departure, the place of deposit for sale, forwarding, and commission; she cannot fail therefore to increase in size, population, and wealth, with every succeeding year. The water-power for flour-mills is here capable of being made a source of employment to 10,000 persons at least. The manufacture of steam-engines 9 for the Western lakes, could not have a better locality; as the pig-iron of Ohio and Pennsylvania is brought speedily and cheaply by water-carriage to the spot; and new discoveries of beds of the finest coal, within 30 miles of the port, in the State of New York, will furnish the fuel required.

The building of boats and ships for the canal and the lakes, with the noble timbers of Grand Island, supplied from Whitehaven, could be effected here cheaper and better than any where else; and all the various trades connected with shipping and commerce, such as smiths, coopers, &c. would furnish employment for 50,000 men more. With the constantly increasing facilities of intercourse, which bring Buffalo within 36 hours' distance of New York on the one hand, about the same distance of Detroit on the other, with all the vast range of country fringing the great upper lakes, and bordering the Ohio, Mississippi, and Missouri, all accessible in a few days, there would seem to be no bounds to the extent

of the great commercial operations of which this internal maritime emporium may become the chief centre.

The situation of Buffalo is pleasing, as well as advantageous. It is at the north-eastern extremity of Lake Erie, and just at the entrance of the strait which carries the waters down over the Niagara Falls, into Lake Ontario. Of course, this communication between the two lakes is wholly unnavigable; but the Welland canal, which runs from Port Maitland, at the mouth of Grand River on Lake Erie, to Newark on Lake Ontario, a distance of 44 miles, furnishes a navigable channel for vessels of 10 125 tons burden between these two inland seas. This canal has 334 feet of lockage, and 180,000 feet of excavation through the solid rock; and it is considered, for its length, one of the most remarkable canals in the west. The ground on which Buffalo stands, rises by a very gradual ascent from the edge of the lake, up to a fine and extensive level; and while the harbour, pier, wharfs, docks, canal, and warehouses, occupy the lower part of the town, all the principal streets and public edifices occupy the more elevated portion.

The city is well laid out, the streets being of ample length and breadth, and arranged with great symmetry. Main Street, which exceeds two miles in length, and is about 120 feet in breadth, is of finer proportions than the Broadway at New York, and has on each side of it massive piles of buildings, in 11 shops, stores, dwellings, and hotels, which may vie with those of any other city in the Union, either for elegance of design, solidity of construction, internal comfort, or external appearance. Several squares are agreeably interspersed in different quarters of the town, enclosed by railings and planted with trees, on an area of beautiful lawn; while the views of the expanded surface of the lake and the more restricted area of the strait, which are seen from almost every part of the town, add great interest and beauty to the scene.

Of public buildings there are, the City Hall, a theatre, and 15 churches, of which the Presbyterian, the Baptist, the Episcopal, and the Methodist, are the principal. These are all large and substantial 12 structures; and, like all those I have yet seen in America, they are

remarkable for great nearness in their interior, and ample accommodation and comfort for their congregations, though of very irregular styles of architecture.

Of the hotels, the American is not only superior to all the others in Buffalo, but better than any that we had yet seen at since our landing in America. In all its rooms, space, elegance, and comfort were united; the drawing-rooms were furnished in the first style of a private dwelling, the bed-rooms were lofty and airy, and the beds excellent. The table was the best furnished and best attended of any at which we had yet sat, though this was the feature in which it was least excellent; and all its subordinate appointments were 13 well maintained. If good cooks could be added, it might rank with any hotel in London, Liverpool, or Bath; but the Americans, as a nation, certainly do not appear to understand the difference between well-fed and tender, and ill-fed and tough provisions, whether in fish, poultry, or flesh-meats: and their modes of preparing and serving up that which they have, are so inferior to the processes used in England, that it will require many years to bring them to a standard of equality with us in this particular.

The population of Buffalo, now consisting of about 20,000, is almost wholly white. We did not remember to have seen 20 coloured people in the place, so thinly are they scattered; but these were well-dressed, and in an apparently prosperous condition. The bulk of the inhabitants are engaged in trade and commerce, though, of course, there are some few professional men, as physicians and lawyers, among them. Dutch and German emigrants abound, and Irish are not less numerous. It is from the former, that the domestic servants are chiefly taken, and the latter supply the daily labourers of the place. The general appearance of all classes indicates competency and comfort; but there is none of the style and fashion so apparent in the equipages and dresses of New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore. The private parties of the more wealthy inhabitants exhibit, however, a happy union of ease and elegance, with more of social frankness, and less of pretension and etiquette, than those of the larger cities, and therefore, to us at least, they were far more agreeable.

Among the buildings projected here, but not yet completed, is a chartered University, to be called, 14 “The University of Western New York,” and an Exchange, of more colossal proportions than those of London, Paris, Lisbon, or Amsterdam. The elevation of this edifice, gives, among its dimensions, the following: Frontage 245 feet, depth 200 feet, diameter of the pillars of the portico, 10 feet 2 inches; height of the pillars and entablature, 86 feet; platform above the roof of the building for support of a dome 93 feet square, and 40 feet high. Circular section above the square, 60 feet diameter, and 58 feet high; surrounded by a colonnade of 16 pillars, 4 feet 2 in diameter, and 32 feet high; dome above this, 60 feet diameter, and 34 feet high; entire height, from the side pavement to the centre of the dome 222 feet. Those who are conversant with architectural measurements will at least admire the *scale* of this edifice as to size: it was estimated to cost 5,000,000 of dollars, or upwards of a million sterling; and but for the recent derangement of all monetary operations, the sum would have been raised, and the building erected before this time.

In the neighbourhood of Buffalo are some agreeable rides, and many pretty villas of the more wealthy citizens, some finished and occupied, and others in a state of progress. The presence of the lake not only furnishes pleasing views in all directions, but supplies a never-failing breeze from the waters, in the morning and in the evening, and makes the nights always cool; so that we suffered less inconvenience from the heat here, with the thermometer at 90° in the day, than we did at Philadelphia and Albany with the thermometer at 85°.

Besides the numerous steam-vessels which are 15 seen in the harbour of Buffalo, some of which navigate the Lakes to a distance of 3,000 miles, there were many schooners and brigs, and one handsome three-masted ship, of about 300 tons, employed in the navigation of these inland seas.

It has been well observed, that notwithstanding the separate names given to all these large sheets of water, they are, after all, but expansions of the great river St. Lawrence, in its course from its original fountains to the sea. The source of this great river may thus

be found on the stream called the St. Louis, which rises about 155 miles N.W. of Lake Superior, and at an elevation of 1,200 feet above the level of the sea. In its course to Lake Superior it descends 551 feet, that Lake being 641, feet above tide-water. It is 300 miles in length, 80 in breadth, and 900 feet in mean depth, though there are some parts in which the depth is 1,200 feet. The river next descends for 60 miles through the Strait of St. Mary, from Lake Superior to Lakes Huron and Michigan, effecting a fall of 600 feet within that course. Lake Huron is about 200 miles in mean length by 95 in mean breadth; and Lake Michigan is about 300 miles in mean length, and 50 in mean breadth; each of these are about 1,000 feet in mean depth; the level of both being about 600 feet above that of the sea. From hence the river again passes through the Straits of St. Clair and Detroit, for a distance of about 90 miles, by which it enters Lake Erie, after a fall of about 30 feet.

This lake has considerably less water in it than either of the preceding, though it is still a large sea. 16 It is about 230 miles in mean length by 35 in mean breadth; and though in some places its depth exceeds 300 feet, yet its average or mean depth is not more than 120 feet; and its elevation is 565 feet above the level of the sea. From hence the river passes onward by the Niagara Strait of 37 miles, after a fall of 334 feet, into Lake Ontario, which is 180 miles by 30 in mean length and breadth, and its mean depth 500 feet, though in some places it has been sounded with a line of 300 fathoms without reaching the bottom. It is, therefore, the deepest of all the lakes, compared with the extent of its surface, and Lake Erie is the shallowest. The river thus gaining its last expansion, is contracted into the strait of the Thousand Islands, and passes onward by Montreal and Quebec to the sea, forming in its course the several lakes and straits described, and being, in this point of view, one of the grandest and most remarkable rivers in the world.

During our stay in Buffalo, and while delivering my course of lectures on Egypt there, which were well attended, I was invited to take part in a public meeting at the First Presbyterian Church, to advocate the claims of the Bethel Society of the City, for the amelioration of the condition of the seamen, boatmen, and others, engaged on the adjoining waters. The church was crowded to excess, not less than 2,000 persons being

present in it, while hundreds were said to have gone away for want of room; so that a deep interest was evident, in the object of the meeting.

Mr. Hiram Pratt, the principal banker of the city, and president of the Bethel Society, was called 17 to the chair, and opened the business of the meeting.* The Rev. Mr. Charles, of the Baptist church, and Mr. Hastings, of the New York bar, proposed and seconded a resolution; after which I was invited to address the audience on the subject; and as the improvement of the condition of seamen had always been an object near my heart, I could speak with great earnestness and some knowledge of the subject on their behalf. The effect appeared to be beneficial; and the impressions left, such as produced a timely and valuable addition to the funds of the institution.

* This gentleman has since deceased.

I was much struck with the melancholy picture of this large and unfortunate class of men, as presented in an appeal on their behalf, prepared and issued under the sanction of the American Bethel Society, from which, as there is the strongest reason to believe its details authentic, the following extracts may be made; and, considering them to be an American portraiture of an existing class of the American community, published on the very spot where that class is best known and challenging contradiction, it is more valuable than anything from an English pen:

“The theatre of commercial enterprise in the United States is immense. With a country rich in resources beyond a parallel—fertilized by a thousand lakes and rivers—and furnished with every facility for sectional intercourse, we have become, and must remain, essentially a commercial people. Our internal arrangements for the transmission of property, and for the convenience of travel, are destined to an almost infinite enlargement. Our inland waters are already covered with boats and vessels, charged with the freights of every clime, and crowded with a mass of human life that astonishes the beholder. But when our magnificent forests shall have been removed, and our soil fully appropriated to the

productions of agriculture VOL. III. C 18 —when our mineral resources, nearly unexplored as yet—shall have been laid open, and brought into healthful action—and, especially, when our population shall have become so extended as densely to cover our territories, the carrying trade will have assumed an importance, and commanded an agency, altogether outranking every other employment. It is destined to gather and disburse the products of an empire.

“It is, perhaps, impossible to ascertain with anything like precision, the amount of capital now devoted to this object. But if we take into view the great extent of our natural water-courses, the multitude of steam-boats and other vessels which float upon their surfaces; if we then cast our eye upon the canals which intersect these water-courses, and survey their various appendages of boats and horses; and if we then add the warehouses and men necessary to the system, we cannot but conclude that the amount is incalculably great. If we could take in at a single glance, from some lofty eminence, the windings of the great arteries of our republic—the Mississippi—the Ohio—the Hudson, with their tributary branches, as well as our vast inland seas—and if we could then cast our vision beyond the Rocky Mountains, upon the inlets of wealth from that region—a region yet to be filled with a redundancy of life, our minds would be oppressed with the result. We should then be prepared rightly to estimate the magnitude and influence of this employment.

“Of the agents now employed in this business, by far the greatest proportion are watermen, whose numbers have been variously estimated. But it is believed, that they will number at least one hundred thousand, the majority of whom, as to morals, are abandoned. The vices of sailors have become so proverbial, that virtue shrinks from all association with them. As they enter our ports, they are welcomed only by that class of moral outlaws, who infest our cities, and who live about the docks, ‘seeking whom they may devour.’ We need not wonder, then, that they travel swiftly the downward course —that their race is quickly run. Their average life, after entering upon the water, is only about twelve years. Accustomed to constant privations and hardships, they soon become reckless of danger, and, to a great extent, regardless of life. Their moral sense is soon

extinguished; but their animal and social propensities 19 still survive, and hence they ordinarily approach our shores with their vicious appetites sharpened aad inflamed by a coerced and protracted abstinence. Thus prompted, they immediately congregate in those dens of pollution which have been aptly described as the very ‘nostrils of hell.’ Driven to desperation by the frauds and abuse of their associates, they are ready to avenge themselves upon the community by outrage and violence. The harbours of our lakes, and the large villages upon our canals, have consequently become a general rendezvous for vagabonds and sharpers.

“Let the same causes be continued for a few years, without abatement, and we shall have at least two hundred thousand desperadoes, carrying devastation and death throughout the length and breadth of our land. That these are no idle fears, is sufficiently evinced by facts. The calendars of our prisons, and the records of our criminal courts, could they be consulted, would read us a lesson on this subject of the most fearful import. We should there learn, that seven-tenths of all the crimes committed in the United States within the last five years, have been committed in the immediate vicinity of our navigable waters. The State prison at Auburn, during the last year, has received into its cells, three hundred convicted witnesses of the truth of this remark, from the immediate vicinity of the Erie canal. Robberies, thefts, and murders have been so frequent on the line of this canal for the last two or three years, that our business-men have become most seriously alarmed, and are beginning to feel that something must be done to stay the progress of this evil.

“To what combination of causes are we to attribute the degradation of sailors? They are familiar with some of the sublimest objects in nature; and were the contemplation of such objects sufficient to secure elevation of character, we should expect a different result. They are familiar, too, with sudden dangers and providential escapes. But neither fear of the one nor gratitude for the other are found to be efficacious. Men need restraint, and without it, they rapidly degenerate. In all our inquiries, in reference to the moral or physical degeneracy of men, philosophy teaches us to look, as well to their social condition, as to

their physical circumstances. Look at the watermen on these great thoroughfares, in C 2 20 each of these aspects, and the causes of their degradation will be easily developed.

“Their social condition is in many respects deplorable. Professional associations, in civilized communities, generally tend to the elevation of individual character. But watermen are not within the pale of this influence. Their professional associations, owing to the general degradation, have an opposite tendency. Their very first lessons of seamanship are connected with profane and licentious allusions. Take almost any young man of promise, and throw him into a business of this kind, where he is compelled to submit to the professional teachings of vicious associates, and you give him over to hopeless ruin. In this feature of their condition, watermen are peculiarly exposed; and this exposure is fearfully increased by their libidinous associations on shore.

“The domestic relations constitute, in the social economy, the great balance-wheel by which the whole system is regulated. Let these be perverted, or their influence disturbed, and a train of causes is put in operation, which will banish from the community all sense of moral obligation. Without the initiatory discipline of the domestic circle, there could be no point of social attraction. The Jacobins of France could never have deluged that unhappy kingdom with the blood of its slaughtered citizens, had they not first laid their ruthless hands upon its domestic altars. The relations of husband and wife, parent and child, brother and sister, carry with them a weight of obligation, a force of example, and a power of attraction, more efficacious in the promotion of morals, than the combined influence of law and government. But these sacred influences are rarely felt by the poor sailor. He is an insulated being ‘whose home is upon the waters,’ and whose best affections, by sensual indulgences, are frittered away and destroyed.

“Another prominent feature in the condition of watermen, consists in their entire exclusion from the influences of a well-directed public sentiment. It is generally considered that public opinion, as a standard of morals, is defective. Yet in restraining vice, it is often an instrument of great efficiency. A large portion of the world adopt it as their only standard

of action, and a still larger portion avoid its inflictions with instinctive dread. In all well-regulated communities, public opinion exerts a most powerful 21 influence as well in the prevention as in the detection of crime. But wherever the social system is deranged, by the substraction of any of its essential elements, this influence is perverted, and rendered subservient to the purposes of evil. Thus, among sailors and watermen, the substraction of the domestic relations, and the sabbath, has been followed by a public sentiment, utterly powerless in favour of virtue, but in its tendency to vice, most deeply exciting.

“They are destitute of moral and religious instruction. Whatever differences of opinion may exist upon questions purely religious, no one can deny that some kind of religious and moral training is essential to the formation of a virtuous character. To expect the fulfilment of an obligation from one who knows not the relations on which it is based, is preposterous. ‘Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles?’

“The sabbath is another instrument in the formation of character, entitled to the highest respect. It is a specific allotment of time to those studies and duties which constitute its chief basis. An unrelieved activity in the pursuit of any secular business, has a tendency to lessen the weight of moral obligation. A mind thus employed, is goaded onward in its narrow pathway, without the least regard to surrounding objects. It takes no note of other interests—it forms no plans for the relief of human misery. But when this pursuit is relieved, by a day periodically set apart for other duties, involving other interests, other motives, and other feelings, we have a right to expect a different result. Hence we shall always find, among that class of men who respect the sabbath, an elevated state of morals. The claims of the sabbath, therefore, as a mere civil institution, are of high import. But when we come to add its religious bearings, it will be seen to lie at the very foundation of all that is valuable in human society. Sailors and watermen, however, are excluded from its healthful influences. To them it brings neither instruction nor rest, and we ought not to wonder at their consequent degradation.

Library of Congress

“The physical circumstances of watermen are unfavourable to virtue. Their, exposure to the weather at all times, and under every variety of hardship, occasions a great waste of physical energy, for which there is no adequate supply. We are taught by the conditions of our being that, while labour exhausts our frame, rest invigorates 22 it. But our watermen are required to ‘make their full tale of brick, notwithstanding they have no straw.’ It has long since been demonstrated that the rest of the Sabbath is as essential to bodily vigour as to moral health. Now the great mass of our watermen are required to work night and day, with only an occasional hour for sleep, and are also deprived of the physical rest of the Sabbath. It ought not to be a matter of surprise, therefore, that, in the absence of moral restraint, they are led to seek artificial stimulants to recall their wasted energies. To this source, the intemperance of thousands may without fear be attributed. Having taken one step in the downward road, they are easily led to other irregularities—to vice—to crime, and eventually to a premature grave. The physical circumstances of watermen, then, are not only unfavourable to virtue, but they become strong incentives to vice.

“The way is now prepared to inquire for a remedy. We have seen that the evils to be encountered are both secular and moral— *secular,* because they tend to the derangement of commerce by increasing its hazards—and *moral,* because they threaten to sap the foundations of the social system, by scattering ‘firebrands, arrows, and death.’ The inquiry, then, is not only important, but it must be met and answered.

“To avoid an effect we must remove the cause. It has been already shown, that the causes now in question are various; and yet it will be seen that they are so intricately involved, as to render it impossible wholly to eradicate them. Some may be obviated, but others must be counteracted. We may protect our watermen from excessive labour, and from unnecessary exposure; and we can give them rest. By a proper division of labour, we may prevent excessive draughts upon their physical energies, and secure to them the requisite time for sleep. But, above all, we can restore them the Sabbath, and thus, at a single blow, remove the most prominent cause of their degradation and vice.

“The physical causes being removed, we then can give them books in the hope that they will be read. By placing well-selected libraries on board their vessels and within their reach, we can afford them intellectual, moral, and religious instruction, suited to their condition and employment.

23

“The Sabbaths being restored, we can give them chapels and living teachers. We can then give them the best of all possible substitutes for the influences of the domestic relations, the gospel of the Son of God. Christianity, whether true or false, is the only system of morals—infidelity herself being judge—which can effectually restrain the passions and vices of men; and by giving this— if true—we give them the hopes of another and a better world.”

Of the plain good sense and true philanthropy of all this, who can doubt; and of the zeal and earnestness with which the object of moral reform is carried out by those who have here undertaken it, I had abundant proofs. The same evils, I know—and produced, to a great extent, by the same causes—exist among our boatmen, watermen, and canal men in England: and if those members of the British parliament who oppose all legislation for the cessation of labour on the Sabbath, could but be brought to see how much it would be for the temporal and secular interests of the labourers themselves, they would never raise the senseless cry against the measure of its being “a war of the rich against the privileges and enjoyments of the poor;” the poor being the very class who would benefit most largely, if all travelling in public conveyances, all transportation of goods, and all labour of traffic or profit, were strictly prohibited on the Sabbath-day, the observance of which, as a day of rest, is as beneficial in a physical, as it is in a moral point of view, and would tend to national happiness as well as to national gain.

CHAP. II.

Visit to the settlement of the Seneca Indians—Statistics of this tribe in numbers and lands —Council of the chiefs in the open forest—Description of the tribe and their condition— Visit to the grave of the great chief Red Jacket—Anecdote of Red Jacket and Lafayette— History of the “White-woman,” wife of an Indian chief—Atrocities of the English leading the Indians— Testimony of Cornplanter, a retired Seneca chief—Corroborating narrative of the “White-woman”—Evils produced by the use of intoxicating drinks—Winters at Buffalo— Freezing of the Lakes—Church-going, sleighing parties, and religious revivals—Progress of the Catholics in the Western cities—Alarm of the Protestant sects at this—Episcopalian measures of counteraction—Division of New York into two bishoprics—Newspapers of Buffalo, number and character—Discussion on the rise of water in the lakes—Curious theory broached on this subject—Journey from Buffalo to Rochester—Williamsville, Ransom's Grove, Pembroke—Batavia to Rochester by rail-road.

During our stay at Buffalo, we paid a visit to the nation of Seneca Indians, whose settlement is about six or seven miles south of this city. These form one of the six Indian nations whose few remaining members still linger in different parts of the State of New York. They are, therefore, one of the parties to the treaty, discussed in our presence the other day, among the Tuscorora Indians, whom we visited at Niagara, and their assent would accordingly be necessary before the amended treaty could be carried into execution.

25

A grand council was to be held here, as at Tuscorora; and as the Indians were more numerous, and would be joined also by some of the Onandagas and Cayugas, greater preparations were made to give dignity to its proceedings. The council was intended to be opened on Monday last, in the usual council-house; but there being a great number of dissentient chiefs, they would not allow it to be held there, as they were averse to the whole proceeding. A new house had been temporarily erected for the purpose; but that

was speedily burnt down by some of the discontented Indians, so that the council was ordered to be opened to-day in the deep shade of the grove adjoining their settlement.

We went there with an agreeable party, about 12 o'clock, in a carriage, and found there Generals Gillett, Porter and Deaborn, of the American army, Judge Striker, of the circuit court, who opened the council, and a large number of American ladies and gentlemen. The Indians assembled were not more than 100, but they were all chiefs, and there were neither women nor children, as at the former. The men were more Indian in their physiognomy and costume than the Tuscororas, and a great number of them came with their tomahawks in their hands. They stretched themselves along in the most careless attitudes beneath the trees, and enjoyed the shade and repose, while they listened to the opening address of the Judge, and the speech of the Commissioner, both of which were translated, sentence by sentence, by one of their own body, acting as interpreter; to which they paid great attention, without, however, moving a muscle to betray any emotions, and smoking 26 their pipes with the utmost gravity. The whole scene was far more picturesque and aboriginal than the council held in the church of the Tuscororas.

I learnt on the spot, from conversation with some of the chiefs, that their nation at present numbered about 2,500—the extent of their reserved lands being 60,000 acres, in four different portions, the largest of which came up almost to the very borders of the town of Buffalo. Of their whole number, not more than one-fourth were even nominal Christians; and of these, it was doubted whether more than a very small number really understood and felt the influence of religion. The other three-fourths were Pagans, as they are here called, clinging to their ancient superstitions, and celebrating every year a festival, in which two white dogs are slain, with peculiar ceremonies.

Respecting the proposed treaty, we were assured that nine-tenths of the whole body of the Seneca Indians were opposed to it, and indeed averse to any removal at all. Of the chiefs, who were 96 in number, more than half were openly hostile to the measure; and it was said, by the Indians themselves, that those who supported it had been bribed by the

government to express favourable opinions. In this way they feared that a great many of the more dissolute and drunken of their number would be brought over, with dollars and whisky, to give their assent, and thus the tribe would be sold; but they seemed to have great reliance on a chief who was present, named Big-kettle, to oppose the fallacy of the treaty, and rouse the whole tribe to oppose it. The business of the day ended, however, with the commissioner's 27 statement, and at three o'clock the council adjourned till the following day.

On our return homeward, we halted at the spot near the Mission-house and church, built on the grounds of the Indian reservation, for the purpose of visiting the tomb of Red Jacket, the famous Seneca Chief, who was buried here about seven years ago: and the grave of Mary Jameson, “the white-woman,” as she was always called, who was born of Irish parents on their voyage out from England to America as emigrants, was afterwards captured by the Indians, and subsequently married and survived two Indian chiefs as husbands, leaving by them a large family of half-bred Indian children, who are now members of the Seneca nation. The part taken by Red Jacket in resisting the encroachment of the whites, and defending the right of the red man to the soil of his ancestors, gave him unbounded popularity among his tribe, and spread his reputation among the Indian nations generally. In the first treaty between the United States and the Six Nations after the revolution in 1784, Red Jacket first rose into notice, and the narrative of this is thus given, in Mr. O'Reilly's History of the Lands of the Six Nations.

“The cession of their hunting-grounds northwest of the Ohio was vigorously, though unavailingly, opposed by several of the red men. Saguaha, or Red Jacket, then young and nameless among the head-men, rose rapidly in favour with the Senecas for his hostility to the measure—while the popularity of their great chief, Corn-planter, suffered severely among his race for his partiality to the whites in the arrangement. The reservation on the Alleghany river, whereon his descendants still abide, formed part of the gratuity bestowed on the half-breed chief, (for Corn-planter was the son of John Abeel or O'Bail) whose exertions contributed so largely 28 to the furtherance of the views of the American

government. The patriotism of Red Jacket was then thoroughly aroused, and his wisdom and eloquence were both zealously employed to vindicate the rights of the red man against the encroaching influence of the ‘pale faces.’ He was elected a chief among the Senecas soon after this treaty, and his influence was great among the Indian confederacy for upward of forty years, till death prevented him from witnessing the complete success of the policy (which he had resolutely opposed) for the total expatriation of his race by the removal westward of the fragments of the Six Nations yet lingering in Western New-York.

“The hostility of Red Jacket to the treaty of Fort Stanwix was so ingenious and enthusiastic, that it was vividly remembered by Lafayette (though the name of the orator was forgotten) on his last visit to the United States. It is not surprising that the name should have been forgotten, as, at the time of the treaty, Red Jacket was young and nameless among his tribe; his character having then only begun to develop itself, though he had not been backward among the warriors, whose hostilities in the revolutionary war provoked the summary vengeance inflicted on their confederacy by the expedition of General Sullivan. When at Buffalo on his tour through the Union, Lafayette was reminded by Red Jacket of the treaty of Fort Stanwix. “The occurrences are fresh in my memory,” said the veteran general; “and what became of the young warrior who then so eloquently opposed the burying of the tomahawk, and who so zealously resisted the cession of lands to the whites?” “HE IS NOW BEFORE YOU!” said Red Jacket.

“An anecdote characteristic of Red Jacket has been mentioned to us by an old settler. At the conference for the formation of the treaty, Colonel Pickering commenced making memoranda, as Red Jacket was speaking. The Indian orator, while depicting the wrongs which the red men had suffered from the encroachments of the whites, paused suddenly, addressed himself with energetic dignity to Colonel Pickering, and exclaimed—‘Look up from the table, brother, and fix your eyes upon my eyes— *that you may see that what Saguaha says is the truth, and no lie!* ’

Of the “White Woman,” whose tomb lies side by side with that of Red Jacket, a biographical memoir was drawn up in 1823, by Mr. J. E. Seaver of Genessee, assisted by Mr. D. W. Barrister and others, who were enabled to obtain from her lips the record of many facts, which would otherwise have passed into obscurity or oblivion by her death. The work was entitled, “A Narrative of the Life of Mary Jameson, who was taken by the Indians in the year 1755, when only about twelve years of age, and has continued to reside among them to the present time; containing an account of the murder of her father and his family; her troubles with her sons, who were killed in feuds among themselves or with others; barbarities of the Indians, in the French and revolutionary war; the life of Hiokatoo, her last husband, (a Seneca chief, who died at the age of 103,) his exploits against the Cherokees, Catateas, and other southern Indians; and many historical facts never before published, carefully taken down from her own words, November 29, 1823.”

Among the atrocities perpetrated by the Indians during the revolutionary war, the conduct of an Englishman, named Ebenezer Allen, often called the Indian Allen, surpassed that of any of his red allies. The White Woman, in her narrative, says of him, “While prowling with his Indian allies in the Susquehannah Valley, he surprised the inmates of a dwelling, by bursting suddenly upon them in their beds. The father, springing up to defend his family, was killed by one blow of Allen's tomahawk. The head of the murdered man was thrown at his feeble wife, from whose arms the infant was torn, and 30 dashed to death before his eyes! It has been said,” continues the White Woman, “though I will not relate it for a certainty, that after perpetrating these murders, he opened the fire, and buried the quivering corpse of the infant beneath the embers:” and she adds, “I have often heard him speak of the transactions of that family, as the foulest crimes he had ever committed.”

This Allen was one of the English tories who opposed the American revolution, and fought with the Indians against the colonists. He seems, as his biographer justly remarks, to have united “the lasciviousness of the Turk, with the blood-thirstiness of a savage, and his whole career appears to have been made up of lust, rapine, and cruelty; adulteries and

murders were his daily food;—he married wives, and then put them to death; stole virgins, and then cast them off; took captives for concubines, and then drowned them, as well as their former husbands, with a degree of barbarity that was perfectly demoniacal. He died on the river De French, at the town of Delaware, in 1814, leaving two white widows, an Indian squaw, and several children to survive him.

The accuracy of this narrative of the White Woman, is corroborated by the history of General Sullivan's expedition against the Indians of the Six Nations, published in 1824 by Mr. Salmon, who died during the last year, 1837. This expedition of General Sullivan was undertaken in 1779, when the American Congress recommended, and General Washington adopted, the most rigorous measures to avenge the atrocities perpetrated by the Indians, “whose deeds were inscribed with the scalping-knife 31 and the tomahawk, in characters of blood, on the fields of Wyoming and Cherry Valley, and on the banks of the Mohawk.

Of these cruelties, stimulated and often perpetrated by the English tories, leading the Indians, and acting with them, the following is only one of many specimens. It occurred in the attack of the British Rangers, under Colonel Butler, and is given in Salmon's narrative, and corroborated by several other authorities.

“A party of Indians, then in the British employ, had entered a house, and killed and scalped a mother and a large family of children. This was at a spot on the west side of the Genessee river, where a small town called Leicester now stands. The Indians had just completed their work of death, when some Royalists belonging to their party came up, and discovered an infant still alive in the cradle. An Indian warrior, noted for his barbarity, approached the cradle with his uplifted hatchet. The babe looked up in his face and smiled; the feelings of nature triumphed over the ferocity of the savage; the hatchet fell from his hand, and he was in the act of stooping down to take the infant in his arms, when one of the royalists, cursing the Indian for his humanity, took it up on the point of his

bayonet, and, holding it up, struggling in the agonies of death, exclaimed, “This, too, is a rebel!”

Such are the atrocities of war; and such the extinction of all humanity even in the breasts of the loyal, the chivalrous, and the devout, the upholders of the divine right of kings, and the defenders of church and state, as the great bulwarks of Christianity.

32

Some remarkable exposures of the agency of Great Britain, in producing these atrocities, have been brought to light from time to time; and two of them are sufficiently remarkable to be quoted here. The first was a communication made by the great Indian rival of Red Jacket, a chief also of the Seneca tribe, named Corn-planter, who was always as friendly to the whites as Red Jacket was hostile to them; and whose testimony is unexceptionable on this point. So recently as 1822, when residing on the banks of the Alleghany river, where he had a tract of land on which he dwelt, he makes the following disclosure to the legislature of Pennsylvania, then in session at Harrisburg, He says,

“I will tell you now, brothers, who are in session in the legislature of Pennsylvania, that the Great Spirit has made known to me that I have been very wicked, and the cause thereof was the revolutionary war in America. The cause of the Indians having been led into sin at that time was, that many of them were in the practice of drinking and getting intoxicated. Great Britain requested us to join in the conflict against the Americans, and promised the Indians *money and liquor.* I myself was opposed to joining in the conflict, as I had nothing to do with the difficulty that existed between the two parties.”

The other authority is that of the White Woman, whose narrative was taken down from her own lips in 1823, without concert with Corn-planter, who was then at a distance, and had for years lived estranged from the tribe, in consequence of his being opposed to the policy of Red Jacket, and thought to be too favourable to the whites. Their statement, therefore, 33 independent as it is of the other, and going much more into detail, must be regarded

as strikingly corroborative of the truth of Corn-planter's averment; and though it places the conduct of the British, in a most detestable light, it is right that the nation itself, and the world, should know to what atrocities colonial misgovernment may lead. The White Woman says,

“After the conclusion of the French war, [or, rather, after the termination of the difficulties consequent on the connexion of the Senecas with the conspiracy of Pontiac], our tribe had nothing to trouble them till the commencement of the revolution. For twelve or thirteen years the implements of war were not known, nor the war-whoop heard, save on days of festivity; when the achievements of former times were commemorated in a kind of mimic warfare, in which the chiefs and warriors displayed their prowess, and illustrated their former adroitness, by laying the ambuscade, surprising their enemies, and performing many accurate manœuvres with the tomahawk and scalping-knife; thereby preserving and handing down to their children the theory of Indian warfare. During that period they also pertinaciously observed the religious rites of their progenitors, by attending, with the most scrupulous exactness and a great degree of enthusiasm, to the sacrifices at different times, to appease the anger of the evil deity, or to excite the commisseration and friendship of the great good Spirit, whom they adored with reverence as the author, governor, supporter, and disposer of every good thing of which they participated.

“They also practised in various athletic games, such as running, wrestling, leaping, and playing ball, with a view that their bodies might be more supple, or rather, that they might not become enervated, and that they might be enabled to make a proper selection of chiefs for the councils of the nation and leaders for war. No people can live more happy than the Indians did in times of peace, before the introduction of spirituous liquors among them. Their lives were a continual round of pleasures. Their wants were few, and easily satisfied; and their cares were only for to-day; the VOL. III. D 34 bounds of their calculations for future comforts scarcely extending to the incalculable uncertainties of to-morrow. If ever peace dwelt with men, it was in former times, in the recesses from war, among those who are now termed barbarians. The moral character of the Indians

was (if I may be allowed the expression) uncontaminated. Their fidelity was perfect, and became proverbial; they were strictly honest; they despised deception and falsehood; and chastity was held in high veneration—a violation of it was considered sacrilege. They were temperate in their desires, moderate in their passions, and candid and honourable in the expression of their sentiments on every subject of importance.

“Thus, at peace among themselves and with the neighbouring whites, though there were none at that time very near, our Indians lived quietly and peaceably at home till a little before the breaking out of the revolutionary war, when they were sent for, together with the chiefs and members of the Six Nations generally, by the people of the States, to go to German Flats, and there hold a general council, in order that the people of the States might ascertain, in good season, whom they should esteem and treat as enemies and whom as friends, in the great war which was then upon the point of breaking out between them and the king of England.

“Our Indians obeyed the call, and the council was holden, at which the pipe of peace was smoked, and a treaty made, in which the Six Nations solemnly agreed that, that if a war should eventually break out, they would not take up arms on either side; but that they would observe a strict neutrality. With that the people of the States were satisfied, as they did not ask their assistance, and did not wish it. The Indians returned to their homes, well pleased that they could live on neutral ground, surrounded with the din of war without being engaged in it.

“The treaty here referred to was made by General Schuyler with the Indian council assembled at German Flats on the 14th of June, 1776, pursuant to an act of Congress of the 6th May, providing ‘that treaties should be held with the Indians in the different departments as soon as practicable,’ &c.

“About a year passed off,” says the White Woman, “and we, as usual for some years before, were enjoying ourselves in the employments 35 of peaceable times, when a

messenger arrived from the British commissioners, requesting all the Indians of our tribe to attend a general council which was soon to be held at Oswego. The council convened; and being opened, the British commissioners informed the chiefs that the object of calling a council of the Six Nations was to engage their assistance in subduing the rebels, the people of the States, who had risen up against the good king their master, and were about to rob him of a great part of his possessions and wealth. The commissioners added, that they would amply reward the Indians for all their services.

“The chiefs then rose, and informed the commissioners of the nature and extent of the treaty which they had entered into with the people of the States the year before, and that they should not violate it by taking up the hatchet against them. The commissioners continued their entreaties without success till they addressed their avarice and appetites. They told our people that the people of the States were few in number, and easily subdued; and that, on account of their disobedience to the king, they justly merited all the punishment that it was possible for white men and Indians to inflict upon them. They added, that the king was rich and powerful, both in money and subjects; that *his rum was as plenty as the water in Lake Ontario;* that his men were as numerous as the sands upon the lake shore; and that the Indians, if they would assist in the war and persevere in their friendship to the king till it was closed, should never want for money or goods. Upon this the chiefs concluded a treaty with the British commissioners, in which they agreed to take up arms against the rebels, and continue in the service of His Majesty till they were subdued, in consideration of certain conditions, which were stipulated in the treaty, to be performed by the British government and its agents.

“As soon as the treaty was finished, the commissioners made a present to each Indian of a suit of clothes, a brass kettle, a gun, a tomahawk, a scalping-knife, a quantity of powder and lead, and a piece of gold; promising likewise a bounty on every scalp that should be brought in. Thus richly clad and equipped, they returned home, after an absence of about two weeks, full of the fire of war, and anxious to encounter their enemies.” D 2

36

This introduction of rum and whisky among the Indians, a curse which they owe entirely to the whites, has been a more powerful agent in their demoralization and destruction than any other that has ever been brought to act on them. In their semi-civilized state, the propensity to drink, which pervades all classes among the Indians, makes them indolent, stupid, and treacherous, and renders them an easy prey to any designer who will only apply this mode of destruction. Among the Western tribes, remote from civilization, it produces the same effects, and so aggravates all the symptoms of the most fearful diseases, that every year sees thousands of their numbers swept away to a premature grave by the cholera, the black sickness, or the small-pox, in all attacks of which, spirituous liquors are freely drank as the preventive, and this serving only to aggravate all the symptoms, hundreds breathe their last with the rum-bottle in their hands! At all councils, it is still freely distributed, either before or pending the negotiations. When treaties are signed, presents for rum are passed from one party to the other; and for weeks afterwards drunkenness and dissoluteness are seen in the most aggravated forms among the Indians. The two following paragraphs, taken from the Rochester Democrat, of August 27, are strikingly illustrative of the ravages committed among all classes by this destructive poison.

Rail-road Accident. —While the train of cars on the Lockport and Niagara Falls' Rail-road was going west on Saturday last, the train ran over an Indian squaw who was lying drunk across the track, in the Tuscorora Reservation. Both legs were severed from her body, and she died soon after.

37

“ Distressing Rail-road Accident. —As this morning's train of cars from Stonington was approaching the village of Greenwich, Rhode Island, a deaf-and-dumb man chanced to be crossing the rail-road at the very moment the cars rushed by. Of course neither the bell attached to the engine, nor the shrill sound of the steam-whistle, both of which had given their timely warning when the train was nearing the cross-roads, could notify him of his

danger. Walking deliberately up to the locomotive, a blow from the projecting part of the frame-work felled him to the ground, and so severely injured the poor creature by breaking his arm and dreadfully fracturing his skull, that when the cars left him with his friends, it was evident he could survive but a few moments. We learn that not the slightest blame can be attached to the engineer on the road. A *whisky bottle* , which was found shivered to atoms in the pocket of the dying mute, accounts for the stupefaction under which his other senses—generally so acute and vigilant in persons deprived of their hearing—must have been labouring, to have allowed him thus to walk into destruction itself."

There are two classes of human beings—"the poor untutored Indian," and "the helpless deaf and dumb," for whom our sympathies are so often appealed to, and who are so largely entitled to our protection, literally murdered, and sent to a premature grave by this licensed and authorized traffic in a poison; the only excuse for the sale of which is, that it enables the maker and vender to grow rich on the sufferings, diseases and deaths of their fellow-creatures. When will the legislatures of civilized countries see that humanity, religion, and sound policy all concur to recommend the instant extinction of such a baleful and blighting traffic as this?*

* See some beautiful lines on this subject, by Mrs. Sigourney, the American poetess, in the Appendix, No. I.

After our return from the settlement of the Seneca 38 Indians, we remained some days longer in Buffalo, and, as the weather, though warm, was deliciously fresh and agreeable to the feelings, owing to the daily breeze from the Lake, we enjoyed our excursions and perambulations in and around the town and its vicinity. In the winter, we were told, the weather is extremely cold, the entire surface of the Lake being frozen over, the Erie canal shut up, and the thermometer frequently below zero. This necessarily leads to a general suspension of business, as the transport of goods is impracticable; and this is the season in which the time of the inhabitants is divided between church-going, which is more frequent than in the summer, evening visits, sleighing parties, and religious revivals.

These things stand in singular juxtaposition; but we heard from the lips of a clergyman of the city, some time resident here, and thoroughly conversant with the state of society, the statement, that, to use his own language, “there was a great deal of mechanism employed in the getting-up of religious revivals, for which the winter was found to be most favourable in the cities, because of the leisure, and consequent disposition to excitement.” The permanent good produced by these revivals thus “got up,” is a question that would admit of great difference of opinion.

The Catholics, who are continually increasing their numbers from the large body of German, Swiss, and Irish emigrants, that every year flock to this quarter in search of employment, make equal exertions with the Protestants to keep alive the flame of religious zeal, though they take different means to accomplish their object. Great alarm seems to prevail among 39 the Protestant sects in general, as to the progress making by the Catholics in the west, and it is undoubted that large and costly churches are springing up in every city, the funds of which are believed to be transmitted from Europe, as there are no visible sources of income for such undertakings here.

At Buffalo, a new Catholic church is building outside and over the old one; which is left standing in the middle of the new edifice, so that the congregation may continue their worship there until the exterior church is finished, all but the pavement, when it will be taken down, and all its materials removed. It is thought, from the plans and drawings, that this new Catholic church will far outstrip, in size and splendour, all the Protestant edifices of Buffalo; and this external display, no doubt, has very powerful attractions for the uneducated multitude.

The Episcopalian Protestants who follow the doctrines and ritual of the Church of England, are, on the whole, the most strongly opposed to the progress of the Catholics, and are making corresponding efforts to counteract their influence. One of their measures is to divide the State of New York into an eastern and western diocese, and thus to have two bishops intead of one. For this purpose a convention of the Episcopal church is now

holding at Utica, at which the present bishop of the diocese, Dr. Onderdonk, presides; and of the clerical members sent to this convention by the respective churches, all seem disposed to favour this division of the diocese into two—the creation of a second bishop, and the augmentation of the clerical body. When it is considered that the area of the state is nearly as great as 40 that of England and Wales united, and that the bishop is expected to visit every part of it personally in the course of the year, it must be admitted that it is more than one man could adequately superintend.

The public press of Buffalo numbers four daily newspapers—the Journal, the Patriot, the Star, and the Buffalonian. The first two are whig or conservative in their politics, the third is democratic, and the fourth, which is a penny paper, is neutral. They are conducted with average talent, but with all the one-sidedness of partisanship, which is so characteristic of American newspapers generally. The smaller paper, like most of its class, deals much more in personalities and private gossip than the larger ones, and is much less political. It is curious that this should be the case with nearly all the cheap papers I have seen in America; and this fact has made me less anxious than I once was, to see cheap newspapers multiplied in England. There are bad productions enough, it is true, among the expensive journals; but the smaller penny papers here are certainly worse, more personal, more disposed to invade the sanctity of private life, and less scrupulous than the dearer ones at bringing matters wholly of a private nature before the gaze of the public eye.

This must arise, to a certain extent, from the depraved taste of the community: for unless such topics were acceptable to a very large class, such papers could not command the extensive circulation they enjoy; and without an extensive circulation no papers at so cheap a price could sustain their existence. The remedy for this evil is undoubtedly a better education 41 for the humbler classes, not merely to embrace solid and useful knowledge, but to include a refinement of taste and purity of manners; in that case, the newspapers printed for their use would of necessity come up to their standard of intelligence and taste, for without this they could not be made acceptable to their readers.

Among the discussions that have recently relieved the political strife of the newspapers in this quarter, one has been on the rise of the water in the Upper Lakes—Michigan, Huron, and Erie—and on the causes of this phenomenon. Of the fact there seems no doubt, at least all parties to the controversy admit that of late years there has been a sensible increase in the waters of these Lakes, and a consequent elevation of their surface, though the statements are not sufficiently accurate to speak with confidence as to the exact extent. Among the various theories advanced by different writers to account for this increase, the following has the greatest novelty in it, and receives general credit here.

“ Rise of Water in the Lakes. —A new idea on this subject has been broached by a writer in the Rochester Democrat, founded on the discoveries of Dr. Sherwood in magnetism. According to the theory of Dr. S. (says the writer,) the water in the lakes will continue to rise so long as the magnetic pole is in their neighbourhood, and which traverses around the north pole, in the arctic circle, from east to west, making one revolution in 666 years, consequently it moves at the rate of 32 minutes 26 seconds annually, which in this latitude is about 24 geographic miles. The magnetic pole is now just north of Hudson's bay, and the magnetic meridian passes through the county of Erie, and crosses Lake Erie somewhat obliquely from south to north, about 70 miles west of this city. It will require about five years to reach Detroit, twelve to reach 42 Lake Michigan, and fifteen to reach the western limit of Lake Superior, during the whole of which period the water in the lakes will probably continue to rise. At this time the magnetic pole and meridian will have completed about half their journey over the western hemisphere, or one quarter of their revolution; after this they approximate to the Mississippi, and then the Rocky Mountains, when it is probable that the accumulating waters, snow, and rain, that obey their influence and follow their track, will find a different outlet and vent to the ocean, viz. by the Mississippi, Oregon, &c. instead of the St. Lawrence, after which the waters of the lake will begin to decrease.”

After a stay of about ten days in Buffalo, we prepared to leave it for Rochester; but on the morning of our departure, we were visited by two old acquaintances of mine, now residing in the neighbourhood of Buffalo; one, a gentleman whom I had known in England as teacher at one of the most popular academies in the neighbourhood of London—and the other, Captain Truscott, of the navy, who for many years commanded the India ship, General Palmer, from London to Madras. These were pleasant rencontres at so distant a spot from home, and seemed equally agreeable to us all.

We found it most convenient, as our party consisted of four, to take an “exclusive extra,” as a private hired carriage is called, to convey ourselves and all our baggage, which gave us the entire command of our own time in setting out and arriving; and as these “extras” are always of the full size of stage-coaches, with seats for nine inside, we rode at great ease. Yet, though we had this roomy vehicle, and four good horses, which, with the driver, was changed every eight or ten miles, the expense was less than a postchaise would have cost in England. Our distance 43 from Buffalo to Batavia was forty miles, for which we paid eighteen dollars, or 3l. 12s. sterling, with no fees to coachman, ostler, or turnpikes, all being covered by the sum named; and the persons and baggage together being more than two post-chaises would have been willing to take in England, each one of which, at eighteenpence a mile posting, and sixpence for postboys, ostlers, and turnpikes, would have made 4l. sterling. We had, moreover, the additional comfort of never changing the coach throughout the whole distance, and driving four horses all the way. The roads were for the greater part, tolerably good; but one piece of genuine corduroy road, about a mile in length, composed wholly of logs, or trees with the bark on, laid horizontally across the road, and the interstices loosely filled up with earth, shook us terribly, and gave us some idea of the misery of travelling, for any length of time, on such a rough and jolting way. We performed the distance of forty miles in six hours; but the regular stage-coach, which set out about the same time, being heavily laden with nine inside passengers, and their full complement of baggage, was nine hours in performing the same journey.

We passed between Buffalo and Batavia, three pleasant and flourishing little villages, at distances of eight or ten miles apart, namely Williamsville, Ransom's Grove, and Pembroke, in each of which was a good inn, and a population of from 500 to 1,000 inhabitants each. The country was in many places only just cleared of its wood, the stumps of the felled trees still remaining in the ground, and in the centre of the cleared patches, rude log-huts were raised for the 44 accommodation of the first settlers. The carts and other vehicles that we met on the way, were all much longer and narrower than those used in England, and the fore and hind wheels much more distant from each other. In almost all, two horses were driven abreast, and many had four horses in two pairs, but few being driven by a single line or team. The use of the buffalo skin, with its thick shaggy brown fur, as the covering for the seat occupied by the riders, was universal, and contributed very much to give the whole scene a wild Indian air, when seen in association with dense masses of thick and impenetrable forests, small patches of recently cleared land, log-huts, and stumps of trees on fire, with their trunks lying along, and still encumbering the ground.

At Batavia we found an extremely pretty town, with an arsenal and powder magazine at its entrance, and a number of handsome villas surrounded by gardens in the neighbourhood. Here, as every where else throughout the inland towns of America, the streets are of ample width, never less than 100 feet and often 150—with excellent side-walks shaded by rows of full-foliaged trees. Several good hotels are found at Batavia—the one at which we dined, being as clean, airy, and well furnished as any we had seen in the road; and the spacious piazza or balcony running in front of the house, adding comfort to beauty. The signs of the hotels and inns are not so varied as in England or France; the greater number are designated chiefly by the names of the persons keeping them. The signs are rarely affixed to the houses, or embellished with any pictorial representation. They are mostly circular or oval 45 pieces of wood, placed on a high and strong wooden pillar, at some distance in front of the house, like a large target, visible from a considerable distance on the road, uniting great simplicity, strength, and distinctness.

At Batavia—which, from its appearance may be regarded as a very prosperous town, and contains at present about 6,000 inhabitants—we took the railroad to Rochester, the distance being 32 miles, the time occupied two hours, and the fare one dollar and a quarter, or five shillings sterling each.

We reached Rochester about eight o'clock in the evening on Saturday the 25th of August; and at the place of the rail-road cars stopping, the crowd of persons attending on behalf of the hotels, canal packets, stages, and rail-roads was immense; at least fifty voices were heard at the same time vociferating, “Eagle Tavern,” “Rochester House,” “splendid rooms,” “excellent table,” “persons and baggage conveyed free of charge,” and similar temptations. The competition is intense, and each hotel sends its own coach for passengers, and cart and porters for baggage, though sometimes in the confusion the passenger is taken to one house and his trunks to another, when he is sure to displease one party at least. We were speedily transferred to the Eagle, where we found comfortable quarters and obliging attendants; and here, therefore, we took up our abode.

CHAP. III.

First settlement of Rochester—Contest with wild bears—Purchase of Indian land—Death and character of the original founder—Last pagan sacrifice of the Indians—Striking resemblance to the scape-goat of the Jews—First Christian church—Incorporation as a city—Education, Sunday schools—Temperance societies—Plan of Rochester—Streets and buildings—Staple trade, wheat and flour—Extent of water-power—Genessee, or the Pleasant Valley—Poetical beauty of Indian names—Falls of the Genessee—West and Catlin—Fatal leap from the Falls by an American—Great flood—Carpet manufactory, paper mills, pianos —Edge-tools, iron-works, and machinery—Cabinet making, Cooperage —Impolicy and effect of the British corn-laws—Recent introduction of silk—Soil and productions of the Genessee Valley—Institutions of religion, benevolence, and literature —Comparison with towns of the same size in Britain—Erie Canal—Difficulties attending this work—Prospective views of General Washington—Opinions of Governeur Morris—

Ceremony of opening the canal at Rochester—Love of display in public celebrations in America—Extent of inland navigation.

We remained in Rochester for ten days, comfortably accommodated at the Eagle hotel; and my Course of Lectures on Egypt having been very numerously attended in the Bethel Free Church, in which they were delivered, I was soon brought in communication with the principal residents of the city, and our stay was rendered agreeable by their personal kindness and attention. Among these individuals were several of the first settlers in the city, its first mayor, Mr. 47 Child; and its best historian, Mr. Henry O'Reilly, the present postmaster of Rochester, who has produced, from the most authentic sources, chiefly living witnesses, an excellent volume, published in the present year, 1838, entitled “Settlement in the West, or Sketches of Rochester, with Incidental Notices of the State of New York.”

In the various excursions which we made in the vicinity of the city, as well as in the examination of all that was curious or interesting within the city itself, I was greatly assisted by the courtesy and experience of the individuals named; and from the oral information thus obtained, the documentary evidence in the production named above, and my own personal observation, I was enabled to prepare the following account of the history and statistics of Rochester, as well as a description of its present appearance and condition, under circumstances the most favourable that could be desired, for ensuring fulness and fidelity combined.

The spot where Rochester now stands was, in 1808, a completely uncleared and untrodden forest; and in its neighbonrhood were two small settlements called Pittsford and Perrinton, each containing only a few pioneer families, who had penetrated thus far, and literally cut their way through the wilderness. The river Genessee, at the point on which the present bridge of Rochester is built, appearing to these settlers to offer a favourable spot for the erection of a bridge; the nearest bridge then across the stream being at Avon, a distance of twenty miles to the south—the settlers in these two hamlets

joined in petitioning the State legislature of New 48 York, then sitting at Albany, for an act to authorize its construction. This measure was, however, strongly opposed by several members of the legislature, one of whom used the following language, as descriptive of the spot:—“It is,” said he, “a God-forsaken place, inhabited by musk-rats, visited only by straggling trappers, through which neither man nor beast could gallop, without fear of starvation, or fever and ague;” and although the act was ultimately passed, it continued to be reprobated by many as an extravagant waste of the public money, to erect a bridge in such an “outlandish and unfrequented spot.”

In 1812, there were two wooden-frame buildings only on the spot, each consisting of a single room, the one occupied by Mr. Isaac Stone, and the other by his relative, Mr. Enos Stone, one of which is still existing, in its original state, in the heart of the present 49 town. At this period, but a small patch of land was cleared around each of these humble dwellings; and a few acres of Indian corn, planted among the stumps of the recently felled trees, was all the crop they could yet command. This was, however, so exposed to the depredations of the wild bears, that the utmost vigilance on the part of the planters was necessary, to save their corn; and a furious contest took place between Enos Stone and one of the largest she-bears that had ever been seen in this part of the country, which, after innumerable difficulties of burning out and smoking from tree to tree, he at length succeeded in shooting; and her shaggy skin was for a long while preserved as the trophy of his victory.

The first allotment of land for building a village was made in 1812, on the tract which was purchased by Phelps and Gorham for a “timber yard” to supply the saw-mill they proposed to erect on the river here; and for this purpose they persuaded the Indians to assign them a territory of 24 miles long, by 12 broad along the banks of the Genessee, from this spot to the Lake Ontario! This “mill-yard,” as it was also called, had passed from the original purchasers into the possession of Sir William Pulteney, an English baronet, from whom it was purchased in 1802 at 17 dls. 50 cts. or about 3l. 10s. per acre for the fee simple, by three individuals, Nathaniel Rochester, Charles H. Carroll, and William Fitzhugh. These

were the founders of the hamlet of Rochester; and the first of these purchasers, after whom the place was named, lived to see it grow into a large and flourishing city, as his death occurred only seven years ago, on the 17th of May 1831, when, such was the veneration VOL. III. E 50 and respect entertained for his character, and such the regret felt for his loss, that all the public bodies of Rochester united in demonstrations of esteem and sorrow. The courts of law suspended their sittings to attend his funeral; the city corporation followed their example; and the clergy, the army, and the citizens at large, all attended his remains to the grave: and his biographer closes the affecting narrative of his death, at the venerable age of eighty, by saying, “The good old man has gone from among us! Long will his survivors cherish the remembrance of the venerable form, the silvered locks, and easy dignity, of the patriarch. Long may we cherish the example of his simplicity, integrity, disinterestedness, and faith! Filial affection may build for him the marble tomb, public gratitude may grave the recorded eulogy—but they are not needed. He has erected his own monument, splendid and enduring: it is sculptured by his own hand, and we have only to reply to him who asks us in what shrine it is set up, in the simple and majestic epitaph of England's proudest temple, (the inscription over the tomb of Sir Christopher Wren in his own noble edifice, the Cathedral of St. Paul's in London) ‘ Si Quæeris Monumentum—circumspice. ’”

In 1813, the native Indians of the Seneca tribe were still encamped here, and in that year some of their pagan ceremonies were performed for the last time; though similar ceremonies continue to be observed by them in the neighbourhood of Buffalo to the present day. The Indians of this tribe have five feasts annually, at which they return thanks to Nauwanew, or the Great Spirit, for his blessings, and pray him to spare his wrath. At these festivals 51 also the chiefs hold their councils, and urge on the people the duty of so conducting themselves as to ensure the favour of the Great Spirit in peace and in war. Their first festival is after planting, and the others at successive periods of ripening, gathering, and the close of the year. The following is the narrative of one of these pagan

festivals, given in detail in Mr. O'Reilly's interesting work already referred to. Speaking of the Indian festival which occurs at the close of the year, he says:

“The latter ceremonial was performed for the last time in Rochester in January, 1818. The concluding rites were seen by some of the few persons then settled in ‘these parts.’ From Mr. Edwin Scranton, now a merchant of the city, who was among the spectators, we have had an account of the ceremonial, as far as he beheld it, which corresponds with the accounts given by the Rev. Mr. Kirkland, long a missionary among the Six Nations, and by the ‘White Woman,’ that remarkable associate of the Senecas.

“The latter personage related, that when the Indians returned from hunting, ten or twenty of their number were appointed to superintend the great ‘sacrifice and thanksgiving.’ Preparations were made at the council-house, or other place of meeting, for the accommodation of the tribe during the ceremonial. Nine days was the period; and two white dogs, the number and kind of animals formerly required for the festival; though in these latter days of reform and retrenchment, (for the prevailing spirit had reached even the wigwams and the altars of the Senecas,) the time has been curtailed to seven or five days, and a single dog was made the scapegoat to bear away the sins of the tribe! Two dogs, as nearly white as could be procured, were usually selected from those belonging to the tribe, and were carefully killed at the door of the council-house by means of strangulation; for a wound on the animal, or an effusion of blood, would spoil the victim for the sacrificial purpose. The dogs were then fantastically painted with various colours, decorated with feathers, and suspended about twenty feet high at the council-house, or near the centre of the camp. E 2

52

“The ceremonial is then commenced, and the five, seven, or nine days of its continuance are marked by feasting and dancing, as well as by sacrifice and consultation. Two select bands, one of men and another of women, ornamented with trinkets and feathers, and each person furnished with an ear of corn in the right hand, dance in a circle around the

council-fire which is kindled for the occasion, and regulate their steps by rude music. Hence they proceed to every wigwam in the camp; and, in like manner, dance in a circle around each fire.

“Afterward, on another day, several men clothe themselves in the skins of wild beasts, cover their faces with hideous masks, and their hands with the shell of the tortoise, and in this garb they go among the wigwams, making horrid noises, taking the fuel from the fire, and scattering the embers and ashes about the floor, for the purpose of driving away evil spirits. The persons performing these operations are supposed not only to drive off the evil spirit, but to concentrate within themselves all the sins of their tribe. These sins are afterward all transfused into one of their own number, who, by some magical dexterity or sleight-of-hand, works off from himself into the dogs the concentrated wickedness of the tribe!

“The scape-goat dogs are then placed on a pile of wood, to which fire is applied, while the surrounding crowd throw tobacco or other incense upon the flame, the scent of which is deemed to cooperate with the sacrifice of the animals in conciliating the favour of Nauwanew, or the Great Spirit. When the dogs are partly consumed, one is taken off, and put into a large kettle with vegetables of various kinds, and all around devour the contents of the ‘reeking caldron.’ After this, the Indians perform the dances of war and peace, and smoke the calumet: then, free from wickedness, they repair to their respective places of abode, prepared for the events of the new year.”

Whether this will remind the reader of the Jewish ceremony of placing all the sins of the people on the head of the scape-goat, and leading him away into the wilderness, as described in the Old Testament, (Leviticus, chap. xvi. 20 to 22.) I know not; but after the many striking resemblances shown in a previous 53 chapter between the Indians and the early Jews, this impression struck me very forcibly. On the same spot, however, on which these pagan rites were performed in 1813—there are now not less than 28 Christian

churches, and 20,000 Christian worshippers in 1838. Such is the contrast produced in the short space of 25 years!

It was in 1815 that the first Christian church was formed in Rochester; and its whole body consisted of 16 members, who had to be drawn together from places many miles apart, while there was no other Christian congregation for worship at that time within 400 square miles of this spot.

From this period, a gradual increase in the number of settlers took place at Rochester; and these being principally men from New England, brought with them not only the hardy enterprise and industrious habits for which they have always been famed, but, what was still more valuable, those principles of morality and religion which constitute the most striking features of the New England character. Under their auspices Rochester gradually rose from a hamlet to a village, and soon expanded from a village into a city. In 1818 its population was 331. In 1820 it was 1,500. In 1825 it reached to 4,274. In 1830, the State census gave 10,836. In 1835, it was nearly 15,000; and at present, in the middle of 1838, it numbers more than 20,000.

It was not until 1834 that Rochester became a chartered city; and its first mayor was Mr. Jonathan Child, a gentleman still residing here, and universally esteemed by his fellow-citizens. The following short extract from his inaugural address, is perhaps 54 without a parallel as to the fact it records, of the first hewers of the forest sitting at the council-board of a city reared on the same spot.

“The rapid progress which our place has made, from a wilderness to an incorporated city,” said the mayor, “authorizes each of our citizens proudly to reflect upon the agency he has had in bringing about this great and interesting change. Rochester, we all know, has had little aid in its permanent improvement from foreign capital. It has been settled and built, for the most part, by mechanics and merchants, whose capital was economy, industry, and perseverance. It is their labour and skill which has converted a wilderness

into a city; and to them surely this must be a day of pride and joy. They have founded and reared a city before they have passed the meridian of life. In other countries and times, the city of Rochester would have been the result of the labour and accumulation of successive generations; but the men who felled the forest that grew on the spot where we are assembled, are sitting at the council-board of our city. Well then may we indulge an honest pride as we look back upon our history; and let the review elevate our hopes and animate our exertions. Together we have struggled through the hardships of an infant settlement, and the embarrassments of straitened circumstances; and together let us rejoice and be happy in the glorious reward that has crowned our labours."

In the following year, 1835, General Gould was chosen as the successor of Mr. Child; and at the close of his mayoralty, a statement was made, which reflects the highest honour on the character of the city and its inhabitants. After referring to the great improvement and general prosperity of Rochester, the mayor said:

"Our city has also been remarkably distinguished for peace and good order, and happily delivered from the fire that devours the property, and from the pestilence that destroys the lives, of our citizens. During the period of my office, nearly two years, I wish it to be remembered as a most extraordinary, and to me most gratifying fact, that, with a population averaging 16,000, I have never 55 been called upon to interfere, nor has there ever been occasion to do so, for the suppression of riot, mob, tumult, or even an ordinary case of assault. This fact speaks a most gratifying eulogy for our civil and religious institutions, and for the intelligence and morality of the community in which we live."

This fact is, perhaps, the most satisfactory answer that can be given to those who demand to know whether it is not the democracy of the American institutions which leads to all the mobs and riots that occur in the United States? On the contrary, it is chiefly in the aristocratic States of the South and West, where the white race hold the black in slavery, that mobs and riots most frequently occur. Even when they happen in the North and East, they are chiefly stimulated by the discussion of the great question of slavery or freedom,

when those opposed to abolition, and not those in favour of it, take the lead in such riots, with a view to put down all freedom of discussion, and chain the tongues of the whites, as well as manacle the limbs of the blacks. It is therefore the aristocratic, and not the democratic party, that originate most of these outrages, as in the case of the abolition riots of New York and Boston, and the still more recent burning down of the Pennsylvania Hall at Philadelphia. Here, at Rochester, where no riot of this description has ever yet been known, the general equality of condition among the inhabitants, and the prevailing state of opinion, is as democratic as can well be imagined, and far more so than in either of the places named; yet this democracy leads to no disturbance of the public order, because no one class arrogates to itself the right to suppress by force the freest expression of 56 opinion by any other class, the attempt to do which, in the other parts of the Union, is the cause of nearly all the riots, burnings, murders, and assassinations that occur: so that the perfect compatibility of good order and democratic principles, is here triumphantly established.

Other striking benefits, which are the result of the democratic principles and practices that prevail here, where all men have a voice in the management of public affairs, and where the will of the majority, legitimately expressed, forms the acts of legislation, and superintends the due execution of the law, deserve to be enumerated. Among them are these—First, the universal encouragement of education, there being, in addition to several excellent seminaries for the children of the more wealthy, no less than 2,554 children who regularly attend the Sunday-schools of the different congregations, superintended by 508 Sunday-school teachers. Secondly, the absence of all theatres, circuses, and similar places of dissipated entertainment, which have never yet, though often attempted, been able to take root here. And, thirdly, the great progress of the temperance reformation, some details of which deserve to be given, as interesting to the friends of humanity in general.

“The first public resolutions ever adopted on the principle of *total abstinence* were passed by the Ontario Presbytery in August, 1827—but not without opposition, or without some

claiming the liberty to ‘treat their friends politely.’ In October of that year, 5,000 copies of Kittredge's First Temperance Address were printed at Canandaigua, about 1,000 copies of which were distributed in and around Rochester. This was followed by a reprint of two editions, of 10,000 copies each, in the spring of 1828 in Rochester, the expense of which was defrayed by a few individuals; and these were sent 57 in every direction, by mail, to governors, legislators, magistrates, and public institutions, and to distinguished persons in all parts of the land. These efforts are supposed to have been among the very earliest and most powerful causes in waking up the attention of this nation to the horrid evils of intemperance.

“The first public temperance meeting in Rochester was held, and a society formed, on the 21st of July, 1828. From this time the cause rapidly progressed, till public sentiment became strongly turned against that practice which makes beasts of men, and taxes their fellow-citizens for their support—seeing that our prisons and poor-houses are chiefly tenanted through the agency of grog-shops.

“It might also be noticed as an incident worthy of record, that Dr. Joseph Penney, for eleven years pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in Rochester, when called by ill health and family affairs to Europe, was the first to proclaim the true temperance principle in Ireland; and through his instrumentality the first efforts of a public nature were then commenced in that kingdom.”

The inhabitants of Rochester, in consequence of the light thus obtained, are now almost unanimously of opinion that legislative measures should be taken, to restrain the traffic in ardent spirits; and petitions have been numerously signed, praying the legislature of the State of New York to follow the noble example set by the State legislatures of Tennessee and Massachusetts, to prohibit the sale of spirits in small quantities, and thus to put an end to grog-shops, and places for the retail of the destructive and demoralizing poison, entirely. May their benevolent efforts be crowned with success!

The plan of Rochester is not so regular as its recent origin, and admirable situation, would have led one to expect. It is seated along the banks of the Genessee river, which runs nearly from south to north in a slightly winding line through the town, 58 being crossed by several bridges, and by a fine stone aqueduct on arches, conveying, above and across the river, the great trunk of the Erie Canal. The greatest length of the city from north to south is about three miles, and its greatest breadth from east to west about two miles. The streets are spacious in breadth, varying from 60 to 80 feet, well-paved in the centre, and at the sides; and several good public squares are enclosed. The hotels, stores, dwellings, offices, and other buildings, have a more solid and substantial air than in most of the new towns; being built of stone and brick more frequently than of wood. The churches are in general handsome structures, and the whole aspect of the place is that of one in which all that has been done is well done. It will thus form an excellent nucleus for the accumulation around it of the materials of a great future city.

59

The staple business of Rochester is the corn and flour trade; all the surrounding country being productive of the best wheat grown in the United States; and the water-power furnished by the falls of the Genessee river, being capable of turning as many mills as can be erected on its banks. This water-power, at the city of Rochester alone, was estimated in 1825 to be about 20,000 cubic feet per minute, or equal to 2,000 steam-engines of 20 horse-power each, and of the annual value of ten millions of dollars. But when these calculations were made, the village of Rochester did not contain within its limits more than half the amount of water-fall which is now comprised within the more extended boundary of the city. Accordingly, on this account alone, the force and value of the water-power has been doubled. Add to this fact, that by a more skilful direction of this power, it is made in some of the higher falls to be used over and over again, to the extent, in some cases, of four times in one descent; and it may be fairly assumed, that the annual value of the water-power, capable of being brought into operation for the working of mills in the city of Rochester alone, is equal to a hundred millions of dollars; there being a series of descents,

making in the whole 200 feet of fall within the city-limits, while beyond those limits, along the whole valley of the Genessee, it is incalculable.

“This name, as expressive as is the generality of Indian designations, is indicative of the characteristics of the country through which the river flows. The word Genessee signifies Pleasant Valley. Few rivers of equal extent have scenery more picturesque—there are none with banks more fertile. From its rise in Pennsylvania, 60 till it mingles its waters with Lake Ontario near the city of Rochester, the shores of the Genessee present a succession of beauties, such as in other lands would attract crowds of admiring travellers.*

* Perhaps no more striking instance can be given of the beauty of Indian names, than that of a small bay on Lake Ontario, just at the mouth of the Genessee river, at the distance of a few miles only from Rochester. It is called *Te-o-ron-to*, which literally means, “The place where the waves breathe and expire,” as they are first born within a few feet of the beach, and then, after breathing in two or three curling elevations, they break upon the beach and die!

“The source is not less remarkable than the course of the Genessee. The table-land in which it originates is about 1700 feet above the Atlantic level, and furnishes, within a space of six miles sqaure, streams which flow towards the ocean in opposite directions —through the St. Lawrence, the Chesapeake Bay, and the Gulf of Mexico. The bold and romantic features of its shores are strikingly exemplified in a brief portion of its course through Alleghany county in the State of New York. Within a couple of miles the river is precipitated upward of three hundred feet. This great descent embraces three perpendicular pitches—the Falls of Nunda; presenting much of the sublime and beautiful—the ravine worn through the rock by the river, (leaving perpendicular banks of from two to four hundred feet high) being scarcely less wonderful than the cataracts of the stream.

“Descending from the high lands of Alleghany, and emerging from between rocky banks of great height, the Genessee courses through a region of opposite character—a region

unsurpassed in fertility, and replete with charms rivalling those with which poetry has invested the flowery meadows of Old England. Rarely does the eye rest upon a lovelier scene than the valley of this stream presents from the villages of Genessee or Mount Morris, which are built on declivities on either side of the flats. Here are the beauties of nature most harmoniously blended with the elements of agricultural wealth. At this portion of the Valley of the Genessee the prospect is bounded by the swelling uplands on either side and the Alleghany hills in the southern distance. Had the Indians, who first gave this name to the valley, beheld the flocks and herds that 61 now enliven its landscape, and the busy towns with spires overlooking it from the neighbouring hills, the boats transporting its super-abundant wealth down its winding stream, and the scenes of intellectual and moral felicity, to which it contributes in the homes of its present enlightened occupants—and had they been able to appreciate all this, they would have contrived the longest superlative which their language could furnish, to give it a name."

The beautiful scenery of this valley and its Falls has tempted many artists to transmit to the canvas some of its more striking features. A son of the celebrated Benjamin West, named Raphael, came out from London to visit the land of his father, and though he did not remain long in the country, his London wife being home-sick, and longing for the dingy atmosphere of Newman Street, which she preferred to the splendid forests and bright skies of America—yet he carried home with him some beautiful views of the scenery of this valley. Mr. 62 Catlin, too, a brother of the celebrated artist, who spent so many years among the Indians of the West, and who has formed so interesting a collection of their portraits, dresses, arms, &c. visited the Falls of the Genessee for the purpose of making drawings of it; but venturing into a precipitous and difficult part of the rocks, to get a more picturesque view, he was unfortunately drowned in the stream.

The Falls are, undoubtedly, very beautiful—both the middle and the lower. The first of these is nearly in the town, and the other about two miles to the north of it, while the upper Falls are about forty miles south of Rochester, but these we did not see. The height of the middle Falls is 96 feet perpendicular, and of the lower Falls 25 to the first leap, and 88

below it; the river being, at both, about a quarter of a mile across. It was from the first of these that the well-known Sam Patch made his fatal leap, and perished the victim of his own folly. It is remarkable, however, that a fall from this great height is not always fatal, as the following incident, cut out of a Rochester paper during our stay there, will testify:—

“ Sam Patch outdone. —On Tuesday last, about two miles below the steam-boat landing on the Genessee river, a horse, attached to a cart loaded with wood, was precipitated from the bank, cart and all, to the water's edge below, a distance of 75 feet, nearly perpendicular; when, after adjusting himself, he commenced browsing upon the shrubbery, without having received the least apparent injury.”

The great defect under which both these Falls labour at present is, the want of that fulness of 63 volume which gives so much grandeur to Niagara. Here, at Rochester, the vast quantity of water drawn off in different directions, for the use of the various mills, has so diminished the depth of the stream, that it falls over the perpendicular precipice of rock like a thin gauze veil; and a contrary wind, if blowing strongly, is sufficient to force it inward against the rock, in a counter-curve to that of the bold projecting flow of Niagara's outward bend. To see these Falls under a full supply of water, would be second only to Niagara, I think, for grandeur and beauty; and that such occasions now and then happen, may be assumed, from the following statement as to the floods to which this river is occasionally subject:—

“The greatest flood ever known in the Genessee river occurred in the Fall of 1835. Nothing equal to it has happened within the knowledge of the earliest settlers in Rochester and its vicinity. Although it was unprecedented, it may find frequent parallels; for as the country becomes better cleared, the water (from the rain, or thawing snow,) will more suddenly find its way to the river than could be the case from wild land. The influence exercised on the character of many streams, by the improvement of the country, is a subject worthy of attention. The greatness of the flood of 1835 maybe inferred from the fact, that the quantity of water which then passed, was estimated at two millions one hundred and sixty-four

thousand cubic feet per minute! Imagination may picture better than pen can describe, the foaming and roaring of such a mighty flood, rushing over rapids and falls, forming at Rochester a descent about 100 feet higher than the perpendicular pitch of Niagara."

In addition to the extensive trade carried on in wheat and flour, there are many other branches of industry in a highly flourishing condition at Rochester. Among these, the carpet manufacture ranks high. Scotch weavers and dyers have been carefully 64 sought out, and brought here to conduct this manufacture; and, already, carpets, quite equal in quality and pattern to those of Kidderminster, are made here, and supplied to the surrounding cities. Woollen manufactories produce good cloths, in general use here for clothing. Fire engines and rifles are made in great perfection. There are several tanneries, and morocco-leather-dressing establishments. Paper-making is carried on extensively. There is an excellent pianoforte manufactory; and the demand for this instrument may be judged of from the fact, that there was one in every parlour of the American hotel, at Buffalo, and some in the best bed-rooms, to the extent of from 20 to 30 instruments in one house; while there is scarcely a family in the towns of America where a piano is not to be seen among their furniture.

The manufacture of edge-tools is going on so rapidly, and attaining such excellence here, that they will soon need no supply from Birmingham or Sheffield. Iron furnaces, and other works of iron machinery, are nearly as well executed as in England. Cabinet-making, boat-building, and cooperage are all better done here than at home; and in the few arts in which they are still behind us, ten or twenty years will make them our equals, and even a still shorter time, unless the legislators of England repeal the corn-laws, by which, if not soon taken off, England will be left behind in the race of manufactures by Germany, Switzerland, and America—and what is then to be the fate of her national debt and unemployed population, it is fearful to anticipate!

Another branch of production and of industry will soon be introduced into this part of America, as it 65 has been recently discovered, that the valley of the Genessee is

particularly adapted to the growth of silk, and while the wild mulberry is found on the upper river and many of its branches, the various kinds of foreign mulberry trees, such as the Chinese, the Broussa, and the Italian, three of the most favourable for the silkworm, stand the comparatively mild climate of this valley without injury. Already active measures are in operation for the culture of silk in New Jersey, and the State of New York will soon follow it in this branch of production.

The soil of this valley, and of the surrounding country generally, is in the highest degree fertile. The base of it is calcareous, and in this the oak-trees take root; aluminous earth is found in portions, and there the elm, the beech, and the maple abound, and in other parts, where the soil is rich loam, siliceous, or sandy, the pine, the hemlock, and the birch prevail. Of the adaptation of those parts of the soil already cleared, to the growth of wheat, and of its consequent fertility and productiveness, the following facts are sufficient evidence:

“In 1835, Messrs. P. and G. Mills reaped from 27 acres on the Genessee Flats near Mount Morris, 1270 bushels of wheat, or 47 bushels to the acre. In 1834 the same gentlemen reaped from 80 acres, 3,200 bushels of wheat, being 40 bushels to the acre. The most beautiful field of corn we ever saw was in the summer of 1833, on the farm of W. C. Dwight, Esq., on the flats, a few miles above Genessee. There were 170 acres lying in one body, and from it he harvested 12,800 bushels of shelled corn. In 1834 the same gentleman had 20 acres of wheat, which averaged 48 bushels per acre, and two acres of the best of which produced 52 bushels per acre. The elevated country on the east and west of the river is scarcely inferior in the growth of wheat; the greatest amount VOL. III. F 66 we believe on record as the well-authenticated product of a single acre, having been raised by Mr. Jirah Blackmore, of Wheatland, being 64 bushels per acre.”

I have already mentioned the number of Christian churches in Rochester as 28. They are thus occupied: of the Presbyterians there are 8; of the Episcopalians, 3; of Baptists, 2; of Methodists, 2; Orthodox Friends, 1; Hicksites, 1; Reformed Presbyterians, 1; Evangelical

1; Lutheran, 1; Roman Catholic, 2; Free-will Baptist, 1; Universalist 1; Free Bethel Church, 1; Free Congregational Church, 1; African Church, 2. In addition to these establishments for the promotion of religious worship, there are several kindred associations, of which the following deserve mention:

The Monroe County Bible Society, Sabbath School Union, Tract Society, Missionary Society, Home and Foreign Education Society, Charity Infant School, Female Charitable Society, Orphan Asylum, Mechanic's Literary Association, Apprentice's Library, Young Men's Literary Association, the Rochester Athenæum, Phi-Beta-Gamma Society for the promotion of oratory and debating, Academy of Sacred Music, Mechanic's Musical Association, Temperance Societies, and Anti-Slavery Society. There is also a society for effecting the abolition of imprisonment for debt, and another for securing a general law for banking in opposition to the special legislation, which gave monopolies to particular corporations. These two important objects have been recently accomplished by law, and mainly in consequence of the labours of the two societies named.

Considering, therefore, that, thirty years ago, the 67 spot on which Rochester stood was a forest; and that it now numbers among its institutions so many for the promotion of religion, charity, education, oratory, music, benevolence, and equitable legislation, it may challenge comparison with any city in the world for moral excellence, mental improvement, and social order.

If English towns of the same amount of population are examined for comparison with the Rochester of America, the following may be named. In England, Carlisle, Ipswich, Chester, Wigan, Yarmouth, and Southampton;—in Scotland, Greenock and Perth;—and in Ireland, Londonderry, Drogheda and Clonmel, approach nearest in size to it. But in none of these will there be found more of commercial industry, more of general competency, nor so many institutions for the promotion of knowledge, morals, and religion; while in the sobriety of its population, and in the absence of theatres, taverns, and dram-shops, it far surpasses

them all; and in twenty years hence, it bids fair to possess double its present wealth and population.

One of the most powerful agents in producing this prosperity in Rochester, next to the fertile lands by which it is surrounded, and the water-power which its river affords, has been the Erie Canal, which passing immediately through the town, and over the river, by a noble aqueduct, makes Rochester the great emporium of the inland trade between the Atlantic and the Lakes. It is distant only ten miles from Lake Ontario, into which its own river empties, and by which it commands an easy intercourse with both the Canadas; while its canal leads on to Lake F 2 68 Erie, a distance of ninety-five miles, by which it connects itself with the navigation of all the Upper Lakes, and the vast extent of country to which these command access. Some notices, therefore, of the rise and progress of this great work, and of the difficulties which it had to overcome, will be appropriate here.

It is more than a century ago since the importance and facility of extending the water communications of this State were perceived and appreciated by the surveyor-general of the country, then a British colony. Dr. Colden, who held that office, in a Map published by him about a hundred years since, accompanying his History of the Five Indian Nations, then having their territory and hunting grounds within what now constitutes the State of New York, showed that the waters of the Hudson and the St. Lawrence very nearly approached each other, by Lake George and Lake Champlain. He showed also that from the Atlantic to Lake Erie, there was almost a continued chain of smaller lakes, such as the Oneida, Seneca, Cayuga, Otsego, Skaneateles, Canandaigua, Onandaga, Otisco, Oasko, Conesus, Hemlock, Honeoye, Chataque, Canaideraga, and the Canasoraga, which with the rivers Mohawk, Susquehanna, Genessee, and other smaller streams, intersected the surface of the country in every direction, while the absence of any lofty chain of hills throughout the whole of the tract, made the union of such streams and lakes by canal more easy than in less level regions.

In 1726, Governor Burnett erected a fort and trading-house where Oswego now stands, as a connecting link between the Hudson and Ontario: and 69 in 1768, Governor Moore pressed on the attention of the Colonial legislature the importance of improving the communication between the Mohawk and Ontario by means of a canal, referring, as an example, to the great canal of Languedoc in France, which connected the Atlantic with the Mediterranean; but it was not until the revolution that the subject was fully understood, when Washington was himself the first to press it on public attention, as will be seen by the following statement of his accomplished biographer, Judge Marshall.

“To a person looking beyond the present moment, and taking the future into view, it is only necessary to glance over the map of the United States to be impressed with the incalculable importance of connecting the Western with the Eastern territory, by facilitating the means of intercourse between them. To this subject the attention of Gen. Washington had been in some measure directed in the early part of his life. While the American States were yet British Colonies, he had obtained the passage of a bill, empowering those individuals who would engage in the work, to open the Potomac so as to render it navigable from the tide to Wills's Creek. The James River had also been comprehended in his plan; and he had triumphed so far over the opposition produced by local interests and prejudices, that the business was in a train which promised success, when the revolutionary war diverted the attention of its patrons, and of all America, from internal improvements, to the great objects of liberty and independence. As that war approached its termination, subjects which for a time had yielded their pretensions to consideration, reclaimed that place to which their real magnitude entitled them; and the internal navigation again attracted the attention of the wise and thinking part of society.

“Accustomed to contemplate America as his country, and to consider with solicitude the interests of the whole, Washington now took a more enlarged view of the advantages to be derived from opening both the eastern and western waters; and for this, as well as for other purposes, after peace had been proclaimed, he traversed 70 the western

parts of New England and New York. ‘I have lately,’ said he, in a letter to the Marquis of Chastelleux, a foreigner who was in pursuit of literary as well as of military fame, ‘I have lately made a tour through the Lakes George and Champlain, as far as Crown Point; then returning to Schenectady, I proceeded up the Mohawk River to Fort Schuyler [or Stanwix], crossed over to Wood Creek, which empties into the Oneida Lake, and affords the water-communication with Ontario. I then traversed the country to the head of the eastern banks of the Susquehannah, and viewed the Lake Otsego and the portage between that lake and the Mohawk river at Canajoharie. Prompted by these actual observations, I could not help taking a more contemplative and extensive view of the vast inland navigation of these United States, and could not but be struck with the immense diffusion and importance of it, and with the goodness of that Providence who has dealt his favours with so profuse a hand. Would to God that we may have wisdom to improve them! I shall not rest contented until I have explored the Western country, and traversed those lines (or great part of them) which have given bounds to a new empire.’

“After returning from a journey westward as far as Pittsburgh, in the same year, Washington immediately appealed to the Virginians to embark in an enterprise for improving the water-courses, so as to connect the East and West as intimately as possible —a matter which he deemed not more important in a commercial view than in a political aspect, seeing that the Spaniards then swayed the regions beyond the Mississippi, and controlled the outlet of that river. The navigable waters west of the Ohio towards the great lakes were also to be traced to their sources, and those which empty into the lakes to be followed to their mouths. ‘Nature had made such an ample display of her bounties in those regions,’ he said, ‘that, the more the country was explored, the more it would rise in estimation.’

“The influence of Washington was strenuously exerted to arouse Maryland to co-operate with Virginia in improving the navigation of the Potomac. He predicted the exertions which would doubtless be made by New York and Pennsylvania for securing the monopoly of the Western trade, and the difficulty which would be found by Virginia in diverting it from

the channel it had once taken. ‘I am not for discouraging the exertions of any State to draw the 71 commerce of the western country to its seaports,’ said the illustrious patriot. ‘The more communications we open to it, the closer we bind THAT RISING WORLD (for indeed it may be so called) to our interests, and the greater strength shall we acquire by it. Those to whom nature affords the best communications will, if they are wise, enjoy the greatest share of the trade. All I would be understood to mean, therefore, is, that the gifts of Providence may not be neglected.’ After enforcing the political necessity for improving the intercourse between the west and east, so as to prevent the flow of trade from the western states to the mouth of the Mississippi, then held by the Spaniards, or through the St. Lawrence, controlled at its outlet by the British, he said, ‘If then the trade of that country should flow through the Mississippi or the St. Lawrence—if the inhabitants thereof should form commercial connexions, which we know lead to intercourses of other kinds, they would in a few years be as unconnected with us as are those of South America. It may be asked, How are we to prevent this? Happily for us, the way is plain. Our immediate interests, as well as remote political advantages, point to it; while a combination of circumstances render the present time more favourable than any other to accomplish it. Extend the inland navigation of the eastern waters—connect them as near as possible with those which run westward—open these to the Ohio—open also such as extend from the Ohio towards Lake Erie, and we shall not only draw the produce of the Western settlers, but the peltry and fur trade of the lakes also, to our ports—thus adding an immense increase to our exports, and binding those people to us by a chain which can never be broken.”

Just before the revolution in 1772, a Mr. Christopher Colles, a native of Ireland, had given public lectures in Philadelphia, on the subject of canal navigation, and the carrying water to higher or lower levels by means of locks; and about the same period he proposed supplying the City of New York with good water by means of an aqueduct, and connecting the Hudson and the Ontario by means of canals. But though he was a man of excellent character, a 72 skilful mechanic, and a good mathematician, his plans, like those of Fulton

for steam-navigation, were treated with ridicule and contempt, and he was called a “wild and visionary projector,” the usual epithet applied by the ignorant and vulgar of England and France at the present day to all whose genius or enterprise are merely in advance of the common standard of minds to which these objectors belong.

Colles persevered, however, in his endeavours to enlist the legislature in his views, and ultimately obtained their sanction to his plans; but he appears to have died, worn out probably by the vexatious opposition which he had so long encountered, before his views could be carried into execution. From this time onward, however, the subject grew in public estimation, and the minds of the most intelligent and influential men of the republic were occupied in advocating the improvement of internal communication, and devising means for effecting it; and among the various notices of their opinions and their labours, the following are worthy of record.

“Gouverneur Morris was among the earliest of those whose minds grasped, with zealous energy, the magnificent subject of internal improvements. The extraordinary adaptation of the country for canals between the Hudson and the western lakes, with the political and commercial advantages to be derived from extensive inland water-communication, were early and enthusiastically proclaimed by that gifted man. While on a tour to Niagara Falls in 1800, his language to a European correspondent indicated that he comprehended well the vast navigable capacities of the country, even though he had then no conception of a communication like the Erie Canal. ‘Hundreds of large ships will, in no distant period, bound on the billows of these inland seas,’ was the language of Mr. Morris to his 73 correspondent. ‘Shall I lead your astonishment up to the verge of incredulity? I will. Know, then, that one tenth part of the expense borne by Britain in the last campaign, would enable ships to sail from London through the Hudson River into Lake Erie. As yet, we only crawl along the outer shell of our country. The interior excels the part we inhabit, in soil, in climate, in everything. The proudest empire of Europe is but a bauble compared to what America may be—must be.’”

The first intention appeared to have been, to go by Lake George and Lake Champlain into the St. Lawrence, or by Oswego into Lake Ontario, then to have a canal from Ontario round the Falls of Niagara, where the Welland Canal now is; but this idea was subsequently abandoned for the more advantageous line of a canal from Lake Erie to the Mohawk, from whence it was thought the river navigation could be continued to the Hudson. The length of this proposed canal was to be 200 miles, its breadth 100 feet, its depth 10 feet, and its estimated cost five millions of dollars, or about a million sterling. This was the plan of Mr. Hawley, of whom the following notice is given.

“It appears as if the Author of Nature, in forming Lake Erie, with its large head of water, into a reservoir, and the limestone ridge into an inclined plane,’ said Mr. Hawley, ‘had in prospect a large canal to connect the Atlantic and continental seas, to be completed at some period by the ingenuity and industry of man.’ With reference to the recommendations of President Jefferson (in a message in 1807) concerning roads and canals, Mr. Hawley continued—‘Next to the utility of a National Institute is the improvement of the navigation of our fresh waters, and connecting the waters of Lake Erie and those of the Mohawk and Hudson by means of a canal. As this project is probably not more than twelve months old in human conception, none but imperfect data can be furnished at present. The navigation of the four largest 74 lakes in the world, with all their tributary streams, and the products of all the surrounding country, would pass through this canal; and even the fifth (Ontario) would become its tributary—and in twenty, years the principal and interest of the expenditure would be redeemed.’ Then, glancing at the inevitable results of such a system successfully prosecuted, Mr. H. remarked that ‘The City of New York would be left without a competitor in trade, except by that of New Orleans; and within a century its island would be covered with buildings—Albany would be necessitated to cut down her hills and fill her valleys, to give spread to her population—the harbour of Buffalo would exchange her forest for a thicket of marine spars—and Utica, if made the point of junction [of the proposed canal and the Mohawk River], would become a distinguished inland town.’ Rochester was not then in existence.”

Ultimately the canal was completed from Albany to Buffalo, a distance of 363 miles, of much greater length than originally contemplated, but of less dimensions in breadth and depth, being 40 feet instead of 100, and 4 feet instead of 10; but that the first intended size was the best, is proved by the fact that it is now found necessary to increase the breadth of the canal to 70 feet and its depth to 7, to give the necessary accommodation to the constantly increasing traffic of which it is the channel.

When the canal was completed, its opening was marked by a public celebration of great magnificence, of which a very interesting account was published in a quarto volume, embellished with many engravings, at the expense of the corporation of New York, in which city I read it soon after my landing. The scene that occurred at Rochester on the boats passing through there, is so characteristic of the fondness of the Americans for dramatic effect and display on such public occasions as these, that it is worth transcribing. 75 It is from the pen of Colonel Stone, who was charged by the corporation with the duty of drawing up the narrative of the celebration, which is given as follows.

“At Rochester, a rich and beautiful town, which, disdaining, as it were, the intermediate grade of a village, has sprung from a hamlet to the full-grown size, wealth, and importance of a city, the interesting period was celebrated in a manner equally creditable to the country and the occasion. There was considerable rain at Rochester on the day of the celebration; yet such was the enthusiasm of the people, that at two o'clock eight handsome uniform companies were in arms, and an immense concourse of people had assembled. The companies were formed in line upon the canal, and on the approach of the procession of boats from the West commenced firing a feu de joie, which was continued until they arrived at the Aqueduct, where the boat called the ‘Young Lion of the West,’ was stationed to ‘protect the entrance.’ The Pioneer boat was hailed from the Young Lion, and the following dialogue ensued:

“Question. Who comes here?

“Answer. Your brothers from the West, on the waters of the great Lakes.

“Q. By what means have they been diverted so far from their natural course?

“A. By the channel of the Grand Erie Canal.

“Q. By whose authority, and by whom was a work of such magnitude accomplished?

“A. By the authority and by the enterprise of the patriotic people of the State of New York.

“Here the ‘Young Lion’ gave way, and ‘the Brethren from the West’ were permitted to enter Childs' Basin at the end of the aqueduct. The Rochester and Canandaigua committees of congratulation then took their places under an arch surmounted by an eagle, and the ‘Seneca Chief,’ having the committees on board, being moored, General Vincent Matthews and the Hon. John C. Spencer, ascended the deck, and offered to the governor the congratulations of the citizens of their respective villages; to which an animated and cordial reply was given. The gentlemen from the West then disembarked, 76 and a procession was formed, which proceeded to the Presbyterian church, where an appropriate prayer was made by the Rev. Mr. Penney, and an address pronounced by Timothy Childs, Esq. The address of Mr. Childs was an able and eloquent performance, clothed with ‘words that breathe and thoughts that burn.’ It was listened to with almost breathless silence, and greeted at its close with three rounds of animated applause. The celebration was concluded with a grand ball, and a general illumination; and nothing occurred to mar the pleasure of the day.”

After all, however, the love of dramatic effect and display is not peculiar to the Americans; for in the public fêtes given in Paris, in the lord-mayor's processions and dinners in London, in the Masonic ceremonies of laying the foundation of new bridges, and opening railways and other public works in England, just as much of pomp and parade are to be seen; to say nothing of the pageantry of a coronation, which some even of our most

intelligent peers are beginning to perceive, is better adapted to a feudal age, than that in which we live.

In the present instance, at least, there is enough of substantial good, to counterbalance all the shadowy parade of the celebration, as by the opening of this canal, a line of direct navigation has been completed for upwards of 2,600 miles, of which the following are the stages:—

Miles.

New York to Albany by the Hudson river 150

Albany to Buffalo by the Erie canal 363

Buffalo to Cleveland by Lake Erie 200

Cleveland to Portsmouth by canal 309

Portsmouth to Cincinnati by the Ohio river 113

Cincinnati to New Orleans by the Mississippi 1500

2635

77

and when to these constantly frequented routes, are added the new channels to more distant towns upon the upper lakes, to Mackinaw, and along the higher Mississippi to St. Anthony's Falls, as well as on the Missouri, the Arkansas, the Tennessee, and even the Sabine river, which last has lately been navigated by steam up to the very heart of Texas, it may be confidently asserted that not less than 10,000 miles of navigable length has been opened and made accessible from the Atlantic, by means of the Erie Canal, the opening

of which therefore deserved a public celebration, as forming an epoch in the history of the commerce and prosperity of the country

CHAP. IV.

Geological peculiarities of Rochester—Ridge-road, formerly the margin of Lake Ontario —Boulders of primitive rock—Successive order of strata and fossil remains—Singular cavity of pebbles in bituminous shale—Polished rocks of the Falls—Parallel case at the Cataracts of the Nile—Climate of the western portion of this state—Brightness of American skies—Splendour of autumnal sun-sets—Causes assigned for this, the mirrors of the lakes —Public baths—Mineral springs — Public walks — Cemetery—Hackney-coaches — Mails — Increase of post-office revenue—Negro population—Military parades of militia troops —Comparison with the army of England—Canada thistle and locustborer — Fettigonia Septendicem — Newspapers — Agricultural Journal.

The geological peculiarities in the neighbourhood of Rochester will gratify all those who have any knowledge of, or taste for, that deeply interesting study. Among the principal of these may be named an elevation called the Ridge-road, formed of sand and shingle, thrown up from a lake or sea, resembling exactly the formation of a sea- beach; and being believed to be the ancient margin of the Lake Ontario, though now 160 feet above the level of that lake, and distant inland, from its southern edge, several miles. It has been observed, too, that from this Ridge-road, southward, towards Rochester, and all the way to the middle falls of the Genessee, immense masses of fossil shells, and marks of the attrition of 79 water, are found at the same level as the road itself, proving the deposit and action of this element in ages gone by. On the subject of boulders, or large masses of primitive rock, found remote from their original position, as in the Alps and Jura mountains, the following statement is made:—

“Boulders of the primitive rocks lie scattered over this State and far to the west. No layers of rocks like them are found for a great distance. The supposition of their formation in the

places where they lie cannot find any support. They must have been transported from distant regions. Their rounded and worn form shows the attrition of the tumbling waters and rolling sands. How could they have been removed? Though the difficulties of the subject may not be all removed, and the action of a cause operating with more power than we are familiar with may be judged necessary, yet the following considerations may lessen these difficulties in some degree. Currents of water act with great power. The flood of a river has moved along large rocks of some tons weight many rods in a day. Deeper currents would have a greater effect. Ice occasionally transports masses of stone down the streams. Again, the specific gravity of these rocks is little more than twice that of water. Nearly half the weight of rocks would be supported by the upward pressure of fresh water, and more still by that of salt water—giving great advantage to the action of powerful currents. Here is a mighty power, adequate to the production at least of great effects. The power of water and ice, operating on a great scale, would seem to be amply sufficient for the transference of these boulders. A large boulder of granite has been mentioned. Some as large, and one a little larger, are in the east part of Ogden, seven miles west of Rochester. Near the same place is a large boulder of saccharine limestone, the only considerable mass of this rock which has occurred to me. More than one hundred feet up the pinnacle, a little south-east of Rochester, lies a boulder of graywacke of great size, ten and a half feet long, ten feet wide, and three to four feet deep."*

* Reilly's Western New York.

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The classification of rocks and strata, beginning from the level of Lake Ontario, and passing upward through the valley of the Genessee river, is arranged in the following order:—

1. Red sandstone, which extends below the water to an unknown depth, and above the water, about 120 feet. Fucoides and other vegetable remains are found in this sandstone in great abundance, from twelve to twenty-five feet below the upper surface.

2. Mountain limestone, often semi-crystalline, and affording beautiful marble. It contains abundance of encrinites, madrepores, productus, and trilobites.

3. Argillaceous slate, twenty-three feet thick, of a greenish hue; it lies below a stratum of iron ore, and near this are the impressions of shells seen in the stone. Above the iron ore is another layer of the same kind of slate, but of a lighter green; and at a height of thirty-one feet above the ore, are seen two layers of fossil shells, each three or four inches thick, composed almost wholly of small pearls and beautiful terrebratulites.

4. Argillaceous iron ore, about a foot in thickness. This layer is so extensive, that it comes to the surface a few miles west of Utica, 150 miles east of this spot, where it is smelted, and yields about 33 per cent. of iron. Fossil shells, encrinites, and pentacrinites, abound also in this deposite.

5. Ferriferous sand-rock, rising about ten feet above the iron ore; this is a composition of limestone and fine grains of quartz, making it a flinty rather than a sandy limestone, and forming a close-grained and hard stone for building. In some layers of this stone, chalcedony and cornelian have been found 81 in masses; and pyritous copper, carbonate of copper, and native copper, have been found in the rock, by blasting it.

6. Calciferous slate, or second graywacke. This layer abounds with shells, especially pentamerus; and in a blue slaty limestone, just above this, the stratum of which is forty feet thick, are found trilobites, as the asaphus caudatus, with and without tails, like the figures of this species described in Buckland's Geology. Nearer up towards the Falls, bituminous shale presents itself, in a layer of fifty feet thick, with masses of gypsum, subcrystalline, as at the Falls of Niagara, the level of both being nearly the same — that of Niagara being 266 feet, and this of the Genessee being 232 feet above Lake Ontario.

In July of the last year, 1837, while the workmen were splitting this rock for the purposes of building, a large cavity was found, nearly filled with pebbles, to the quantity of about

six quarts, formed of quartz, hornblende, limestone, sandstone, graywacke, and mica slate, with fragments of recent shells. The cavity was entirely covered by the solid rock, so that the pebbles, which, like the cavity itself, bore all the marks of attrition by water, were here collected together before the limestone rock that closed them in was deposited by the water upon them. The pebbles vary in size from an eighth of an inch to two inches in length, and are all smoothly rounded by the long action of water.

Another geological curiosity is found in what are called the polished rocks, the flat surfaces of which give evidence of the action of water, and in some VOL. III. G 82 instances of the friction of other substances over them. The following description of these, from the pen of Professor Davey, will be read with interest:

“The surface of the rocks of Rochester is in many places polished, as if they had been worn and rubbed down by the friction of sand and stones borne over them. The surface of the geodiferous rock, through which the Erie Canal was cut about a quarter of a mile east of the Genessee, was found polished—thence north it has been found polished in several places to a point twenty rods below the Middle Falls. On the west side of the river, near the Bethel Church, the Erie Canal is on polished rock. At the depôt of the Tonawanda (or Rochester and Batavia) railroad, and at three miles west of the city, the railroad was cut through polished stone for eighty to one hundred rods. The same has been found in several intervening places. At the Rapids a large surface polished has been laid bare this year (1837) in excavating the Genessee Valley Canal. In some places the polish has only begun—the hollows are passed over: in most it is very perfect. Lines or furrows are marked on the polished surface from north-east to south-west, as if great stones had been moved on it. On the east side of the river at Rochester, these lines are more nearly east and west. The polish has so manifestly been carried from one elevation to another, or over the hollows, that it removes all doubt of the artificial nature of the work. When it was done, and how it could have been done, are interesting inquiries. That the present earth and soil upon it was removed to its present position, and deposited on the polished surface, is certain. To make an adequate impression of the fineness of the polish on this limestone,

it is only necessary to remark, that it is fine and glossy like the artificial polish of marble. Professor Hall, one of the State geologists, found the polished limestone at the west in Ogden and on Niagara river."

In examining these polished rocks, of which we saw a great number, both at the Falls, and above and below them, I was reminded of the extraordinary degree of polish given to the surface of the granite rocks at the Cataracts of the Nile, and undoubtedly 83 by the same cause, the action of the water, of which the following description is given in my unpublished MS. journal, kept on the Nile, in December, 1814.

"In some of the hollows, worn by the annual friction of whirlpool, when the Nile is at its height, a bed of soil has been deposited, from which has sprung up young trees, plants, and bushes, the isolated verdure of which derives a higher charm from the surrounding contrast, and make them seem like little Edens, encompassed by a wilderness. The very rocks themselves, too, exhibit all the varieties of form and colour possible to be conceived, while their adamantine surfaces, unshattered by the stream, have a *smoothness of polish* which art could never give to them; and by the infinite variety of their positions, they reflect back the rays of an unclouded sun from every point, like a thousand mirrors. If one of these stones only had been met with in any other situation, it would be difficult to persuade oneself that they were not covered with some transparent varnish."

This resemblance between the polished rocks of the Cataracts of the Nile, and the Falls of the Genessee, is very striking, though the smoothness and brilliance of the former is much greater than that of the latter.

We were accompanied in our excursion along the banks of the river, and to the Falls, by Mr. O'Reilly, whose practical acquaintance with all the localities made him a most valuable guide, and whose conversation was a running commentary on his excellent book, to both of which we were largely indebted for the information they conveyed, as well as for the mineralogical and fossil specimens we were enabled to collect. G 2

The climate of this portion of the State of New York is remarkable for being more temperate than the eastern portion bordering on the sea. There are, no doubt, everywhere throughout the continent of America, very hot summers, and extremely cold winters; but the degree of intensity in both is less here, than elsewhere in the same parallel of latitude. President Dwight, of New England, who had bestowed much attention on this subject, entertained an opinion that in this country, and he thought in most others, there was a circuit of seasons, which came in periods of ten or fifteen years: that is, there were ten or fifteen warm summers, and then the same number of cool ones, and ten or fifteen severe winters, and then the same number of mild ones; and the son of the President, whom I had seen at New York, told me that his own experience confirmed the accuracy of his father's supposition. President Dwight considers the cause of the peculiar mildness of temperature, by which the western part of New York is characterized, to be the vicinity of the great Lakes, and on this subject he thus expresses himself.

“It has been extensively agreed by modern philosophers, that the two great causes of a mild temperature are nearness to the shore, and proximity to the level of the ocean. Those countries which border on the ocean are, almost without an exception, warmer than central countries in the same latitude; and those which are little raised above its surface are regularly warmer than such as have a considerable elevation. Mr. Volney, however, with that promptness of decision for which he has long been remarkable, found, as he believed, satisfactory evidence that this opinion is groundless in the climate of the regions bordering on the Lakes Erie and Ontario. This climate he asserts to be milder than that 85 of the shore in the same latitude, where it is scarcely raised above the ocean. Yet the tract which enjoys this mild temperature is elevated, and distant from the sea. The premises here assumed are undoubtedly true, but the consequence does not follow. The lakes have the same influence here which the ocean has elsewhere. The elevation above them is so small, and the distance from them so short, that the full influence of both advantages is completely felt. Among the proofs that this is a true explanation of the subject, it is only

necessary to observe that the south-eastern parts of the county of Genessee, the counties of Steuben, Tioga, Delaware, and Greene, are sensibly colder than those immediately south of Lake Ontario. It ought perhaps to be observed here, that countries on the eastern side of a continent are regularly colder in winter and hotter in summer than those on the western. The reason is obvious. In the temperate zones, at least in the northern, the prevailing winds are from the west. Eastern shores, therefore, have their winds chiefly from the land, and western shores enjoy the softer breezes of the ocean. As the winters are mild in the part under consideration, so are the summers. It is not often the fact that people here are willing to sleep without a blanket."

Our own experience, and the opinions of all whom we consulted here, on this subject, corroborated the accuracy of this view; for both at Buffalo, and at Rochester, the heat of the month of August was 5 or 6 degrees less by the thermometer, than at New York and Albany at the same period of time; while the freshness of the air from the lakes Erie and Ontario, made the difference in the feeling of heat at least 10 degrees less: that is, with the thermometer at 80, in either of these places, persons would feel no more inconvenience from heat than they would at Philadelphia with the thermometer at 70°, and in each of the towns of Buffalo and Rochester, throughout the month of August, we slept under a blanket, and found it comfortable; while in all the sea-board 86 cities, and from New York to Saratoga, during the whole of June and July, we found a single sheet as much as we could bear, with all the windows open, and here, a sheet, blanket, and counterpane, were not found too much. A very characteristic extract of a letter is preserved, from Governeur Morris, to a friend of his in England, who had often urged him to come over and reside in some part of Britain, which the former had always resisted; but at length finding it necessary to support his refusal by adequate reasons, he says to his friend:—

"Compare the uninterrupted warmth and splendour of America, from the first of May to the last of September, and her autumn, truly celestial, with your shivering June, July, and August; sometimes warm, but often wet; your uncertain September, your gloomy October, and detestable November. Compare these things, and then say how a man who prizes the

charms of nature can think of making the exchange. If you were to pass one autumn with us, you would not give it for the best six months to be found in any other country, unless, indeed, you should get tired of fine weather."

It is undoubtedly true that the climate of America, as far as we have yet experienced it, and we have now passed very nearly through an entire year, is much more pleasurable to the sight and feelings than the climate of England. Whether it be as favourable to health and longevity, may be doubted; although there are other circumstances, and particularly that of the diet and mode of life among Americans, which may sufficiently account for their inferior health, without regarding the agency of the climate as in any degree contributing towards it. But the brightness of the American winters, with a brilliant and glowing sun beaming from a cloudless sky, while the surface of the earth is covered with snow, and 87 the gay and lively equipage of sleighs, with the warm buffalo skin and furs of the closely wrapped party, and the jingling bells of the delighted horses, glide along the streets and roads, makes the season far more cheerful than a winter ever is in England.

The spring is shorter, for summer seems to burst at once upon the eye: and when it comes, the full and gorgeous foliage of the woods, and the exuberant luxuriance of the fields, gives an idea of abundance and fertility which is delightful. The autumn, however, is the most delightful season; and the very finest days of an English September or October are inferior, in the richness and glow of their mellow atmosphere, to the weather of these two months in America; while the sunsets of the autumn here, surpass those even of Italy and Greece. On this subject, the following beautiful and accurate description of Mr. Gaylord, a resident of Otisco, in Onondaga county, in this State, is worth transcribing.

"Foreign tourists speak with rapture of the beautiful dyes imprinted by autumn on the foliage of our American forests: our leaves do not fade and fall, all of the same decaying russet hue, but the rich golden yellow of the linden, the bright red of the soft maple, the deep crimson of the sugar maple, the pale yellow of the elm, the brown of the beech, and the dark green of the towering evergreens, are all blended into one splendid picture

of a thousand light shades and shadows. To the observer, our autumnal woodlands are gigantic parterres, the flowers and colours arranged in the happiest manner for softened beauty and delightful effect. And when these myriads of tinted leaves have fallen to the earth; when the squirrel barks from the leafless branches, or rustles among them for the ripened but still clinging brown nuts, the rural wanderer is tempted to throw himself on the beds of leaves accumulated by the wind, and, while he looks through the smoke-tinted atmosphere, half imagines that he is gazing on an ocean of flowers.

88

“But the claims of our American autumn upon our admiration are very far from depending entirely on the rainbow-coloured foliage of our woodlands, unrivalled in beauty though they certainly are; to these must be added the splendours of an autumn sunset, the richness of which, as we are assured, has no parallel in the much-lauded sunsets of the rose-coloured Italian skies. In no part of the United States is this rich garniture of the heavens displayed in so striking a manner as in the valley of the great lakes, and the country immediately east or south-east of them, and this for reasons which will shortly be assigned. The most beautiful of these celestial phenomena begin to appear about the first of September, sometimes rather earlier, and, with some exceptions, last through the months of September and October, unless interrupted by the atmospheric changes consequent on our equinoctial storms, and gradually fade away in November with the Indian summer and the southern declination of the sun. Not every cloudless sunset during this time, even in the most favoured sections, is graced with these splendours; there seems to be a very peculiar state of the atmosphere necessary to exhibit these beautiful reflections, which, however often witnessed, must excite the admiration of all who view them, and are prepared to appreciate their surprising richness.

“On the most favoured evenings, the sky will be without a cloud; the temperature of the air pleasant; not a breeze to ruffle a feather; and a dim transparent haze, tinged of a slight carmine by the sun's light, diffused through the whole atmosphere. At such a time, for some minutes both before and after the sun goes below the horizon, the rich hues of

gold, and crimson, and scarlet, that seem to float upward from the horizon to the zenith, are beyond the power of language to describe. As the sun continues to sink, the streams of brilliance gradually blend and deepen in one mass of golden light, and the splendid reflections remain long after the light of an ordinary sunset would have disappeared. We have said that not every cloudless sunset exhibits this peculiar brilliance: when the air is very clear, the sun goes down in a yellow light, it is true, but it is comparatively pale and limited; and when, as is sometimes the case in our Indian summers, the atmosphere is filled with the smoky vapour arising from a thousand burning prairies in the Far West, he sinks like an immense red ball without a single 89 splendid emanating ray. It is our opinion that the peculiar state of the atmosphere necessary to produce these gorgeous sunsets in perfection, is in some way depending on electrical causes; since it very commonly happens, that after the brilliant reflections of the setting sun have disappeared, the auroral lights make their appearance in the north; and usually, the more vivid the reflection, the more beautiful and distinct the aurora. This fact, the numerous and splendid northern lights of last September succeeding to sunsets of unrivalled beauty, must have rendered apparent to every observer of these atmospheric changes. Connected, however, with this state of the atmosphere, and co-operating with it, is another cause we think not less peculiar and efficient, and which we do not remember ever to have seen noticed in this connexion, and that is, the influence of the great lakes acting as reflecting surfaces.

“Every one is acquainted with the fact, that when rays of light impinge or fall on a reflecting surface, as a common mirror, they slide off, so to speak, in a corresponding angle of elevation or depression, whichever it may be. The great American lakes may, in this respect, be considered as vast mirrors, spread horizontally upon the earth, and reflecting the rays of the sun that fall upon them, according to the optical laws that govern this phenomenon. The higher the sun is above the horizon, the less distance the reflected rays would have to pass through the atmosphere, and, of course, the less would be the effect produced by them; while at and near the time of setting, the rays striking horizontally on the water, the direction of the reflected rays must of course be so also, and therefore

pass over or through the greatest possible amount of atmosphere previous to their final dispersion. It follows, that objects on the earth's surface, if near the reflecting body, require but little elevation to impress their irregularities on the reflecting light; and hence any considerable eminences on the eastern shores of the great lakes would produce the effect of lessening or totally intercepting these rays at the moment the sun was in a position nearly or quite horizontal. The reflecting power of a surface of earth, though far from inconsiderable, is much less than that of water, and may, in part, account not only for the breaks in the line of radiance which exist in the west, but for the fact that the autumnal sunsets of the south 90 are inferior in brilliance to those of the north. The atmosphere of the north is open to the influence of reflected light from the lakes, and we are convinced that most of the resplendent richness of our autumnal sunsets may be traced to this source. The successive flashes of golden and scarlet light, that seem to rise, and blend, and deepen in the west as the sun approaches the horizon and sinks below it, can in no other way be so satisfactorily accounted, for as by the supposition that each lake, one after the other, lends its reflected light to the visible portion of the atmosphere, and thus, as one fades, another flings its mass of radiance across the heavens, and, acting on a medium prepared for its reception, prolongs the splendid phenomena."

I can bear my testimony to the fidelity of this description, and may add, that though the autumnal sunsets of America are everywhere beautiful, I had never yet seen any to compare with those which we had witnessed in Buffalo and Rochester, in the vicinity of the lakes. Neither in the East-Indian or Mediterranean seas, neither in the Arabian or the Persian gulf, where the sunsets are often glowing and beautiful, do I ever remember to have seen such exquisitely golden skies, or such beautifully pencilled rays, streaming from the sun, after it had sunk beneath the horizon, in alternate radii of pink and palest blue, as here; and I should think a month passed in this western region abundantly repaid, by the enjoyment of the autumnal sunsets alone.

Among the useful public accommodations which we observed in Rochester, were public baths, both of mineral springs and pure water, which it is agreeable to see multiplying

in the cities of the United States, as conducive to health, cleanliness, and pleasurable recreation. A large piece of ground, immediately 91 overlooking the principal Falls of the Genessee, and called the Falls Promenade, is about to be laid out as a public walk and garden, and will be a fine ornament to the town. A large piece of ground, on the east of the river, and south of the city, seated on a pleasing eminence, has also been recently devoted to the purpose of a public cemetery, to supersede all the smaller ones; and the intention is to plant it with ornamental shrubs, and lay it out in walks, so as to make it as agreeable as Laurel Hill at Philadelphia, or Mount Auburn at Boston. The public convenience of hackney coaches exists at Rochester, though there are none at Buffalo; and so rapidly are communications increasing from this place to the surrounding cities, that though in 1812, when the first mail was established, it only left the post-office twice in the week, there are now no less than ten different mails despatched in various directions every day; and the post-office receipts, which for the first quarter was only 3 dollars 42 cents, are now 4,000 dollars for the same period of time.

Among the minor peculiarities of Rochester, we remarked that there were fewer people of colour seen in the streets than in any town we had visited. At Buffalo there are very few negroes or mulattoes; but the great numbers of dark-complexioned Indians of the Seneca tribe, constantly seen in the streets, supply the place of the Africans, in giving a mixed appearance to the population. But in Rochester we did not see a single Indian, and certainly not half a dozen Africans, during all our stay there; and the Eagle was the first hotel at which we had ever stopped since our landing in America, in which there 92 were no coloured servants, male or female. There are thought to be some 300 persons of colour in the whole town, but in a population of 20,000 persons, these become so scattered, as hardly to be perceptible in the crowd.

During our stay at Buffalo and at Rochester, it was the period of the year in which the State law requires the calling out and exercise of the militia; so that there were every day parades, marches, and evolutions of that body. To an English eye, accustomed to the perfect discipline of the regular troops of the line, whose daily exercise gives to all their

movements such admirable precision, these reviews of the American militia furnished a very inferior military spectacle, and would, most probably, have been viewed with contempt by some of our martinets at home.

But their imperfections at drill were all counter-balanced in my mind by the consideration, that in this country, where every county and town furnishes its quota to the national militia, there is no large standing army, used for the purpose of overawing the people, and maintained by the labours of those they are called on to guard. In the day of need, however, these voluntarily organized troops have generally done their duty in the face of more veteran soldiers, and have been found able to repel invaders from their shores. But even in point of discipline and appearance, inferior as undoubtedly they are to the royal troops, which are occasionally reviewed at Hyde Park or Wimbledon, they were quite equal, if not superior, to the numerous volunteer regiments of England, which were embodied throughout the 93 kingdom at the period of Buonaparte's threatened invasion of Britain; and in any encounter with the enemy, I have no doubt they would have done their duty equally well, as animal courage is as much an American as it is a British quality. In this they are as nearly equal as children of the same fathers might be expected to be.

Among the destroying causes which are already in operation at Rochester, and throughout the western part of the State of New York, are two that deserve mention. One is the Canada thistle, which passed over from Canada to the United States about twenty years ago, and is now gradually extending itself southward with the regularity of an appointed march. Its seeds are blown from the plants to the soil around and in advance of them, and they now spread over all the northern part of the State, producing greater injury to the soil and cultivation than any cause that has been remembered for some time; and the farmers allege that all their efforts to root them up and prevent their spread, have hitherto proved ineffectual.

The other agent of destruction is an insect, called here, the borer, a small worm, of which a large colony first made themselves known in the eastern part of this State about ten

years ago, by boring holes into the bark and through the wood of the locust tree, leaving on the outside small heaps of the dust, to which they reduce the bark and wood by their perforations. Their progress westward has been so gradual and steady that there has been no one year in which they have not gone farther west than in the preceding. They attacked the locust trees only; but these they so effectually destroyed, that it is believed by many here, that in fifty years hence there will not be a 94 single locust-tree left. So gradual are the depredations of these creatures, that the trees in the east part of Rochester were attacked two years before those in the west; and in every instance where streets running north and south are lined with locust-trees, those on the east side of the street have been first perforated, before the slightest injury was visible in those on the west.

Among the novelties of animated nature which we saw here, were too remarkable zoophytes, one of which was like a leaf rolled up and filled with fluid, all the anatomy of the leaf being beautifully developed, and the creature thus formed appearing to be a worm of about two inches in length and one inch in circumference, with nothing but the outer coating, formed apparently of a vegetable leaf, and an inner mass of moving and animated matter, but without organs of respiration or sight; and, indeed, without even a visible aperture at either extremity. It had a power of slow locomotion, but seemed more nearly allied to the vegetable kingdom in appearance, though evidently belonging to the animal kingdom by its functions. The other was a large insect, which was composed of a long body, and six long legs, each about two inches long, and not thicker than a stalk of ordinary grass. Being all of a bright green, it looked like the stems of some plant or leaf; but on examining it, a perfect and uniform disposition of the parts could be seen; and it had powers of locomotion which it used, though there was no appearance of intestinal organization, or of respiratory or visual organs, as far as we could discover. They were both as new to persons here as to myself, and were the only ones seen.

95

Among the curiosities of animated nature, however, the most remarkable thing that I remember, connected with the natural history of America, is the account given by Mr.

Latrobe of the insect of the *Cicada* tribe, called the *Tettigonia septendicem* , from the fact of its appearing in Pennsylvania and Maryland every seventeenth year, and being wholly unknown in the country except at that period. It was first observed appear in May 1749; seventeen years afterwards it reappeared in May 1766; again in May 1783; again in May 1800; again in May 1817; and lastly in May 1834. It lives but a few days, but during that short period its numbers are so great as to cover all the trees, and fill the air with a low distinct hum, which is compared to “the simmering of an enormous cauldron.” A remarkable part of their history is, that “during the whole period of their existence, the closest attention does not detect their eating anything, and, with the exception of the slight injury received by the trees consequent on the females laying their eggs upon the twigs and leaves, they are perfectly innoxious.”

This laying of their eggs begins to take place within a few days after their first appearance; and when that is done, the object of their existence seems to be terminated; the male and female both become weak, lose their power of utterance, become blind, fall to the ground by myriads, and in ten or fifteen days they all perish. The eggs soon after produce grubs; these find their way down to the mould, and there, perforating a path to the depths of the earth, they entirely disappear for a period of seventeen years. In digging wells and 96 foundations many of them have been found ten or twelve feet under the ground; but when the month of May, in the seventeenth year after their last appearance, returns, though in the interval streets should have been laid out, houses built, and pavements laid upon the soil which covers them, up they come, as if by one common impulse, at their appointed time, “piercing their way through the matted sod, through the hard-trampled clay of the pathways, through the gravel between the joints of the stones and pavements, and into the very cellars of the houses, like their predecessors—to be a marvel in the land, to sing their blithe song of love and enjoyment under the bright sun, and amidst the verdant landscape; like them, to fulfil the brief duties of their species, and close their mysterious existence by death.”

Perhaps the most interesting and valuable collection of facts connected with the natural history, botany, mineralogy, and geology of the State of New York, is to be found in the weekly periodical published here, under the title of “The Genesee Farmer,” which may be called the Agricultural Journal of Northern America, and is one of the best arranged and best conducted publications of the kind that I have ever seen. This is in addition to the two daily newspapers, the Rochester Democrat, which is the Whig organ, and the Daily Advertiser, which is the Democratic organ, each having its weekly and semi-weekly abridgment for country circulation, and each being conducted with all the characteristic features of blind partisanship—seeing every thing good in the measures of one set of men, and 97 everything bad in the measures of another set; and not allowing the existence of any error on their own side, nor any truth on that of their opponents.

The “Genesee Farmer,” however, avoiding all politics, and confining itself to agriculture and the varied branches of knowledge which can illustrate or advance the improvement of the natural productions of the earth, is a work which will be read a century hence with as much interest as now, and would be as acceptable to the student of nature at Paris or London, as in Washington or New York. This excellent publication, with the legislative report on the geology of the State, recently issued, and the sketches of Rochester by Mr. O'Reilly, leave nothing to be desired on the peculiar branches of information on which they treat, and are alike honourable to the parties by whom they were written and compiled, as useful to the community, and creditable to the intelligence and well-directed inquiries of the State.

VOL. III. H

CHAP. V.

Journey from Rochester to Canandaigua—History of the first settling of this tract—Eloquent speech of an Indian chief—Division of the land into townships—Munificent grant for the support of education—Canandaigua academy—Ontario female seminary —Military

lands awarded to soldiers of the revolution—Classical names within this tract—Singular names of Indian chiefs—Northern and southern tribes—Reserved lands and annuities —Remains of ancient Indian forts — Narrative of the “White Woman,” wife of an Indian chief—Diseases among the aborigines—Conduct of the whites to Indians—Climate of Canandaigua — Water-spout on the lake — Democratic convention — Newspapers—Stage-coaches—English and East Indian acquaintances—Sensitiveness of Americans—House and grounds of Mr. Greig — Tablet to Patrick Colquhoun—Removing houses on rollers—Transfer of the court-house—Removal of a Methodist church and steeple.

On the morning of Wednesday, the 5th of September, we left Rochester for Canandaigua, by an extra-coach, and passing over the same road as we had traversed in coming from thence, we performed the journey in about five hours, the distance being twenty-nine miles. The heat was scorching, and the dust excessive, although only a week before there had been torrents of rain, and, on the preceding Monday night, a frost so sharp as to blight and destroy the young corn and buckwheat of the neighbourhood,—so great are the changes even in this the mildest and most equable region of the State.

99

We remained three days at Canandaigua; some of the principal inhabitants of which, hearing that I was going through their town on my way from Niagara to Utica, having urged me to remain there this period, if I could spare no more, to deliver three of my lectures on the countries of the East; and this brought me into the agreeable acquaintance of most of the leading individuals of the place. Through their courtesy and attention, we had an opportunity of visiting the remains of the ancient Indian forts, which still exist here, within a mile of the town, as well as the borders of the lake, and several points of extensive and beautiful landscape views. We visited also the academy for the education of young gentlemen, and the seminary for the education of young ladies; and enjoyed ourselves, during our short stay, amidst the cordial and pressing hospitalities of the resident families, whose chief regret appeared to be, that we could not remain longer among them.

The Indian name, Canandaigua, signifies, in the language of the Senecas, by whom it was bestowed, “the chosen place;” and the first settlers have very wisely retained it, instead of giving it a new appellation, for none more appropriate than the one it bears could possibly be adopted. Nothing can be more beautiful than its situation; and the view of the town, the lake, the forests, and the surrounding country, from every elevated point of view in the vicinity, is really exquisite; so that Canandaigua well deserves the reputation it enjoys of being one of the most beautiful villages in the United States, and, I think I might safely add, in the world.

In our former visit to this place, on our way from H 2 100 Saratoga to Niagara, a general description of the town was given, as well as a history of the first purchase of its territory from the Seneca Indians, by Phelps and Gorham, from Massachusetts. This subject deserves, however, some further elucidation, as a very interesting portion of the history of this territory; the following facts respecting it are taken from the statement furnished to the legislature of the State by the “Holland Company,” who are now the largest proprietors in this region.

It was in 1786 that a treaty was made, by which it was acknowledged, that though the sovereignty and jurisdiction over all the territory from the Hudson river to the western extremity of Lake Ontario, belonged to the State of New York, yet that the pre-emptive right of purchasing the soil from the Indians, as matter of private property, belonged to the State of Massachusetts.

In the year 1787, this State therefore sold to two individuals, Oliver Phelps and Nathaniel Gorham, the whole tract over which their pre-emptive right extended, which included six millions of acres, for one million of dollars, to be paid in three instalments. The pre-emptive right being thus secured, the two purchasers began to make their requisite preparations for exploring and taking possession of their extensive purchase, which had yet to obtain the consent of the Indians residing on the tract itself. Both the exploration, the survey, and the

negotiation were attended with difficulties which give a romantic interest to the narrative, as it is thus recorded in the annals of the day.

101

“In the summer of 1788, Oliver Phelps left Granville, Massachusetts, with men and means adequate to the arduous enterprise. It may seem strange to many of the million who are now revelling in the comforts and prosperity which the last half century has diffused through all Western New-York, that the course of Phelps and his associates should have been then considered so hazardous, that the whole neighbourhood assembled to bid them adieu—a final adieu! as many thought; for it seemed a desperate chance that any of that intrepid band should ever return from their enterprise through a region to which the Indian title had not been extinguished, and which was hardly yet tranquillized from the shocking, atrocities that marked the savage warfare in our revolutionary strife. But the enterprise was in truth of a character which measurably justified such fears in his neighbours, as the reflecting reader may imagine, and as the history of the times will show.

“The wilderness was successfully penetrated as far as Canandaigua, about 130 miles west of the German Flats in Herkimer county, the then sparsely-settled frontier of civilization. In connexion with the Rev. Samuel Kirkland, the well-known missionary among the Six Nations, and a commissioner in behalf of the State of Massachusetts, Mr. Phelps succeeded speedily in collecting the chiefs and warriors of those tribes, whose warlike spirit still rankled with the chastisement inflicted a few years previously by the avenging arms of Sullivan. A conference was held with the Red Men on a beautiful acclivity overlooking Canandaigua Lake—where the romantic scenery, combined with the interesting subject of deliberation, and the warmth with which that subject was discussed by such chiefs as Red Jacket and Farmer's Brother, rendered the whole scene one of thrilling interest.

“The great object of this remarkable council was happily accomplished. The Indian title to more than two millions of acres was extinguished, though not without opposition from Red

Jacket, which threatened defeat to the hopes, if not destruction to the lives, of Phelps and his associates. The critical scene may be appropriately delineated here, in the language of one conversant with the subject, as quoted from an article printed some years ago in the New York American.

“Two days had passed away in negotiation with the Indians for 102 a cession of their lands. The contract was supposed to be nearly completed, when Red Jacket arose. With the grace and dignity of a Roman senator, he drew his blanket around him, and with a piercing eye surveyed the multitude. All was hushed. Nothing interposed to break the silence, save the rustling of the tree-tops under whose shade they were gathered. After a long and solemn, but not unmeaning pause, he commenced his speech in a low voice and sententious style. Rising gradually with his subject, he depicted the primitive simplicity and happiness of his nation, and the wrongs they had sustained from the usurpations of the white man, with such a bold but faithful pencil, that the Indian auditors were soon roused to vengeance or melted into tears.

“The effect was inexpressible. But, ere the emotions of admiration and sympathy had subsided, the white men became alarmed. They were in the heart of an Indian country, surrounded by more than ten times their number, who were inflamed by the remembrance of their injuries, and excited to indignation by the eloquence of a favourite chief. Appalled and terrified, the white men cast a cheerless gaze upon the hordes around them. A nod from the chiefs might be the onset of destruction. At that portentous moment, Farmer's Brother interposed. He replied not to his brother chief; but, with a sagacity truly aboriginal, he caused a cessation of the council, introduced good cheer, commended the eloquence of Red Jacket, and, before the meeting had reassembled, with the aid of other prudent chiefs, he had moderated the fury of his nation to a more salutary review of the question before them.

“The re-assemblage of the council in cooler blood was followed by the satisfactory arrangement of the treaty. The inveterate antipathy of Red Jacket to the white man—a

feeling which characterized his whole life, albeit he faithfully observed treaties when once formed, however much he opposed their formation—was fortunately neutralized on this occasion by Farmer's Brother, the grand sachem, to whose integrity and wisdom, as well as to the same qualities somewhat differently displayed in Red Jacket, strong testimony is borne by those most conversant with the transactions of the Six Nations.

“After the treaty, Mr. Phelps surveyed the land into tracts, denominated *ranges* , running north and south, and subdivided the 103 ranges into tracts of six miles square, denominated townships, and designated each by numbers.

“In 1789, Oliver Phelps opened a land-office in Canandaigua— this was the first land-office in America for the sale of her forestlands to settlers; and the system which he adopted for the survey of his lands by *townships* and *ranges* , became a model for the manner of surveying all the new lands in the United States; and the method of making his retail sales to settlers by *articles* has also been adopted by all the other land-offices of individual proprietorships that have followed after him.

“The *article* was a device, of American origin, unknown in the English system of conveyancing; granting the possession, but not the fee of the land; facilitating the frequent changes among new settlers, enabling them to sell out their improvements, and transfer their possession by assignment, and securing the reversion of the possession to the proprietor where they abandoned the premises. His land-sales were allodial; and the other land-offices following his example, have rendered the Genessee farmers all fee-simple landholders, which has increased the value of the soil and the enterprise of the people.

“Oliver Phelps may be considered the Cecrops of the Genessee country. Its inhabitants owe a mausoleum to his memory, in gratitude for his having pioneered for them the wilderness of this Canaan of the West.”

The grandchildren of Mr. Phelps, as well as of Mr. Gorham, are still settled here, and are possessed of handsome landed estates in the town and neighbourhood. We had

the pleasure of making their acquaintance, and felt from that circumstance an additional interest in all the details of the early history of the place. The portraits of both these founders are preserved in the Court-house, where they are suspended on each side of the portrait of Judge Howell, which occupies the centre; and their names are in universal veneration and respect.

One of many acts that will endear their names to 104 posterity, is that of their having made the munificent grant of 6,000 acres of land, for the purpose of building and endowing a public institution for the education of youth. It is from this grant that the “Academy of Canandaigua” has arisen to its present condition and importance. This building stands in an enclosed space of ground near the main street, and at the entrance of the town from Rochester. It is a substantial brick building, with a frontage of about 150 feet, and three stories in elevation. It contains three large school-rooms, two recitation rooms, and forty-two rooms for students, besides a suite-of private apartments for the principal and his family. There are six professors, in addition to the principal, employed in the tuition of the pupils, three of whom have obtained the degree of A.M. and one Of A.B.

The pupils range from seven years to twenty-one in age, none being admitted before they can read well, so as to enable them to enter at once on their course of English studies. The other departments embrace, geography, history, arithmetic, mathematics, chemistry, mineralogy, moral and intellectual philosophy, and the constitution and laws of the United States. A special department is devoted to the principles of teaching; this Academy having been appointed by the State to be one of the Normal Schools for furnishing teachers to the common schools of the country. The whole cost to a pupil, including board and education in all the departments taught, does not exceed 130 dollars, or 30 *l.* sterling per annum; while to those who live with their parents and have daily tuition only, the cost does not exceed 20 dollars, 105 or 5 *l.* a year. The number of pupils at present is about 150, and everything about the establishment, which I was permitted to inspect with the greatest freedom, appeared to be in the most perfect order.

There is also in Canandaigua, an excellent institution for education, called “The Ontario Female Seminary.” This establishment was commenced by private means, without the aid of any grant such as that made for the male academy; but it receives, every year, a certain sum from the State, the amount of which depends on the number of its pupils studying the higher branches of knowledge, such as mathematics, the classics, and mental philosophy, and on the number of the establishments of education in the State possessing similar claims. The building is handsome, spacious, pleasantly situated, and combines all the advantages of a public institution and a private residence. The management is ably sustained by the two principals, who are highly esteemed for their competency and amiable characters, and they are assisted by nine teachers, in the several departments over which they respectively preside; the whole being under the superintendence of a body of nine trustees.

The course of study pursued at this Seminary resembles that of the female academy at Albany, and embraces all the branches of learning usually taught at our best public schools. The present number of the pupils is 180; and it speaks highly for the reputation of the establishment, that these are from all parts of the United States, from Maine and New Hampshire, to Ohio and Michigan; and from Pennsylvania and New Jersey, to Upper Canada; 106 though, of course, the great majority are from the State of New York.

While looking over the names of the pupils,—which being printed in the catalogue and prospectus that is presented to visitors and inspectors, is, to a certain extent, public property, and may, therefore, without a breach of confidence, be commented on,—I could not fail to be struck with the number of what are usually called “fine names” borne by the young ladies, and chiefly by those from the State of New York: as if the taste that suggested the Greek and Roman names for the towns, had infected parents with the desire to give equally fine names to their children. The following are examples taken exactly as they occur in the list—Cornelia, Magdalena, Gloriana, Adelaide, Ascenath, Lavinia, Delia, Amanda, Miranda, Juliette, Lucinda, Lucretia, Elvira, Lydia, Evelina,

Adeline, Isabella, Isaphene, Pauline, Adelia, Algeline, Emeline, Georgiana, Augusta, Philena, Levantia, Almira, and Pamelia. Notwithstanding these fine names, however, which were not of their own choice, of course, and for the taste of which, whether good or bad, they are not responsible, there appeared, from their examinations and conversation, to be a fund of great good sense and propriety among them, with a thorough conception of the true end of education, considerable proficiency in the several branches of study to which they had devoted themselves, and great modesty and decorum of behaviour.

I could not learn that physical education, in the stated daily practice of bodily exercises of any particular kind, was at all more attended to here than in 107 the female academy of Albany; and yet the young ladies, on the whole, looked stronger and healthier, which may chiefly be attributed perhaps to the superiority of the air of the country to that of the town. Attached to the Seminary is a small but well-selected library, a museum, in which mineralogical specimens, well classified and arranged, are beginning to accumulate; and lectures on scientific subjects, by competent professors, are occasionally given, with experiments, for which they have a complete apparatus. The highest cost of the tuition in every branch is 143 dollars, or about 28 *l.* per annum; and for board in the most comfortable style, 117 dollars, or about 23 *l.* per annum—making together 51 *l.* sterling per year.

To the eastward of Canandaigua and Seneca Lake are portions of land, which, belonging to the State of New York, were set aside, by act of Congress, to be appropriated as bounty-lands to the surviving soldiers of the revolutionary war, and hence it is called the Military Tract. This embraced 28 townships, each township containing 100 lots of 600 acres each, exclusive of reservations—the whole area of land being equal to 1,680,000 acres. It includes several of the beautiful lakes of the State, especially, the Seneca, Otisco, Owasco, Skaneatales, Onandaga, and Cayuga, as well as streams of great value, and mineral productions, including salt, gypsum, lime, marl, and iron-ore. The act of Congress, passed in 1776, awarded a certain bounty of the public lands to all the officers and soldiers of the revolutionary army; but the State of New York, wishing to make separate provision

for such of her own citizens as served in 108 this war, passed an act in 1783, awarding a five-fold proportion to that granted by the general government of the United States, which was apportioned as follows:

Acres.

Privates and non-commissioned officers 600

An Ensign 900

Lieutenant 1200

Captain 1800

Major 2400

Lieutenant-colonel 2700

Colonel 3000

Brigadier-general 5100

Major-general 6600

If the parties to whom these lands had been assigned, had gone to settle on them, or procured competent and trustworthy persons to clear and cultivate them at once, they would have furnished a handsome competency to the privates, and a large fortune to the superior officers. But with the characteristic imprudence of soldiers, most of the privates sold their portions to speculators for insignificant sums. Their patents, as soon as made out, were sold for eight dollars! and even so late as 1792, they were to be bought for thirty dollars! In 1800 they were not to be had for less than from three to five dollars per acre,

before they were cleared; and now that most of them have been cleared and cultivated, the current price is from 20 to 30 dollars per acre.

It was in this military tract, that the practice was first introduced of giving classical names to the townships into which it was divided; and in explanation of the great extent to which this was carried, I was told, that the surveyor-general of that day, to whom the laying out and naming of the towns 109 in the military tract was entrusted, happened to be a pedant whom nothing would satisfy that was not either Greek or Roman. When the names of their ancient cities were exhausted, he took those of ancient generals and warriors; the names of the two spots at which his court was alternately held, being Scipio and Manlius; and Brutus and Cassius, Homer, Virgil, and Ovid, were added to the catalogue. This folly is perceived by nearly all persons now, and regretted by very many, and perhaps no measure would be more popular than one for the revision of the nomenclature of the towns and counties. It has already been proposed, indeed, to restore the Indian names in many instances; and among others to call the State of New York, “Ontario,” and the city of New York, “Manhattan;” which would be a great improvement. As a contrast to this, it may be said, that while the Indian names of *places* are in general highly characteristic, and beautifully expressive, those of *persons* , though sometimes dignified and appropriate, are often the very reverse; and a striking example of this may be given in a selection of the names of those who were parties to the treaty between the United States and the Six Nations, signed at Canandaigua, including the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onandagas, Cayugas, Senecas, and Tuscororas, of which the following are a few:

Dogs-round-the-Fire

The Blast

Swimming Fish

Dancing Feather

Falling Mountain

Broken Tomahawk

Snake

Bandy Legs

Big Tree

Thrown-in-the-Water

Corn Planter

Big Cross

110

Long Tree

Loaded Man

The Wasp

Wood-Bug

Big-bale-of-a-Kettle

Cotmeil-Keeper

Handsome Lake

Fish Carrier

Little Billy

Two-Skies-of-a-length

Farmer's Brother

New Arrow

Half-Town

Broken Twig

Full Moon

Twenty Canoes

Tearing Asunder

Big Sky

Little Beard

Stinking Fish

Green Grasshopper

Woods-on-Fire

Heap of Dogs

Red Jacket.

It may give the reader some idea of the extent of the area still belonging to the remnants of the Six Nations now lingering in the State of New York, whom the general government are about removing to the lands beyond the Mississippi, in the Far West, to place before him

an official statement of the actual amount of reservation lands allotted by treaty to each tribe, as well as of the annuities in money still paid to them by the State, both taken from the public records.

Everything connected with this race becomes more and more interesting from the general impression of their nearly approaching extinction, when there will be no longer any living memorials, in the transmission of traditionary history from one generation to another, as all will be swept away. The northern tribes have remained the longest, because they have always been the most powerful; and it has been justly observed by Dr. Mitchell, that the parallel between the Indians of America and of Asia affords this important conclusion, that on both continents the hordes dwelling in higher latitudes have overpowered the more civilized 111 though feebler inhabitants of the countries situate towards the equator. As the Tartars have overrun China, so the Aztees have subdued Mexico; As the Huns and Alains desolated Italy, so the Chippewas destroyed the populous settlements on both banks of the Ohio. The surviving race in these terrible conflicts between the different nations of the ancient residents of North America is evidently that of Tartars, from the similarity of features, languages, and customs.

The following are the official statements of the reserved lands and annuities still appropriated to the Indians of the Six Nations at the present time.

RESERVATION OF LANDS TO INDIANS.

Places. Acres. Indians. Buffalo 83,557 636 Tonawanta 46,209 365 Cattaraugus 26,880 389 Alleghany River 30,469 597 Genessee River 31,648 456 Oil-Spring 640 000 Tuscorora 1,920 314 Oneida 20,000 1031 Onondaga 7,000 300 Stockbridge 13,000 438 St. Regis 10,000 400 Total, 271,323 4976

ANNUITIES PAYABLE TO INDIANS.

Dollars.

Oneida Nation 5169 28

Christian party of same 1443 28

Pagan party 332 48

Onondagas 2430 00

Cayugas 2300 00

Senecas 500 00

Posterity of Fish-carrier 50 00

St. Regis Indians 2398 33

Brothertown Indians 2142 79

Stockbridge Indians 371 00

Total 17,137 16

In the course of our excursions round Canandaigua, we went to visit the remains of two very ancient Indian forts, which are still to be traced here, the one to the east and the other to the west of the town, 112 about a mile distant in each direction. We were accompanied in this excursion by the venerable Judge Attwater, one of the earliest settlers here, who had resided in Canandaigua nearly half a century, and remembered it a perfect forest where the principal houses now stand. The western fort, when he first saw it, had a parapet or breastwork of four feet high, all round, though evidently much diminished from its original height, by time and decay. At present, all that was to be seen was the outline of the mounds, with faint traces of the ditch surrounding it; but the whole surface was covered with an orchard of rich fruit-trees, and the ground between these was at

that moment under the plough, so that in a very few years every vestige of this fort will be gone.

The fort on the east of the town has not such distinct elevations, but it has a more perfect ditch; and this is entirely covered with trees of the secondary growth, forming a deep and solemn shade that harmonizes well with the solitude and abandonment of the place. The view from hence is extensive and beautiful, and with a judicious selection of the larger trees to be left standing, it would make a beautiful spot for a dwelling, to which purpose it will, no doubt, ere long be devoted. Each of these forts contained about thirty acres in area, and from both had been taken many interesting relics of Indian warfare, in tomahawks and other weapons, as well as articles of dress, especially the more ornamental and least perishable parts, with pipes variously devised, and adorned with silver and other inlayings of metal-work.

The Senecas, by whom these forts were last occupied—though many suppose them not to have been 113 built by them, but by a people anterior to their day, and more civilized —were among the most warlike of all the Six Nations, and often made excursions to the country of the south, for purposes of conquest or victory. In the narrative of Mary Jameson, the “White woman,” when speaking of her last husband, Hioakatoo, a Seneca chief, who died in 1811 on the banks of the Genessee river, aged 103 years, she says—

“In the year 1731, he was appointed a runner, to assist in collecting an army to go against the Cotawpas (or Catawbas), the Cherokees, and other southern Indians. A large army was collected, and after a long and fatiguing march, they met their enemies in what was then called ‘the low, dark, and bloody lands,’ near the mouth of the Red River, in what is now called the State of Kentucky. The Cotawpas and their associates had by some means been apprized of their approach, and lay in ambush to take them at once, when they should come within their reach, and destroy their whole army. The northern Indians, with their usual sagacity, discovered the situation of their enemies, rushed upon the ambuscade, and massacred 1,200 on the spot. The battle continued for two days and two

nights, with the utmost severity, in which the northern Indians were victorious, and so far succeeded in destroying the Cotawpas, that they at that time ceased to be a nation. The victors, however, suffered an immense loss in killed, but gained the hunting ground, which was their grand object, though the Cherokees would not give it up in a treaty, nor consent to make peace. Bows and arrows were at that time in general use, though a few guns were also employed."

The time has now arrived when the Cherokees, are in the act of leaving these hunting grounds, which they would not cede, to go beyond the Mississippi: General Scott, and a force of the United States army, being at this moment employed in their removal; and the Senecas themselves, as we have already seen, VOL. III. I 114 are also on the point of being transferred from their ancient homes, to new territories west of the "Father of Waters;" so that both the victors and the vanquished are now in a progressive course of extinction. The destructive wars, which formed the chief occupation of their ancestors, are sufficient to account for the great diminution of their numbers in the years that preceded the American revolution; the excessive use of intoxicating spirits has operated with still more destroying force since that period; and of late years, disease, in every form and shape, has added to the number of those who perish. In a letter recently published by Mr. Catlin, the celebrated Indian traveller, are the following painful details on this subject.

"Only one year and a half ago, I was at Prairie du Chien, on the Upper Mississippi, where I beheld the frightful effects of the smallpox among the Winnebagoes, and Sioux. Every other man among them was destroyed by it; and Owa-be-shau, the greatest man of the Sioux, with half of his band, died under the corners of fences, in little groups, to which kindred ties held them in ghastly death, with their bodies swollen and covered with pustules, their eyes blinded, and hideously howling their death-song in utter despair; affectionately clinging to each other's necks with one hand, and grasping bottles of whisky in the other."

Among many other statements, which from time to time appear in the American newspapers, corroborative of this spread of disease among the Indian tribes, the following is taken from a very recent journal on the subject.

“Pestilence in America. —A mortal plague, said to be the same as the ‘Black Death,’ which raged so fatally in England and in Europe some five or six centuries ago, has broken out in the western and south-western borders of the United States. As yet it has 115 been exclusively confined to the Indians. It attacks the head and loins suddenly, and with dreadful pain; and in about two hours the victim is a corpse. The body then swells enormously, and turns instantly black. Some idea may be formed of the fearful progress and havoc of death on the prairies, from the fact, that within a few weeks more than 33,000 savages died. Of a lodge of 1,600 Mandans (a noble tribe) only 35 remained alive. 10,600 Assineboins have died; and deserted wigwams, newly-made mounds, or putrifying corpses, attended only by the croaking raven and the screaming eagle, mark the mournful desolation of the Indian forests and prairies. The Crows and Black-feet, so eloquently described in Irving's ‘Astoria,’ and ‘Rocky Mountains,’ have suffered dreadfully; and more than one of the smaller tribes have been summoned, man, woman, and papoose, to the tribunal of Manitoulin, the Great Spirit, not one remaining to tell that they were once a nation of warriors! The disease is supposed to have originated from smallpox amongst the traders, and from them to have been communicated to the Indians, where it soon appeared in the aggravated form of ‘The Black Death.’”

It is painful to witness these effects of the contact of the White race with the Indians, and impossible not to yield assent to the sentiments expressed in the following passage from Mr. Latrobe.

“What has been the influence of the contact and intercourse of the European with the Indian, we all know. Where he found them poor, he left them poorer; where one scene of violence and vengeance had been seen, there many have since been acted; where he found one evil passion, he planted many; where one fell disease had thinned their ranks,

he brought those of his blood and land to reap a more abundant harvest. His very gifts were poison: selfish and inconsiderate in his kindness, he was very bitter in his revenge and anger: he excited the passion of the savage for his own purposes, and when it raged against him, he commenced the work of extermination.

“No one who reads the history of these countries, since their first settlement, can draw any other conclusion, than that the white man secretly, with his grasping hand, selfish policy, and want of 116 faith, has been, in almost every case, directly or indirectly, the cause of the horrors which he afterwards rose to retaliate. That the wrath of the Indian, when excited, was terrible, his anger cruel, and his blows indiscriminate, falling almost always on the comparatively innocent; and that defence, and perhaps retaliation, then became necessary to save the country from the repetition of those fearful scenes of murder and torture, which make the early history of the settlements a marvel and a romance, is also to be allowed: but the settlement of the whites in America, is, with but few exceptions, a foul blot upon Christendom.”

The climate of Canandaigua is much praised for being healthier and milder than in most other parts of the State of New York. At the period of our visit it was extremely hot: the thermometer ranging at about 85° in the month of September; but though the sun was so scorching, that all classes of people, even the men in the ordinary ranks of life, sheltered themselves from its power by the use of an umbrella, the fresh air from the lake made the atmosphere agreeable in the shade. The town is also considered unusually healthy: and certainly the appearance of the inhabitants bore out that supposition: which corroborates the opinion formed by President Dwight and Dr. Ludlow, on the medical topography of Western New York, conveyed by them in the following extract:

“From the pulmonary consumption, so frequent elsewhere, they (the inhabitants of this town) are in a great measure exempted. Dr. W., of Canandaigua, a physician in extensive practice, informed me that, during the ten years of his residence there, only three persons within his knowledge had died of the consumption in that township and its neighbourhood.

He also observed that most of the diseases found on the sea-coast were unknown there, and that he believed the fever and ague to be not improbably the cause of this exemption. As I passed through Sheffield, in Massachusetts, I was informed, in a manner which could not be rationally questioned, 117 that the consumption is also very rare in that town. Should there be no error in this account, it will deserve inquiry whether the infrequency of this disease in the Southern states is not owing more to the fever and ague than to the warmth of the climate; or perhaps, in better words, whether the tendencies to disease in the human frame do not, in particular tracts, flow in this single channel? Should the result of this inquiry be an affirmative answer, Canandaigua may hereafter become a more convenient retreat for persons subject to pulmonic affections than the Southern states."

Among the meteorological phenomena occasionally seen here, was one that occurred on the Canandaigua lake, only a few days before our arrival; and which may be best described in the language of one of the many persons who saw it, and who describes it in the following communication. He says:

"On Saturday the 25th of August, 1838, at 4 o'clock P. M. a sudden squall from the north-west swept across the surface of the lake, which, till then, had been calm and unruffled. While watching the altered appearance of the lake, one portion of its surface was tossed by the action of the wind into a white spray, which kept moving along in a south-east direction. As it approached the eastern shore, a thin white column of vapour rose in the air, waving to and fro like a huge serpent in a perpendicular position. Directly above this column, though apparently unconnected with it, was a much larger column of spray, performing rapid evolutions in the air, increasing in dimensions as it rose into the clouds, to the height of between 200 and 300 feet, and thus presenting very much the appearance of the volume of smoke, which issues from the funnel of a steam-vessel in motion. This appearance was maintained, without much change, for the space of between ten and twelve minutes, during which the white spray on the surface of the lake (forming the base from which the column of vapour arose,) gradually contracted in circumference, and at last

disappeared altogether. A few seconds after this, the two columns gradually disappeared, merging themselves into the heavy clouds which obscured the sky."

118

During our stay at Canandaigua there was a Democratic convention of the young men of the State, who met here on the 6th of September, to organize measures, and pass resolutions, in favour of the present administration, and to support by all the means within their power, the election of Democratic candidates for the State legislature, as well as the Democratic governor, and members to the general Congress at the ensuing elections. The meeting was largely attended; as delegates, chosen by the several towns in the county of Ontario, of which this is the county-town, came in from their respective residences, each bringing a large number of his fellow-townsmen with him as companions. They began to arrive as early as ten o'clock, in gigs, phaetons, cars, carts, and waggons; all those in the uncovered carriages spreading their umbrellas, as the heat was intense, but none walking that we could discover. They all dined at the hotel at one o'clock; and at two they repaired to the court-house for business.

I was invited to attend their proceedings, and take a seat among the leaders, but I preferred going as an ordinary spectator; and remained, therefore, in the rear, with the body of the meeting. Every thing was done with the greatest order and propriety; but, to an English taste, there was a coldness, formality, and want of life and enthusiasm about it, which made it very tame. This arose chiefly, no doubt, from the meeting being composed wholly of men of the same party, so that no opposition was either feared or expected, and every body knew, beforehand, how the matter would end; but it was partly from the habitual manner of the people of the 119 country to transact all their public business in this cold, and, to us it would seem, lifeless manner.

Though it had been previously arranged who should be the chairman of the convention, the form was gone through of proposing, seconding, and voting the individual into the chair. A secretary was then nominated, by whom the names of the delegates sent by the

different towns were read over; and these answering to their names, rose and went within the bar, the meeting being held in the court-house, or, as we should say, the town-hall. The chairman then opened the business of the meeting by a short speech, but there was no cheering when he rose, no clapping of hands to welcome his appointment, no sign whatever, in short, of approbation or the reverse.

He proceeded to assert that the Federal party, or Whigs, having been elated with their recent successes in the elections, and leaving no stone unturned to accomplish their object, were now resolved to make a last desperate struggle to wrest the power from the hands of the present administration, and seize the reins of government; but when he saw the extent of the present meeting, and knew the high and firm resolves by which they had pledged themselves to support the only true liberty known in the world, the republicanism or democracy of the United States, he felt assured that, come what would, the county of Ontario would do its duty. Neither here, however, nor at the close of his speech, nor indeed at any period of the proceedings, was there the slightest manifestation of sympathy, by any expression whatever; while in England, at such a meeting, and on such an occasion, even if it had been composed, like 120 this, of the people of one party only, there would have been clapping of hands, loud cries of “hear, hear,” or cheering and expressions of approbation at the sentiments, the speaker, or the cause.

The next step was to move that a committee be appointed to consist of one delegate from each town, to retire and prepare resolutions; this was seconded, and put to the vote by the chairman, those who approved of the resolution being requested to say “Ay,” and the contrary “No,” as in the English House of Commons, but not by holding up their hands, as in English public meetings. The retirement of the committee to prepare the resolutions was, however, a mere formality, as the resolutions had been already prepared and agreed to by a previous meeting of the delegates, and therefore in a very few minutes the committee re-appeared from their retirement, with their resolutions all “ready cut and dried,” as the phrase is, and without the alteration of a single word.

At this period of the proceedings, learning from one of the friends of the meeting that it was not likely there would be any speeches of interest or importance, and that the resolutions would most probably be put all together, and passed as one, without opposition or remark, I withdrew, having been present for nearly two hours, without any thing of interest to reward the stay.

There are two weekly newspapers in Canandaigua, one maintaining the principles of the Whigs, and one of the Democrats; but they have no very marked or distinguishing features to require observation. The question of the election of the new governor of the 121 State excited more than usual interest here, because the person likely to be put in nomination as the Whig candidate, Mr. Grainger, resides in Canandaigua, and is very popular with his party; but for the same reason, the Democrats will do all in their power to prevent his return.

As we had apartments in the principal hotel of Canandaigua, at which all the stage-coaches, going on this road, stop on their way to and fro between Albany and Buffalo, our attention was particularly drawn to the great number of carriages passing and repassing at all hours of the day and night. The public stages were the most numerous, and amounted at least to twenty, coming and going, in the twenty-four hours, each drawn by four horses, and each carrying nine passengers; the rest were what are called “Extras,” that is, stage-coaches of exactly the same size and description as the others, and drawn also by four horses, but taken by a party, as a post-chaise would be in England, and at the entire command of the occupiers, as to time of setting out, rate of travelling, and so on. No persons, as far as we had observed, or could hear of, ever travelled in their own carriages with post-horses, nor would it be prudent that they should do so, unless they had stage-coaches made for their own purpose; because, from the roughness of the best roads, a chariot, or barouche, such as is used by families in the towns, would be shaken to pieces in a single journey.

The horses seemed to me more uniformly good than in England, though there are none so fine and beautiful as the noble carriage-horses of the rich in London; but they are certainly above the average of 122 those used in the public conveyances of England, being less worked, and better fed, though they do not appear to so much advantage, from the inferior condition of their harness. The tails of the horses are never cut; and, remembering the beauty of the horses of Egypt, Syria, and Arabia, they looked, to my eye, more graceful and natural with this fine appendage of beauty, than when cropped, as at home.

Even in this comparatively remote and retired spot, I met with some old acquaintances; among others, Mr. Weddell, of Hull, formerly an owner of steam-vessels there, but recently settled on a farm of his own, within six miles of the village, and prospering as an agriculturist. He had heard my lectures in Hull, some seven or eight years ago, and now came in with all his family and dependents to hear them in Canandaigua. Another, and more intimate acquaintance, was Captain Monteith, of the 17th Lancers, who had served under Col. Lincoln Stanhope, and with Col. Perronett Thompson, the member for Hull, in Guzerat; and whom I had known as an ardent reformer—as far as it was safe for a military man to be so—in Calcutta, during the period when the persecutions against the freedom of the press ran highest. Our meeting was very agreeable to us both, as it enabled us to enjoy our Indian reminiscenses with mutual satisfaction. He was now settled on a fine estate, with his family, on the borders of the lake, at a distance of eight miles from Canandaigua, and expressed himself delighted with the country, its institutions, climate, and society.

In talking with native Americans on the subject of their own country, their dwellings, farms, gardens, 123 &c. every foreigner must observe their peculiar sensitiveness to any remark, which, however well meant, should have the effect of satisfying them that you saw any imperfections in either. In such cases, it is almost invariably their practice to say, “Ah, but you do not make sufficient allowances for the newness of the country; consider that we were but yesterday, as it were, in a wilderness, and that the very forest-trees have their

roots still in the middle of our streets. Under these circumstances," they will add, "you must allow that it is very well for a young country." At Canandaigua, however, I had an opportunity of seeing what could be done, even in a wilderness of yesterday, by persons having the requisite liberality to expend their means in improvements, and the requisite taste to direct their labours.

Mr. Greig, a Scotch gentleman by birth, came here about forty years ago, as the land-agent of Mr. Patrick Colquhoun, the celebrated author of the work on the Police of the Metropolis, and of Governor Hornby, of England, both of whom were owners of lands which they had purchased in this region. During the period of his residence here, Mr. Greig acquired a very handsome property by his own industry and talents; and marrying the granddaughter of the celebrated Oliver Phelps, the first purchaser and settler of the country, he improved his fortune by this alliance. Mr. Greig, however, having a liberality somewhat above that which thinks no money well laid out unless it is to bring immediate interest and profit in return, has devoted a large portion of his wealth to improvement; and having also good taste in architecture, agriculture, and gardening, he 124 has built a princely mansion, furnished it in the best possible style, and adorned it with works of art in painting and statuary; laid out a beautiful garden, both useful and ornamental; and, in short, surrounded himself with more of abundance, fertility, beauty, and refinement, combined, than it had yet been our lot to see in any part of the United States, not excepting even the finest houses in the largest cities of the Union.

His table and the whole domestic management of his household, is superior to anything of the kind we had ever seen in America; and it was difficult to persuade ourselves that we were not in the paternal mansion of some old English gentleman of opulence and taste, near the metropolis; as every luxury and every convenience were united, with the greatest order and quiet among the servants, and the greatest elegance in all that surrounded us. The view from 125 the cupola of his roof is as full of exquisite beauty in the extent and loveliness of the landscape, as is all the rest; and I could not help saying to Mr. Greig, that it would advance the domestic arts and social refinement a century at least, in America, if

he were to invite an annual convention of delegates from all parts of the Union, to pass a week at his residence, to take plans, drawings, and models of all they saw; to make notes in detail of all the processes of domestic management in use; and then to dismiss them all to their several homes, with an injunction to communicate what they saw to others, and, as far as possible, carry it out into practice.

The truth is, (and this is a proof of it,) that whatever money and taste can accomplish in England, money and taste can accomplish here; but so long as the mass of those who have money, continue to think that it can never be well laid out unless it is to bring more money or profit in its train, and so long as the taste to perceive what is really good in food, furniture, and domestic management, does not exist, the improvement will be slow; but that slowness is not attributable to the fact of America being a young country, so much as to the unwillingness to lay out money except to produce gain.

A tablet has been affixed to the portico of the Presbyterian church here, by Mr. Greig, to the memory of his former friend and patron, the late Patrick Colquhoun, which is alike honourable to both; and as it is agreeable to place on record the instances in which distinguished merit obtains a wide-spread recognition, as in the present instance, 126 I obtained a copy of the inscription, which will be found among the papers in the Appendix.*

* See Appendix, No. II.

Mr. Greig mentioned to us a curious fact respecting the easy removal of houses in this country, of which, indeed, Canandaigua had furnished several examples, he being the first to commence it. He said that the first house he occupied stood just in front of his present mansion; and when this was completed—which I was surprised to learn was accomplished in two seasons, and every portion of the work, beautiful as it is, executed by mechanics of the village—his family moved from the old house into the new one, which was just in its rear. Instead, however, of pulling down the old house, and removing the materials, which would have been the process observed in England, the whole house was lifted up from its

foundations, and rollers being placed under the whole, it was removed to a considerable distance, and appropriated as a parsonage-house to a new clergyman that had just arrived in the village, for whom a dwelling was wanted, and in whose occupancy it now remains.

Another instance was the removal of a large court-house, one of the largest and best of the public buildings in the place. The original position which it occupied was not deemed favourable, and it was accordingly lifted up, placed on rollers, and removed from one part of the town to another, and ultimately set down side by side with the post-office and town-house, to form one side of a public square, just opposite the principal hotel, where it still remains. 127 Still another instance was added, in the removal of the Methodist church, with its lofty spire, one of the largest places of worship in Canandaigua. This was brought from its original position into the middle of the principal street, and then gradually drawn by a long train of horses and oxen, up the hill, and along the street, until it arrived opposite its newly chosen locality, where it was more advantageously placed, and as firmly fixed as ever, and where it still remains.

CHAP. VI.

Journey from Canandaigua to Auburn—First sight of an American country funeral—Visit to the State prison—Condition of the establishment—Act of the legislature restricting prison labour— Statistics of crime, education, and intemperance—Moral and religious reform —Description of the edifice and its cells—Discipline and treatment of the convicts—Visit to the chapel during divine service—Defects of the Auburn system of prison discipline —Opinions of Dr. Lieber of South Carolina—Objections to the Pennsylvania system answered—Opinions of British inspectors on the Auburn system—Superiority of the Philadelphia system—Description of the town of Auburn.

We left Canandaigua on the morning of Saturday the 8th of September, for Auburn, and, following the usual stage-route by which we had before travelled on our way hither, we passed through the same places: namely, Geneva, Waterloo, Seneca Falls, and Cayuga;

all of which appeared to us as beautiful as when we first saw them, and lost nothing by a second inspection. The landscape scenery, indeed, was beginning to assume a new aspect, from the first appearance of the autumnal tints of decay on the woods around, and, few as they yet were, their brightness in the yellows and scarlets threw a great charm over the forest masses.

The only incident that occurred on the way, was the meeting a country funeral, which was conducted 129 much after the manner of a funeral in the west of England forty years ago. A plain hearse, with black velvet covering, contained the corpse, and took the lead in the procession; and following after this, were not less than fifty carriages, cars, and gigs, all filled with respectably-dressed farmers and their families, mostly in black, attending their departed friend to his last home. There was an absence of ostentation and parade, and a simplicity, decorum, and earnestness of sorrow instead, which made it at once natural and impressive; and as such, greatly more venerable than the cold and formal pomp of funerals with hired mourners, and the entire absence of the family, as sometimes seen in London.

We reached Auburn about five o'clock, having left Canandaigua at half-past nine; and were thus seven hours and half in going 39-miles, though we made no stoppages to take refreshment on the road, and had a large extra stage, capable of holding nine persons, occupied by four only, with four good horses all the way—the roads, even at their very best, are so rough, and unfavourable to speed, compared with those of England. The town of Auburn looked more beautiful than when we saw it before, and struck us as even handsomer than Canandaigua, as we entered it; and we found agreeable apartments and excellent accommodation at one of the best houses in the route, the American Hotel.

On the following day I had an opportunity of examining the State prison at Auburn, having been provided with a letter of introduction to the superintendent, who afforded me every facility, and furnished all the information I desired. This prison, which VOL. III. K 130 is on the north-west extremity of the town, was built in 1816. It is a hollow square, enclosed by

a strong stone wall, of 2,000 feet in extent, or 500 feet on each side. The edifice within this wall has a front of 300 feet, facing nearly to the east, in the centre of which is the keeper's residence; and two wings, of 240 feet each, extend behind this dwelling to the westward. It is in these two wings that the cells for the prisoners are contained; and between them is a grass-plat, with gravel walks. Beyond or behind these, to the westward, is an open space, called the yard, surrounded with the workshops, in which the men are employed, and having, in the centre, reservoirs of water. The shops, which are built against the surrounding wall, extend to nearly 1000 feet in length; they are built of brick, and are fire-proof, and they are all well lighted from their sky-lights and the court-yard. The walls within which these shops are enclosed, are thirty-five feet high and four feet thick; and the other walls of the prison are about twenty feet high and three feet thick. The whole was erected by the labour of convict prisoners, under the superintendence of the architect; and, in addition to the cost of their maintenance while labouring, the money actually expended, in materials and superintendence, exceeded 300,000 dollars.

The distinguishing feature of this State prison, in its object is, that the convicts shall be made, by labour, to defray all the expenses of the establishment, and, if possible, yield a profit to the State, making the reformation of the criminal the subordinate consideration. It is this, more than any other feature, which distinguishes it from the Penitentiary 131 of Philadelphia, where the reformation of the criminal is the first object pursued, and the produce of the prisoner's labour is the subordinate end. They differ also materially in their discipline; the prisoners at Auburn being separated only at night, and brought together to work and take their meals in company, but not permitted to speak to each other on any account whatever; and hence this system is called “The Silent System;” while at Philadelphia each prisoner is confined in a separate cell, from the time of his entry to that of his discharge, and never sees, or is ever seen by, any of his fellow-prisoners during all that period; and hence this is called “The Solitary System.”

As profit to the State is the main object of the Auburn establishment, great pains are taken, by the classification of the prisoners who are acquainted with trades, and the teaching

of those who are not, to make the workshops produce as much as possible; and for this purpose, the convicts are made to labour about thirteen hours per day. The whole number of convicts in the prison is about 900, and their total earnings were 59,747 dollars from labour performed, and articles manufactured and sold, during the last year. The ordinary expenses are usually such as to leave a surplus profit of from 2,000 dollars to 4,000 dollars per annum to the State; but in the past year, owing to various improvements made in the prison itself, the expenditure has exceeded the receipts, and accordingly a grant of 25,000 dollars became necessary, to meet the deficiency. The following statement of expenditure and receipt for the last year, 1837, will show the details of each:— K2 132

EXPENDITURE

dls. cents.

Prison 238 89

Officers and keepers 13,849 32

Guard 6,990 00

Matron 240 00

Chaplain 499 92

Hospital 1,079 33

Repairs and Improvements 3,531 65

Provisions 21,684 06

Clothing 3,992 81

Fire-wood 2,693 52

Oil and candles 993 75

Charcoal 413 53

Brooms 22 08

Horse, &c. 196 68

Stationery 121 74

Postage 54 65

Sheriffs 7,398 46

Inspectors 288 00

Discharged convicts 391 00

West yard 5,397 73

70,077 12

RECEIPTS.

dls. cents.

State of New York 25,000 00

Cooper shop 3,950 75

Tool shop 1,312 45

Cotton workshop 3,172 20

Tailor's shop 2,980 44

Clock shop 2,190 32

Machine shop 4,769 06

Comb shop 3,676 81

Frame shop 3,775 42

Cabinet shop 4,946 40

Carpet shop 3,583 72

Shoe shop 4,426 70

Stone shop 4,526 35

Smith's shop 479 25

Prison 998 53

Visiters 1,676 25

71,469 65

Add balance 30th Sept. 1836. 2,833 21

74,302 86

Deduct expenditures 70,077 12

Balance 30th Sept. 1837 4,225 74

In consequence of the variety, excellence, and cheapness of the articles made by the convicts, the prison wares were in general preferred to those made by mechanics out of doors; and this class felt themselves aggrieved therefore by the interference of the prison labour with their usual profits. Accordingly petitions and representations were sent to the Legislature of the State, which induced it to pass an act in May, 1835, providing that “no mechanical trade shall hereafter be taught to convicts in the State Prisons of New York, except the making of those 133 articles, of which the chief supply for the consumption of the country is imported from foreign countries;” and also enacting that “in all those branches of business, of which the consumption of the country is chiefly supplied without foreign importation, the number of convicts to be employed, or let, shall be limited by the number of convicts who had learnt a trade before coming to the prison.” The object of this law was to protect the labour of the honest mechanic outside the prison, against the competition of the cheaper labour of the criminal within its walls. But the effect has been to throw a great number of the convicts out of employment altogether; and thus to produce the double evil of lessening the ability of the directors to maintain the establishment by the profit of convict labour, and compelling them to apply for grants from the State, and also to relax the discipline and make the government of the prison more difficult, by turning occupied criminals into idle ones.

This feature of the Auburn System, that it should be self-supporting, or even yield a surplus profit to the State, may for the present, therefore, be considered to have ceased: and its future claims to imitation or adoption in other countries will depend on the other feature, that of its combining labour in company with solitary confinement at night, and perfect silence during both these periods. Before entering on this subject, however, it maybe well to present some further statistical details.

Among 3,000 convictions, extending over 20 years, from 1817 to 1836, selected for analysis, the following numbers appear to be the principal classes of crimes:—larceny, 1,568; forgery, 303; burglary, 134 264; making or passing counterfeit money, 253;

perjury, 95; attempt to kill, 86; attempt at rape, 67; manslaughter, 54; arson, 42; rape, 41; swindling, 87; bigamy, 34; robbery, 29; receiving stolen goods, 16; murder, 11; felony, 8; incest, 7; sodomy, 8; poisoning, 3. The rest were misdemeanours and attempts to escape. Of the whole number of 3,000, the females were only 101; the Negroes 270, and Indians 26. Of second convictions there were 142; of third convictions 14; and of fourth convictions 1. Those born in the State of New York amounted to 1,403; those from other parts of the United States were 1,022; and those from other countries were 575.

Of the causes that led to the commission of the various crimes for which the prisoners were condemned, ignorance and intemperance were, as usual, the most productive; and this will be seen by the following returns from the chaplain's report for 1838.

“1,232 convicts sentenced to this prison may be classed, with reference to their education, former habits, &c., as follows:—

Of collegiate education 3

Of academical ditto 13

Could read, write & cipher 351

Could read & write only 311

Could read only 272

Could not read the Bible 282

1,232

Excessively intemperate 457

Moderately ditto 477

934

Intemperate 934

Temperate drinkers 276

Total abstinents 22

1,232

Under the influence of liquor at the time of committing crimes 736

Had intemperate parents or guardians 458

Others not so influenced 38

1,232

135

Many of these, however, desperate as their cases were, have been reclaimed by the influence of education and religious instruction, and there is every reason to believe that they have gone out into the world reformed, fully prepared to lead a sober and honest life.

It appears, too, by a table framed from the records of the prison, and embodied in the chaplain's report, that out of 1735 convicts discharged since the year 1824, there have been only 103 re-convictions; a small fraction more than 1 out of 17: whereas, in some of the older prisons, they have been as frequent as 1 to 4, 1 to 3, and even 1 to 2; and this, perhaps, is the best proof that can be offered of the reformation effected by the discipline pursued.

The health of the prisoners is carefully attended to, and the statements on this subject must be as acceptable to the philanthropist as those already given; considering how much

the punishment of imprisonment is aggravated by disease, and how severely the mental pains of solitude must be augmented by the sufferings of the body.

The discipline of the prison may be thus described. At night every convict is confined in a separate cell, the cells being arranged in galleries or stories, one over the other, of which there are five in the two principal wings, with a balcony or platform running along in front of each, and a communication from one balcony to another by open stairs. The cells, of which I was permitted to make the freest inspection, were much smaller than those in the prisons of Philadelphia, being not more than 7 feet by 5, and in this was contained the hammock of the prisoner, 136 and such few clothes as he possessed, (the prison dress being a striped cotton or woollen uniform,) and a convenience for his necessary wants. The door was low, narrow, and formed of crossed iron bars, with sufficient opening for light and air, but still gloomy within. From these cells they are all summoned by signal at an early hour in the morning, and marched in single rows or files under their appointed leaders to their workshops, where they labour till breakfast, but are not permitted to speak to each other, or even communicate by signs, for the prevention of which, a keeper is placed with each gang; and any infringement of this regulation is punished by the infliction of the whip.

It was formerly the custom for them to take their meals in a large hall, together, all standing, and with the same rigorous observance of silence; but the resources of the prison falling short, and additional economy having to be studied in all things, they have abolished this plan of their eating together, because it required the presence of about twenty female attendants to serve them, and their wages were an item worth saving. They are now therefore marched from the workshop to their cells, where each prisoner has his rations served to him with less of labour and expense; and the female attendants are discharged. This change has been very recent, as I was shown the hall and tables still standing, though now no longer used. An hour is allowed for breakfast, and an hour for dinner; but with these exceptions, their labour is continued throughout the day for 13 hours, and a most vigilant guard is kept over them during all the time, so as to prevent

their speaking, and, if possible 137 to prevent their communicating with each other by any other means: but all the vigilance that can be used is inadequate to accomplish this.

There are no longer any females in the Auburn prison. There were recently about 30 only, and the number rarely exceeded 50, even when the men were above 900. But it having been determined to build a separate department for females, attached to th State prison Sing-Sing, which is under the same system of management as this, they were removed, about a week ago, under the chief superintendent, to that spot.

On the Sabbath, divine service is performed in the chapel, when all who are able are made to attend. I was permitted to be present at their worship, when 630 were in attendance. It was held at nine in the morning, in order that the officers and the keepers, when the convicts had closed their service, and were locked up, might attend their own churches in the town. The chaplain, who led the devotions, was a young man, and, apparently, much in earnest; his prayers were rather for them than with them; and no hymns were sung, as it might be well supposed that few could, without hypocrisy, express the sentiments which these compositions usually contain. The sermon was a written one, and was accordingly read to the prisoners. It was, however, simple and appropriate, dwelling on the necessity of repentance, and the danger, the folly, and the wickedness of delay. I paid the utmost attention to the countenances of the convicts, for which I was favourably situated, being on the elevated platform with the officers, right in front of, and opposite to, them. I could not 138 trace, however, the least sign of emotion in any. Indifference was the most prevalent condition, as I thought, though there was the strictest silence, and the utmost exterior decorum.

There were about fifty negroes among the convicts, and these were seated promiscuously among the whites, no distinction of colour being observed; the forms of the heads and expressions of the countenances were very bad, and such as one would dislike, even if seen in an assembly of unconvicted persons; but those of the whites were decidedly worse than those of the negroes; that is, more indicative of vicious propensities and evil

passions. One man was pointed out to me, as imprisoned a second time, though a man of some property; and the last conviction was for the murder of his own child, whom he had deliberately whipped to death in cold blood, the flogging being continued for an hour and half, and the poor little victim expiring under the lash! and yet he seemed to be the most demurely attentive of all the number, during the whole of the religious service.

After the closing prayer and benediction, during which the prisoners stood up, they all resumed their seats, until, a signal being given by the knocking of a large key against the back of the last row of benches, about 50 rose up, formed into a single file or line, and, folding their arms across their breasts, and pressing quite close to each other, they were marched with military step by their keeper, to their respective cells, and there locked up for the day, having taken in the morning two rations, one for their breakfast, and one for dinner, each to be eaten in the cell; as no one was permitted to 139 come out after the shutting up at the close of service; and this, of course, released all the keepers and attendants for their enjoyment of the Sabbath with their friends.

As soon as one gang or company of about fifty was thus disposed of and secured, a second gang was marched out in the same manner, and then others in succession, till the whole chapel was cleared, which occupied about twenty minutes: the object of this appeared to be to avoid any risk of the whole number being on their legs and in motion at the same time, by which the keepers might be overpowered, and the prisoners make their escape.

From all that I saw, from all that I could learn in conversation with the officers of the prison, and from all that I had read on the subject, I was more and more satisfied that there is nothing in which America excels all the nations of the world more than in her system of prison discipline. This pursued at Auburn, as it secures the effectual punishment of the criminal, and yet preserves his health, improves his habits, corrects his morals, and sends him back to society a reformed character, is as superior to the general state of our prisons, conducted on the old plan in England, as twilight is to utter darkness; but

notwithstanding this admission, and it is most sincerely and cordially made, I am also thoroughly convinced, that the Silent System pursued in the prison of Auburn is as inferior to the Solitary System observed in the Penitentiary of Philadelphia, as the twilight is to the full meridian blaze of the perfect day. I am unwilling, however, that this judgment should rest on my own opinion alone; and, therefore, 140 I gladly avail myself of some passages from an admirable letter, dated so recently as Jan. 1838, and written by Dr. Lieber, professor of history in the college of South Carolina, which reviews the comparative merits of the two systems in a masterly style, and arrives at the same conclusion.

Dr. Lieber says—

“1. The Auburn system acknowledges insulation as the fundamental principle of all sound prison discipline, which is not sufficient, indeed, to constitute it, but without which none is possible; but it does not carry through this vital principle; it stops short of its true effect. The convict in an Auburn penitentiary is kept at night in a solitary cell, which, however, does not make it physically impossible to commune with his neighbours; the prisoner, therefore, must be strictly watched.

“All wardens and chaplains of Auburn penitentiaries, whom I have asked, have not hesitated one moment to admit, that their prisoners do commune, but, add they, of course to a very limited extent, which cannot be dangerous. But I do believe that it is injurious to the prisoner, though it may not be dangerous to the prison authorities. Whenever I have spoken on this subject with convicts, they have admitted the fact, with a promptness, as if the contrary were out of question. The same convict told me, likewise, that the prisoners are very greedy to obtain newspapers, old or new, entire or torn; that they often obtain them in boxes which the hatters send back, through the cooks, barbers, or in any other way, and that in spite of all the severe punishment pending over them. they do contrive to hide, read, and pass them along.

“2. We object to the Auburn system on the ground of the violence which it absolutely requires. Either you make people who are congregated keep silence, or you do not. If not,

you abandon the principle of insulation; if you do, you must use as violent means as it would require to keep the hungry from seizing upon victuals before them. Nature cannot be counteracted by mild means. The desire, the urgent want of communion, without reference to the subject of communion, is an inmost and original longing, a vital instinct of our organization. Without it mankind would not be mankind. 141 I found once a prisoner in the Philadelphia penitentiary, who told me that it was music to his ears to hear the shuttle of his neighbour, and that without knowing who he was, he used to vie with him in the swiftness of using it. I heard once, in visiting a cell, an indistinct knock against the wall, which came from the next cell. I asked what it was—who was the neighbour? The prisoner answered that he did not know, as was the fact, but that once and a while his neighbour knocked and he answered. And for what purpose, I inquired—is it a sign? No, sir, he replied; of what should we give signs? It is only that he says, here am I—and I answer, I am here. The prisoner would have expressed his idea more distinctly had he said, 'My neighbour says, here is a man; and I answer, a man is here.' He owned he had been told not to do it, and it was always at the risk of the keeper's hearing it; still they did it now and then. So urgent is the abstract desire of communion, so irksome it is 'to be alone;' and yet we are expected to believe that men seeing each other, working close to each other, marching in actual contact with each other, the mouth of one close to the ear of the other, do not talk!

"3. The inmate of an Auburn penitentiary becomes known by sight to a vast community of criminals, who, by their very life of crime, disperse in all directions. Whoever has been an inmate of an Auburn prison must fear at every step to meet with an acquaintance, to be exposed, to see his possible endeavours to live honestly frustrated, except he have a degree of moral fortitude which we cannot expect: his offence is the very evidence of this want.

"4. It is absolutely necessary that the community should have confidence in a prison. This can only be maintained by free access to it, either of every one who chooses to go, or of persons in whom the public repose confidence—properly elected inspectors. Yet every

visiter gazing at the prisoner, when in common with others, is a new thrust at him, which removes him farther from society. Visits ought to be allowed but to very few indeed, and then made to the single prisoner, which cannot be the case in Auburn prisons. Still more objectionable is the permission given to females to visit the prison, as is the case, for instance, in Charlestown. It ought never to be done.

142

“5. Finally, it is impossible, if the principle of cheapness shall be preserved, to give to the cells on the Auburn plan those dimensions and that character which are requisite, not to effect a feeling of comfort, but of calmness, without which, the prisoner must grow worse and worse. Penned up in a very narrow cell, gloomy and every way striking the mind of the prisoner with the horrid reality that he is debased; that the man in him is not appealed to, he cannot be expected to soften in thought and feeling.

“We think, then, that the Auburn system does not effect what it strives to effect; does not afford an accommodable punishment; does not sufficiently prevent the growing worse of the convict; does not obtain the highest effect with the smallest means; requires physical violence to be maintained, and, therefore, irritates anew; is not well calculated for that religious or intellectual instruction which the criminal requires; does not prevent entirely contamination, and does not calm the prisoner; while it offers no other advantage than that of saving money in the first outlay, which, we think, is vastly overbalanced by the steady, sure, mild, yet effective mode of the Pennsylvania system, and we therefore believe the latter to be greatly preferable.

“When I came to this country many years ago, I knew nothing of the merits of either system. My attention was first drawn to the Auburn penitentiaries. I was struck with their great superiority over other prisons; when I became acquainted, however, with the Pennsylvania system, it appeared to me superior, and every year's observation of both

systems, as well as my reading on the subject, have confirmed my opinion more and more."

There are still many, however, who cling to the Auburn System, some because, having once advocated it, they are unwilling to change: and others because it is troublesome to examine evidence, and easier to abide by opinions once entertained. It is important therefore, that the objections to it, and its contrast with the superior results of the Solitary System of Pennsylvania, should be made extensively known. 143 There is, perhaps, no one subject that can engross public attention, on which it is more important to arrive at correct conclusions, than that of the connexion between crime and punishment; and the best mode of uniting with the latter effective processes for reforming and restoring the criminal to mankind. Though Beccaria was neglected, Howard laughed at, and Romilly and Bentham treated with contempt, for their noble efforts to enlighten the world on the subject of criminal jurisprudence; and though a similar fate, though with less virulence of persecution and scorn, has awaited many worthy efforts of humbler men to enlist mankind in improving and restoring criminals rather than destroying them, still the period is fast approaching when such efforts will be treated with the respect they deserve. It is, for this reason, important to diffuse as widely as possible, correct opinions on this subject.

Dr. Lieber, whose opinions are of the highest value, because of the favourable opportunities he has had of forming them—and because they are in opposition to his first impressions, which with all men are so difficult to be abandoned for more just ones—is powerfully supported by other authorities, to the full as important and unobjectionable; namely, William Crawford, Esq., and Whitworth Russell, Esq. Inspectors of Prisons for the Home District in England, both of whom had been sent to America for the express purpose of inspecting the prisons of this country, and had given them all the most thorough examination. Their second report, addressed to the Secretary of State for the Home Department, is specially 144 intended to lay before the British government their opinions of the "Silent System," as far as they had witnessed its operation in such few of the prisons of England as had yet adopted it. They admit its decided superiority to the old system

of criminal association, which had hitherto been universally followed in the prisons of Great Britain: but they still contend that it is greatly inferior to the “Separate System” of Philadelphia; and in the developement of their opinions, and the statement of the facts and reasons on which these are founded, they specially advert to the discipline of the prison at Auburn, which they had carefully examined; and express their convictions in the following terms:

“We will next consider the evil of recognition, with reference to its effects upon a prisoner who may be led or inclined to repent of his guilt, and to resolve upon an honest course of life. Whether the man really repents, or feels an inclination to return to honest courses, or to listen with serious attention to the admonitions which he may have received, this evil will operate upon him with a disastrous influence. In the former case, by steady perseverance in the path of industry and honesty, he may succeed in gaining the character of a useful member of society; but he will live in constant apprehension of having his good name suddenly and irremediably forfeited by the recognition of an abandoned fellow-prisoner, who may be tempted to expose the past delinquencies of the penitent, of whom, but for the previous acquaintance in prison, he might never have had the slightest knowledge. The separated, isolated villain is comparatively innoxious; it is combination—concentration of force, talent, and artifice—that renders wickedness formidable to society; and this combination is effected, consolidated, and organized, within the walls, or at the very gate, of the prison, more than anywhere else.”

There remains, after this, but one other branch of 145 this subject, to make the review of it complete; and that is, to contrast with these proved disadvantages of the Auburn system the great superiority and complete efficiency of the Philadelphia system; and this can be in no way so effectually done as by laying before the reader the brief yet comprehensive summary of Dr. Lieber, as contained in his letter already referred to. In enumerating the benefits of the union of uninterrupted solitude with labour, which is the characteristic of this system, he says—

“1. It prevents, effectually, contamination, and it alone can effectually prevent it. It allows the offender, at any rate, not to grow worse.

“2. It is essentially both a stern and a humane punishment; stern, because solitude is stern in its character, and especially so to men, who nearly, without exception, have spent their lives in boisterous intercourse with fellow-criminals; and humane, because it is a privation rather than an infliction. It is mild, and acknowledged as such by the offenders themselves, after the first irksomeness of solitude has passed, especially if they have passed previously through several other prisons or penitentiaries.

“3. It is emphatically graduable and accommodable as no other species of punishment. The offender, undisturbed by others, or by new inflictions of punishment, receives from solitude just that impression which his peculiar case or disposition calls for or is capable of.

“4. Advice and exhortation can be adapted to each single case in no other punishment, so precisely and justly like moral medicine, as in solitary confinement. The religious adviser, assistant, and comforter, can enter the solitary cell at any time, and, as all religious conversations with a convict must have much of the character of a confession, the undisturbed cell, overheard by no one, is the very place for this converse. In no other penitentiaries can this religious instruction he given so effectually

“5. Solitude is the weightiest moral agent to make the thoughtless thoughtful—to reflect, and the only one sufficiently powerful 146 for the criminally thoughtless. Solitude has been sought by the wisest and best of mankind, to prepare themselves for great moral tasks; it is the only means to bring the offender to a more rational course. Labour united with solitude, gives steadiness to the thought, and makes it possible to support solitude with ease for those who have not been accustomed to abstract reflection before.

“6. It is the only punishment known, which does not irritate anew, does not challenge opposition in mind or body; for it is the only punishment which can dispense with the

whip or other means of coercing to obedience, because it takes away the opportunity of offending anew, with the exception of such offences as destroying instruments or materials, for which again the more negative disciplinary means of withholding labour or diminishing rations are sufficient.

“7. It makes the lonely prisoner love labour as faithfully as the dearest companion—a companion who will be with him for life.

“8. It does not deaden shame by exposure; on the contrary, it shames many into repentance by its absence of all harshness, as I frequently have found. It does not inflict on those who have a strong sense of shame, the additional punishment of exposure.

“9. It does not expose the convict to acquaintance, even by night, with other criminals, who out of the prison form a very compact fraternity; to escape from the clutches of which, forms the most difficult obstacle in the way of resuming an honest life. The history of innumerable convicts proves this.

“10. It contradicts, for the first time, by irresistible fact, the convicts in their belief that society is at war with them, in which they please themselves so much, that frequently they argue as if they were the hunted, the pursued, the injured.

“11. The punishment has, therefore, what I have called an elevating character. It touches the man in the convict, not the brute. The convict sees himself treated as one on whom far different things than stripes can have an effect.

“12. It is, perhaps, the only punishment which allows us to select men for superintendents of prisons, in whom sternness does not overbalance kindness.

“13. It trains the convict in cleanliness, and paying attention to the neatness of his dwelling; it imparts an attention to the 147 room, which becomes the incipient stage of love of home, with those who have lived in slouchy disregard of it. It is an old English saying, full of

meaning, ‘cleanliness is next to godliness.’ A strictly cleanly man of the labouring classes will never be so much exposed to offend against the laws, as a disorderly, dirty person. Cleanliness, a highly important ingredient of national civilization, is equally such in political reform.

“14. All the reasons given in favour of the Pennsylvania plan assume still higher importance with the youthful or first offenders, because their minds are yet more ready to receive good impressions, and they have not yet formed that close association with criminals of older standing.

“15. It appears to me a great advantage of the Pennsylvania system that the prisoner is not prevented, by false shame, from lending his ear to better counsel, and gradually changing for the better.

“16. The convict thinks in kindness of his keepers, and the memory of the penitentiary is not a galling sore, when he has left it, and chooses to live by his labour.

“17. This system depends less upon the skill of the officers, or a long apprenticeship, than the Auburn system, in order to make it answer at all. The Pennsylvania system, therefore, is easier to be introduced.

“18. It is sufficient with our race, and at the stage of civilization we are now in, and no more, which is what a punishment ought to be. This point, which by experience alone, i.e. by close and circumspect observation of reality, not by hasty numbers and rash conclusions, can be decided, appears so to us; and none of us have seen reason as yet to change his opinion.

“19. Finally, it offers the greatest security, being, in this, superior to all other species of imprisonment.”

It is impossible to add to this, without weakening its force, except to say that the most careful examination and most mature deliberation make me concur in all the writer's sentiments on this subject; and if any apology should be deemed neeessary for citing them at such length, it is to be found in the conviction 148 that there is no one subject more important to the interests of humanity, than the right treatment of criminals, and to no country is this of greater importance than to England.

The town or village of Auburn, in which this State-prison is seated, contains about 900 houses and 6,000 inhabitants. It has seven churches, which are highly ornamental to the town; a beautiful court-house, with an Ionic portico and circular colonnade, supporting a dome, and crowned by a lantern, all in the best architectural taste; an academy, and a museum. The villas on either side of the town are among the prettiest we had seen; and the houses of the interior are substantial and spacious. The American Hotel is an excellent establishment; the streets are well-proportioned; the river Owasco runs through a part of the town, passing by the State-prison, and furnishes water-power for mills and manufactures: and, taken altogether, we thought it, from our first and second impressions, to be one of the prettiest towns on the western route.

CHAP. VII.

Journey to Syracuse—Male academy and Female seminary—Salt springs at Salina—Water-lime—Rail-road—Locks—Canal— Tunnel under the canal—Depth of vegetable mould—Spontaneous vegetation—Muster of the militia—Unpopularity of this body—Museum of Syracuse—Scriptural group of Saul, Samuel, and the Witch of Endor—Onondaga Indians.

We left Auburn on the morning of Monday the 10th of September, at seven o'clock, and travelled by the rail-cars on a wooden rail-road, drawn by two horses, to Syracuse, the distance being twenty-five miles, and the time occupied about three hours. We found

comfortable accommodations at the Syracuse House Hotel, and remained there for two days.

The town of Syracuse is one of the most recently settled of all the larger places along this route, it being not more than twelve years since the first house in it was built; yet it already possesses about 800 dwellings, many large warehouses and stores, an excellent hotel, with many smaller but still comfortable public inns, a bank, a court-house, seven churches, including Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist, Universalist, and Unitarian, and a population of nearly 7,000 persons. It is pleasantly situated, having the Onondaga lake, about a mile 150 from its north-western edge, and fine undulating hills, with the elevated village of Onandaga, formerly the county-town, on its southern border; while gentler elevations, east and west, connect it with the level land that extends along the line of the great Erie canal, in these directions. Syracuse, indeed, like many other places along this tract, owes its first existence and its present prosperity to this canal, which has caused many villages and towns to spring up and flourish along its whole extent, that, without its agency, would not, for many years at least, have been erected.

At this moment Syracuse enjoys the benefit of lying both in the stage route, and in the line of canal conveyance from the Hudson to lake Erie; so that more than 1000 persons, by all the different conveyances, pass through it, on an average, in each day. A rail-road is in progress from hence to Utica, which cannot fail to increase this number greatly; and the elements of prosperity in and around the town itself are so abundant, as to make it certain that in a very few years its size and population will be doubled.

The streets are regular, and of great breadth, from 80 to 100 feet; the houses and stores are, many of them, of stone and brick; and few, except the original buildings, continue to be of wood. The court-house is a large and substantial edifice, though it lies beyond the verge of the town on the north, instead of being, as is usual in similar cases, in the centre. The cause of this inappropriate situation is said to have been a contest between the neighbouring villages of Salina and Syracuse, as to which should have the 151 court-

house, and thus bring to it the transaction of the county business; when the relative strength of the rival parties was found to be so nearly balanced that a compromise was recommended, which was agreed upon, and, like most compromises, satisfied neither party; for the Court-house now stands nearly midway between the two villages, and in a position equally inconvenient to both.

A fine academy for the education of male youths stands on the eastern verge of the town. It is a substantial brick structure, and cost 20,000 dollars in the erection. It has at present 60 pupils, and is increasing in reputation. It was founded at first by individual subscription in shares; but now receives, like other public institutions of this nature, an annual grant in aid from the legislature of the State, in proportion to the number of pupils engaged in studying the higher branches of education. A female seminary has also been just established at Syracuse, in which a classical and mathematical, as well as an ornamental education, will be given to young ladies on nearly the same plan, and at the same expense, as at the Ontario Female Seminary at Canandaigua; so rapidly are the means of education multiplying all around, to keep pace with the increasing population.

In the immediate vicinity of Syracuse are some remarkable Salt Springs, which are producing great gain to their proprietors, affording extensive occupation to labourers, yielding a considerable revenue to the State, and attracting population every day to this quarter. There are four special localities in which these springs are at present worked; and around 152 each, a village of some size has gathered. There is one at Salina, one at Liverpool, and one at Geddes, three villages surrounding the borders of the Onondaga Lake, (which is 6 miles long and 2 miles broad) distant from each other only two or three miles, and one at Syracuse, an equal distance from them all.

We visited Salina, the oldest and largest of these Springs, in company with the superintendent, Mr. Wright, to whom we had been introduced by Mr. Marsh of the Syracuse bank, who accompanied us also in our excursion, and from both of whom we received every information and attention we could desire. It appears that the Salt Spring

here was well known to the Onondaga Indians inhabiting the borders of this Lake, long before any white settlers had come among them; and they had discovered it in the usual way of tracking the wild deer to it, when they came at certain seasons, to lick the salt from off the surface of the earth; the spot being hence called, in the language of the country, “a deer-lick.” Since the settlement of the whites, however, the value of this spring has became well known, and accordingly extensive works for the manufacture of salt have gradually sprung up all around; so that what the grain and flour trade is doing for Rochester, the salt-trade appears to be accomplishing for Syracuse.

The four Salt Springs, already named, are found at the depths of from 50 to 100 feet beneath the surface. From thence the water is pumped up by a waterpower taken from the surplus or waste waters of the Oswego canal. It comes out of the earth in the purest and most transparent state of clearness, at the rate of about 300 gallons per minute; and here, at 153 Salina, it is forced up to a height of nearly 200 feet above the level of the soil, to admit of its being supplied, from a general reservoir, to the salt-works of Salina and Syracuse, the latter a distance of a mile and half; as the Syracuse spring is not sufficiently abundant as to supply the works of the town, and the villages of Geddes and Liverpool use their own springs for their manufacture.

The mode of producing the salt is partly by solar evaporation of the water from shallow vats, partly by boiling the water in large cauldrons or kettles, imbedded over an extensive furnace, and partly by passing hot air in metallic tubes through the water in vats, instead of exposing it to solar or furnace heat. The saltness of the water furnished by these springs may be judged of by the fact, that 40 gallons of it will produce a bushel of salt, by either of the processes named, whereas it takes 360 gallons of the sea-water of the ocean to produce the same result: the amount of actual salt in the spring water is just 60 per cent; the taste being that of pure salt, without any foreign admixture.

At Salina, the quantity of salt made, varies from 12,000 to 16,000 bushels per day; but from all the four springs, at least 25,000 bushels per day are produced. The quantity of

wood consumed as fuel in the furnaces—though the greater portion of the salt is made by solar evaporation—is at least 600 cords per day, or not less, at the least, than 200,000 cords per annum, each cord weighing on the average about two tons. Already, indeed, the apprehension begins to be entertained that wood-fuel will be scarce, though the forests have been but a few years under the 154 axe; and measures are even now in contemplation for bringing up supplies of coals, by the Ohio and Lake Erie, from the western parts of Pennsylvania. As the springs have never yet failed, or even sensibly diminished, and have never been known to freeze, the manufacture goes on throughout the entire year, where the furnace and the heated tubes are used; and those works depending on solar evaporation are only interrupted during the short period of extreme severity in the winter.

In all the treaties for the purchase of lands from the Indians, and the sale of estates to private individuals, the State government reserves to itself the right to all minerals and mineral springs that exist at the time, or may be subsequently discovered; and accordingly the right to work such mines or springs is leased out by the State government to chartered companies, or private individuals, on easy terms. The revenue arising from this goes to the general fund of the State, and saves taxation in any other shape. This particular impost of 6 cents or three-pence English per bushel, paid as a salt-tax by the consumer, is by law appropriated to the liquidation of the debt contracted in making the Erie canal, so that when this debt is extinguished, the tax, small as it is, will cease. At the recommendation of the State geologists, who have been recently employed in making an accurate geological survey of the State of New York, and whose last report presented to the legislature is full of interest, the director of the works at Salina is causing the earth to be bored to a depth of 600 feet, in order to ascertain whether any bed of mineral salt may be found in the strata; it 155 being at present wholly unknown from whence these springs derive their strong saline qualities, and whether they are impregnated from beds near or remote.

The Seneca river runs along at the north-western end of the Onondaga lake, and opens for it a communication with the Oswego river, which again communicates with Lake

Ontario; so that while by means of the Erie canal Syracuse can send her supplies of salt to the Hudson river and New York on the Atlantic, and by Buffalo to Detroit and Chicago on the upper lakes of Michigan and Huron, she can also supply, by the Oswego communication, the whole of Upper and Lower Canada across the Lake Ontario. Already there is an export of more than 2,000 barrels per day, each barrel containing three bushels; and the cooperages here, though making this number of barrels, are beginning to devise means of increasing their supplies, by the introduction of an ingenious machine, which makes the staves, planes them, sets them up, and hoops and heads the barrel in an incredibly short space of time, so that they will soon be able to meet any demand made upon them.

Near the salt springs, a peculiar kind of lime is found in great quantities, which is called “waterlime;” it has the peculiar property of forming a cement which hardens under water, and it is, therefore, much better adapted to submarine masonry, such as bridges, locks, sides of canals, and works of this description, than any other cement yet known. Large quantities of this are used along the line of the Erie canal, and a still greater proportion is continually exported to different parts of the Union.

156

After inspecting the salt works, we went to see the labours now carrying forward, connected with the enlargement of the Erie canal, and with the making of the new rail-road from Syracuse to Utica, which both lie at a small village called Lodd, about a mile to the eastward of the town. In this excursion we were accompanied by Mr. Wilkinson, the engineer of the rail-road, whose ready communication of all the information we wished was as agreeable as it was advantageous.

The extent of this rail-road will be 52 miles; and the estimated cost of the whole line, for every mile of which the contracts are in actual operation, will be 800,000 dollars. It was begun in the autumn of last year, and will be completed in the autumn of the next; so that the whole will have been executed in two years. There are at present upwards of 5,000

labourers employed in different parts of it; and it is expected that in the next spring and summer 10,000 at least will be required. Those now employed are nearly all English and Irish, with a very few Germans. The English are generally employed in excavating the line of road by contract, and are paid eight cents, or fourpence English, per cubic yard, at which rate they make easily 1 dollar 25 cents, or five shillings sterling per day.

The Irish are employed as labourers at day-work, and are paid a dollar per day. In all the contracts made with the men, it is expressly stipulated that no spirits shall be drunk by any of them; and the penalty of disobedience is immediate discharge. They are thus uniformly sober, and those disgraceful riots which so often take place among the labourers 157 employed on the canals and rail-roads in England, are here unknown. The appearance, order, and good condition of the workmen is as striking as their sobriety; and, large as are the numbers working together, the mere absence of intoxicating drink is such as to make them indisposed to any violence, either of conduct or language. The instances of men's leaving are very few indeed; and none substitute any other beverage except tea, coffee, milk, or water, upon which, the engineer assured us, they performed their work better, and with less fatigue, than he had ever known men do it, who drank either spirits, cider, or beer. This rail-road is undertaken by a company of shareholders, who have a charter from the State government for fifty years; but during all this period, their maximum rate of charge for passengers is fixed at four cents each, or twopence English, per mile.

The part of the works which attracted our greatest admiration was a double set of locks making for the enlarged canal; and an arched tunnel of stone for the rail-road to pass *under* the canal. They were each as fine specimens of masonry as could be seen in any country, whether for the material, the size of the blocks, or the excellence of the workmanship. The stone is a hard and compact limestone, little inferior to granite, of which there are immense quarries in the Onondaga hills, to the south of the town, extending over a range of six miles in length, and producing masses of any size, without veins, shales, or fissures. The stone, indeed, is so much valued for massive works, that the Rochester aqueduct across the Genessee river, by means of a bridge, is 158 now constructing of it;

and thousands of tons are exported along the Erie canal every year, this and the water-lime being in equal repute and demand.

In consequence of the softness of the soil in some parts over which the rail-road is to run, it was deemed necessary to drive down large piles perpendicularly, and, making their upper ends level, to place the rails along upon these. It was found, however, that the soil of loose earth, or pure vegetable mould, was so deep as to descend in some places 60 feet, before the piles obtained a firm footing; and the average depth of this mould was from 30 to 40 feet throughout. This discovery has already raised the value of the land all along this part of the tract, which is moreover close to the town of Syracuse, at Lodi. In this spot, therefore, may be seen, from the same point of view, newly-cleared patches of forest land, with all the stumps of the trees yet remaining in the soil; and within a few yards of this, grand works of masonry going on, in double locks for the enlarged canal, and a subaqueous tunnel for the rail-road, on a scale of magnitude, and in a style of workmanship, which would have done honour to the old Sicilian Syracuse herself; so that, if the tyrant Dionysius could rise from his grave, and be transported here, he would not be ashamed of the young efforts of the infant Syracuse of the West.

This rich earthy mould, when taken up from the greatest depth, and spread out on the surface, vegetates spontaneously, producing a variety of the ordinary shrubs and grasses, from seeds previously imbedded at these great depths in the earth, and 159 germinating only when brought to the surface. When a manure of gypsum is laid over it, the production is invariably a fine crop of white clover; but when no particular preparation of it is made, the produce is of various kinds, but mostly similar to the surrounding productions of the country. On this subject, the following observations of Mr. Latrobe are worth quoting, as they corroborate the view here taken, though applied to other localities. He says,

“No sooner does the axe of the woodman, or the accidental burning of the forests, destroy one class of trees and brushwood, a class that may have apparently covered the soil for centuries, than another race, perfectly distinct, rises, as though by magic, from

the disturbed and discoloured soil, and covers it with beauty. The proofs of the almost universal principle of spontaneous vegetation throughout both the forest and prairie lands of the New Continent, are so well known and acknowledged, as to need no additional confirmation at the present day. We have met with continual evidences of its truth in the east and the west.

“It would seem that the seeds of one class of plants and forest trees must be deposited, by some catastrophe, beyond the action of light, heat, and atmospheric air—where they lie, supplanted by another growth, and are forgotten; preserving, however, the vital principle for centuries, in a dormant or torpid state, till accident or tillage brings them to a position favourable to their reproduction to light and life. Thus it is that marl dug from pits thirty feet deep in some parts of the Union, on being spread over the soil, becomes instantly covered with white clover: and in New Jersey this is the case with mud taken up from the bottom of the Delaware, and used for purposes of manure.”

During our stay at Syracuse, the militia of the State was mustered, and reviewed; and we had a repetition of many of the scenes we had previously witnessed at Rochester, though they were here presented in a broader and more ludicrous light. To 160 supply the place of a standing army, each State has a militia of its own; and to this body legally belongs every male person in the State, between the ages of 18 and 45, who are not exempted by law on account of public service rendered in some other shape. They furnish their own dresses, arms, and accoutrements, and are called out for muster four times in the year. The penalty of non-attendance is five dollars for each private, and for the officers larger sums in proportion: but a great number prefer paying the fine to giving their personal attendance; and the amount of the fines is appropriated to the fund of the State for military purposes.

Those to whom the payment of the fine is inconvenient, and who therefore attend in person, have laboured for some time past to bring the whole muster and exercise into ridicule, and they certainly succeeded at Syracuse at least. For many years, according to

the testimony of most persons, the military spirit has been upon the decline in the United States; war is looked upon as irreligious and unprofitable, and for both these reasons it is unpopular; and, as a consequence of this, less veneration is felt and less honour shown towards the members of the military profession than formerly. It is found that internal peace is best preserved by the reciprocal action of mutual interests between man and man; and certainly, except in the slave states, and when anti-abolition riots are got up in the free ones, the condition of the whole population is so sober and orderly, that no force, civil or military, is ever necessary to be called in, to maintain the public peace.

161

Being thus secure from internal disorder, the people think they have nothing to fear from external aggression; and if they had, these four days' muster and exercise in the year would not prepare men for better resisting it, while the personal service and exhibition is an inconvenient tax upon the time and labour of the middle classes of the community. They are therefore anxious to get rid of this useless service altogether; and for this purpose they do all they can to make it ridiculous, obeying the law while it is law, but operating as much as they can on public opinion to get it repealed.

The muster began in the following manner. A drummer and fifer paraded through the public streets, beating a quick march; these were first joined by one recruit or militia-man, in his ordinary working-dress, but with a leathern belt, musket, and fixed bayonet. He was soon joined by another, in a frock, with a musket, and, in lieu of a bayonet, a tall white feather stuck in the barrel. Next to him followed a party of young men, dressed grotesquely on purpose, each with wooden poles of different heights, thickness, and colours; then a man in uniform, well equipped; after him a dozen others all differently dressed, and so they accumulated their numbers as they marched along, all following in single file from street to street in succession. A second band, composed of two long drums, two fifes, and a bugle, beat up for a second party, which they picked up one by one in the same manner. After this a third band, and then a fourth and fifth, till about noon there were perhaps a dozen different bands, all very feeble, followed each by from VOL. III M 162 50 to 100

militia-men, in every conceivable variety of dress and accoutrements, and all in studied irregularity and disorder.

They then met all together in the open square near the centre of the town, and were there joined by the staff, on horseback; when the bands all united in one, the long drums being the most numerous of the instruments. Forming in double file, they were next marched away to the parade-ground in the field, about a mile off, and there exercised in the manual exercise, which was perhaps the most ridiculous of ail, as every one studied to do the thing he was not commanded to do, and to leave undone the thing that he was commanded to do. The officers being just as averse to this drilling as the men, took no pains to correct these defects, so that no one could be improved by such a muster as this.

After parade they were marched back into the town again, both horse and foot being by this time literally covered with dust; and after a few evolutions displayed in the square, they were dismissed, and broke up in “most admired disorder.”

I inquired of those most competent to form an opinion on the subject, how it was that a law, so generally obnoxious as this, should so long remain upon the statute-book, and thus outlive its estimation in public opinion. The uniform answer I received to my inquiries was this—that a number of legal young men get appointed to county and municipal offices, in which they have to exercise a jurisdiction over the militia; that the profits arising from this were sufficient to induce them to act in concert, to preserve their privileges; and that their co-operative 163 influence over the members of the State Legislature is sufficient to prevail upon them not to alter this law.

One great branch of expense, on which most of the fines for non-attendance are absorbed, is the holding of courts-martial over officers and men, for various alleged breaches of discipline. These courts are organized with all due formality, presided over by a judge advocate, and attended by witnesses, &c.; and the proceedings in them are carried on to a most vexatious length and inconvenient frequency, for the profit which they

afford to the office-holders. This occasions great annoyance to the persons summoned, tried, and convicted, as well as even to those who may be acquitted, as to each and all of them the loss of time and expense is considerable. It is agreed on all hands, however, that this cannot last much longer.

One very pleasing feature of the scene was this: that though upwards of a thousand men had been all day in motion in the heat and dust, and must have been both thirsty and fatigued, we did not see a single instance of any one being intoxicated, or the least affected by liquor; nor were there, as there would have been at any English assemblage of this description, any booths or places for the sale of drink, strewing every man's path with temptation. The same general prevalence of temperance we observed all along our route; for neither at the public tables at which we dined, sometimes in company with 100 persons, nor even when the Canandaigua convention had drawn so many in from all parts of the country, did we see more, perhaps, than one solitary bottle of M 2 164 wine on the table, almost everybody drinking water, and not seeming to desire any other substitute; indeed, we never once saw spirits, cider, or beer on any table, in all our extensive journey.

In the afternoon of our last day at Syracuse, we went to see the Museum, at which two fine large serpents, of the Anaconda tribe, were to be seen, just fresh from South America, imported in a ship to New York. This, like most of the museums we had yet seen in the country towns, was very poor in objects of natural history, or even in curiosities of any interest. They are not, as in England, attached to some literary institution, with a scientific man as a director, but they are the property of very unlearned persons, who use them as a sort of provincial theatre, for which they are in many instances a substitute. In the day-time a flag is hoisted on the building, or sometimes hung out of the window. A small band of three or four instruments is then employed to play at a balcony or other place in front; the band here consisted of a wretched violin, a hurdy-gurdy, and a long drum; but this seemed to attract passengers, who entered from the street, paid their shilling admission,

gazed around their half hour, looked at the serpents, the stuffed beasts, and the wax-work figures, which attracted the largest share of attention, and then departed.

These wax-work figures, I observed, formed a prominent part of every provincial museum that I had yet seen. They represented, generally, prominent characters of the American revolution, and sometimes popular officers of the United States navy and army; but the resemblances were so imperfect, and the dress and 165 accompaniments so awkward and ill-fitted, that the most intimate acquaintances would have found it difficult to recognize their friends, but for the inscription of their names over the figures themselves. There was one group here, however, which was even more attractive to the visitors than the figures of Washington, Franklin, and General Jackson; this was the Scriptural personages of King Saul, the Ghost of the prophet Samuel, and the Witch of Endor. The former was arrayed in all his royal robes, with his diadem on his head, though the Scriptural account of the interview represents Saul as disguising himself, by putting on other garments: the ghost of Samuel was dressed in a white calico sheet, thrown around his head and body, leaving only the face and beard visible: and the Witch of Endor was dressed in an old-fashioned English gown of black bombazeen, with a long waist and stays, her head covered with a pointed hat like the witches in Macbeth, and over her shoulders was a printed cotton handkerchief of Glasgow or Manchester manufacture! Yet this was thought an admirable group, and was evidently the most attractive of all the objects contained in the Museum. At night, a cheap theatre for farces, songs, dances, and similar entertainments, is opened; and this being frequented by labourers and children, forms the chief source of their revenue.

During our stay at the Museum, there were many Indians present, especially women and children, many of them very gaily dressed, with scarlet blankets, feathers, beads, and trinkets, and all appearing to enjoy the music very much, as well as to be greatly amused with the effect of a very poor electrical machine 166 on those who held its chain. I ascertained, on inquiry, that these Indians belonged to the tribe of the Onondagas, who have a small settlement near Syracuse, and that free admission is given to them

whenever they come to town; as the sight of them in the windows and about the buildings, draws strangers to enter, for the sake of seeing them more at leisure than they could do in passing the streets. The females were more than usually gay and attractive in their apparel, and appeared, from their smiling countenances and flaunting manner, to have learnt the art of coquetry from the whites, in which their visit to the Museum for the purpose of attracting others, gave them abundant opportunities of practice, without much improvement to their morals.

CHAP. VIII.

Journey from Syracuse to Utica — Beauty of the country — Commencement of the autumnal tints — Fruitfulness of American orchards—Fruit given to feed cattle, instead of making cider— Lectures at Utica — Description of the city — History and progressive increase—Convention of the Whigs—Excursion to Trenton Falls — Stratification of the rocky bed — Fossil remains — Favosite—Description of the Falls—Fatal accidents— Beauty of the scenery—Variety of views—Comparison with Niagara— Journey from Utica to Schenectady—Beauty of the Mohawk valley—Journey from Schenectady to Saratoga.

Having examined everything of interest in and around Syracuse, we left that town for Utica on Wednesday, the 12th of September, taking, as was our usual practice where rail-roads did not exist, an extra-coach for our party, and thus travelling at our ease and pleasure. We left Syracuse at half-past eight, and reached Utica about five, being thus more than eight hours in performing a distance of fifty miles, though we had a lightly-laden coach, and four good horses all the way; but the roads are really so bad, even in what the people of the country think the best parts of them, that the travelling is both slow and fatiguing in a very high degree. I think 200 miles might be performed in England with much less muscular motion, and with far less sense of fatigue, than 50 miles on the stage-roads of America.

As our route was the same as that by which we had before travelled when going westward, we 168 observed nothing new, beyond those changes which the more advanced state of the season had produced. The beautiful and extensive landscape views were as striking as ever, and impressed us at every step with the boundless fertility of the country, and the certainty of its future greatness, when an increased population shall have filled up all the present unoccupied tracts of forest and uncleared land, of which there are still millions of acres untouched by the axe of the woodman. The harvest of grain had all been gathered in, and was unusually abundant. The autumnal tints had begun to appear upon the trees, and gave additional richness to the foliage; and the orchards, of which we saw hundreds in the course of our journey, many adjoining the road-side, others attached to isolated dwellings, and others intermingled with the woods and fields, were literally bending beneath the weight of their fruit.

Abundant, however, as is the supply, from the orchards of this part of the country, scarcely any of their produce is now devoted to the making of cider. The temperance societies have proved, to the entire satisfaction of the farmer, that it is more economical and more profitable to him to feed his cattle on the fruit than to convert it into a beverage which does not benefit, any more than simple water would do, those who use it ever so moderately, and which greatly injures those who take it to excess. This new appropriation of the fruits of the orchard to food, instead of drink, being found by experience to be the most profitable to the grower, is likely to remain permanent, and cider has accordingly disappeared as a general beverage of the peasantry.

169

We remained in Utica three days, on the evenings of which I delivered three lectures descriptive of the monuments of Egypt, to a smaller audience than any I had yet found, in either of the towns of the State, the number scarcely exceeding 100, though the population is above 12,000. This was the more remarkable, as the lectures were announced under the auspices of a committee, at the head of which was the Mayor of the city, the President

of the Young Men's Association, and about a dozen of the most influential and important men of the place. I learnt from these, however, that Utica was undoubtedly far behind many towns of much less population, in literary taste; and that consequently the number who took any interest in promoting the diffusion of literary information, was comparatively few indeed; while the great majority of the community were so immersed in business, that they could not, or would not, afford the time to turn aside from their ordinary occupations for any thing but food and rest, and even to these they devoted much less time than the demands of nature for both require. This is, indeed, characteristic of the business-men of the country generally, who are so entirely absorbed in their various pursuits, that any and everything which does not strictly advance these, is thought to be unworthy of their attention; a fault, which time alone is likely to correct.

Utica is very pleasantly situated, and is a remarkably fine town. It stands on the southern bank of the Mohawk river, just before its entrance into the valley of that name, and the great Erie Canal (now in progress of enlargement here) passes right through 170 its centre. It is a much older place than Buffalo or Rochester, though not so large or so populous as either. A fort existed here, called Fort Schuyler, long before the war of the revolution, some remains of which are still visible; and in its immediate neighbourhood a party of German settlers, who had fixed their abode here, were routed by the Indians, some being captured and made prisoners, and others, flying for safety, took shelter in some of the settlements farther east.

In 1784 the permanent settlement of this spot commenced by a single family, who took up their position about four miles west of Fort Schuyler: and in 1789 several other families were tempted to pitch their dwellings on the spot where Utica now stands. This nucleus once formed, soon drew others around it, and in 1798 it was advanced to a sufficient size to obtain a charter, as an incorporated village; so rapid was its increase after this, that in 1832 it rose to the dignity of a city, and was incorporated as such. The progressive increase of its population has been steady from the commencement, and is now going on with an accumulated force, as will be seen by the following return:

In 1813 it was 1700

1816 2828

1820 2972

1823 4017

In 1826 it was 6040

1828 7460

1830 8323

1835 9500

And in the present year, 1838, the population exceeds 12,000; the advantages of its position as a depôt of supplies for all the surrounding country, 171 attracting merchants and traders every year to settle here.

The city, like all the other towns of this State, is well laid out; the streets regular, of ample breadth, 100 feet on the average, well furnished with flag-pavements for foot-passengers, and better paved in the centre than most places in this country. The wooden houses of the original settlers are almost wholly supplanted by large brick dwellings, and store-edifices of brick or stone. The stores are numerous and well furnished, and the whole place wears an air of great commercial activity, and prosperity.

Of public buildings there are an abundance proportioned to the population of the city, including a 172 court-house, for the transaction of the county business, and no less than 18 churches, of which the Presbyterians have the greatest number; the others include Episcopalians, Methodists, Baptists, Universalists, and Unitarians. There axe, besides these, several institutions connected with education, and the diffusion of useful

information; including a high-school, an academy, a female institute or seminary, a lyceum, a gymnasium, a museum, and a mechanics' hall, where the members of the Young Men's Association chiefly meet, and where a reading and newsroom is open to them, to which all strangers in the town have free admission. The materials for the cultivation of future literary taste are therefore provided and set in motion, though the effects hitherto produced by them all are only just beginning to be perceptible; but time, which is requisite for the accomplishment of all improvements, will bring the fuller development of this taste in its train. Business is the chief object and pursuit of all classes; and for the accommodation of persons thus engaged, nothing is wanting. There are five hotels, three banks, several insurance companies, three daily newspapers, several weekly ones, and a religious journal called “The Baptist Register,” as well as a magazine, published here.

During our stay at Utica, a whig convention was held, to determine on the whig candidates for the offices of governor and lieutenant-governor of the State, the election for which takes place in November next. The town was, therefore, very full; and the hotels so crowded that it was difficult to procure accommodation. To such conventions it is usual for 173 each congressional district in the State to send as many delegates as they are entitled to send representatives to the legislature of the State. To this number, New York city, from its great population, contributes 11, while no other district sends more than 4. The State is divided into 33 congressional districts, by which votes are given for members of the Lower House, or House of Assembly, of which there are 128, and into 8 Senatorial districts, by which the votes are given for the members of the Upper House, or Senators, of which there are 32, each dictrict sending 4 members. The members of the Lower House are all elected annually, and those of the Upper House for four years, one member for each district going out each year, and the vacancy being filled up by an annual election. The suffrage for both houses includes every male citizen above 21 years of age, and the mode of voting is in both cases by ballot.

The convention, thus consisting of 128 members, corresponding with the number of the representatives in the House of Assembly, was quite full; but in addition to those who

came officially, a great many of the citizens and voters were drawn in from the surrounding country as visitors and spectators. The meetings were all on one side, as usual in this country, and all the preliminary ones were secret. The public meeting at which the nomination took place was held in the court-house; and it having been ascertained by the preliminary meetings (this being indeed their object) which of the several persons named as candidates was likely to command the greatest number of votes, these were selected, and 174 put in nomination, the majority yielding up their particular views or preferences in favour of the persons chosen by the majority; thus evincing that sort of unanimity which is shown by an English jury when the minority gives way to the majority, and present their verdict as unanimous; or by the cabinet ministers of England, when they make any public act what is called a “cabinet measure,” and come down to Parliament declaring themselves to be of one mind, and not only voting, but sometimes speaking in favour of a measure in the House, which they had just before opposed in the Council-chamber; the unanimity in each case being only obtained by a sacrifice of truth and principle.

From Utica we made an excursion to Trenton Falls, this being the nearest convenient point on the western route from which they can be visited. They are distant from Utica only 14 miles, in a northerly direction; but the roads are so much worse than the stage-roads in general, that it takes three hours, with the best horses, to accomplish the journey. We accordingly left Utica at eight o'clock, and reached the Hotel of the Falls at eleven, having stopped twice to water the horses by the way. The drive is beautiful, from the extensive and delightful views with which it abounds. From the ridge of the elevated land, that lies about midway between Utica and the Falls, the view is really superb: embracing distant mountains, successive ridges of forests, swelling uplands, and cultivated plains, containing every element that can contribute to the sustenance and enjoyment of their occupiers. The hotel is commodious and well furnished, and there are two or three 175 villages with good inns on the road; so that every requisite accommodation can be procured.

The stream, on which the Trenton Falls occur, is called the West Canada Creek, though it is a river of some length, rising in the north of the State of New York, and joining its waters

with the stream of the Mohawk, at a distance of 22 miles from the Falls. At this spot, the bed of the river is upwards of 100 feet below the upper edge of the banks, so that the stream itself is not visible until you are upon its very edge; but a dark and deep hollow between the eastern and western hills that overhang it on either side, indicates the course of the valley through which it runs.

The hotel is not more than 100 yards from the western bank; and this short way is through a thick mass of trees which ascend from the river close to the edge of the lawn. At the end of the walk, you arrive at the place of descent, where five broad ladders, or series of steps, with hand-rails, make the passage perfectly safe and easy to the bed of the stream. At the time of our visit the water was low, no rain having fallen for many weeks, so that we saw more of the rocky bed, and of the different strata composing it, than is visible when the water is high; though at the seasons when this is the case, in the months of April and November, the increased body of the flood gives greater force and grandeur to the Cataracts; but then, on the other hand, the difficulty and danger of visiting every part of them is much greater.

The depth of the rocky bed, over which the river runs, and on the sides of which we were now enabled 176 to walk—is upwards of 100 feet from the top of the overhanging banks, and the breadth across the ravine at the top is about 200 feet. The stream, when at the fullest, is about 150 feet in breadth: but at the present time it did not exceed 50: and in some of the narrowest parts was less than 20. The sides of the lofty banks presented nearly perpendicular cliffs, exhibiting a vast number of thin strata or laminæ of transition-rock, of which the patient perseverance of Mr. Sherman, (grandson of Robert Sherman, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence,) has counted 400 separate layers, varying from one to eighteen inches thick. The lower strata are of what is called compact fœtid carbonate of lime, and these abound most with organic or fossil remains; each layer, however, having fossils peculiar to itself. Some of the middle strata, about 177 50 feet below the upper surface, contained shells like those in the bed of the Genessee river at Rochester; others, the 400th stratum particularly, contained trilobites, of which, it is said,

no perfect specimens have been obtained entire, except at this spot, either in Europe or America; and even here it is very difficult to get them without their being more or less mutilated.

Its generic name, first given by Dr. Dekay, of New York, is the *Isotelas Gigas.* Its ordinary size is from one to two inches long, from half an inch to an inch broad, and from a quarter of an inch to half an inch thick: its head is unusually large for the size of its body, occupying one-fourth its whole length, and its body is divided longitudinally into three lobes, (from whence its name,) with transverse stripes, like rings, or ridges, or scales, overlapping each other. They occur abundantly at Dudley in Warwickshire, being found in the limestone there, and were at first called “Dudley fossils.” They are now known, however, to be abundant in other parts of England, always in limestone, and some have also been found in Germany and Sweden, but the most perfect specimens are said to be here: one recently obtained by the keeper of the hotel, and which we saw, was the largest ever found, being 8 inches in length by 4 in breadth, beautifully marked, and perfect in all its parts: he asked 300 dollars, or £60 sterling, for it, and believed he should get 500 dollars for it, if he kept it a few years!

The animal, now extinct, having a sort of slip at the termination of the side-lobes, like an Indian paddle, it is inferred that it could readily swim, and 178 these slips being not only movable, but crustaceous, it is also conjectured that it could as readily crawl at the bottom of the sea, to which it once belonged. Another fossil is found here, called the Favosite, on which Mr. Sherman has the following curious observations:—

“I have hazarded, to several, the novel conjecture, that the Favosite—found here in the greatest abundance, from one-eighth of an inch to six inches in diameter at the base, and from two to nine superstructures, some containing 6 or 800,000 columns—is a miniature exemplification of columnar basaltes at the Giants' Causeway and other places; which, if my conjecture is correct, must have been the production of a gigantic order of marine antediluvian (not to say antimundane) polypi. Whether the substance which

composes these columnar forms is lime, silex, basalt, or other substance, so exactly do they correspond to each other in their prominent but very singular peculiarities, that I am unable to doubt it. There is one single point only, in which I have not had opportunity to make a comparison, viz., as to the circular perforations in the parities of the cell, by which the mass becomes one connected system. I am not advised whether any such thing has been observed in columnar basaltes, i. e. in the prism, or space of column, between the articulations. The hollow specimens, or the weather-worn summits, are those alone where we are authorised to expect this demonstration, and where, in view of the entire correspondence in every particular, I have no doubt it can and will be found. It would be a miracle in nature, that there should be a perfect correspondence in twenty particulars, and yet a failure in the last. The basaltic columns must, of course, be mammoth favosites."

From the depth of the ravine, the singular appearance of the countless lines of horizontal strata in the perpendicular cliffs, the rich clothing of foliage which crown these summits, and often lines their sides, the solitude of the spot, and the turbulent rushing and roaring of the waters, as well as the beauty 179 and variety of the views either up or down the stream, the prospect was full of beauty, uniting the wildness and softness of nature in an unusual degree. We walked up from hence along the rocky platform of the western bank, which at the present time was perfectly easy, though, when the river is full, it is necessary to hold on by chains fastened to the cliff, to avoid the danger of falling into the stream—a fate that has befallen two young ladies, one, Miss Suydam, of New York, in 1827; and another, Miss Thorne, of the same city, a few years later.

This brought us to the first Falls, which are called Sherman's Falls, and are about thirty-five feet high. The appearance was picturesque rather than grand, and pleasing rather than sublime; the impression, even of the picturesque and pleasing, was derived more from the surrounding scenery, than from the Fall itself. A little below this, a safe and well-secured wooden bridge is thrown across the stream, by which a passage is effected to the eastern

bank; and ascending thence to a height called the Pinnacle, a fine view is commanded of the upper and lower Falls, and the deep gorge of the ravine.

Descending again to the bed of the river, and recrossing the bridge, a series of ladders and paths lead higher up the western bank, along which you walk till you arrive at what are called the High Falls, of which there are three separate cascades, the upper one having a descent of forty-eight feet, the second eleven, and the third or last thirty-seven; the whole, including the perpendicular and sloping descents, making one hundred and nine feet. This is, on the whole, the finest point of the Falls, the scenery and the cataracts 180 together forming a sublime and beautiful picture; and in the season of the floods, it must possess terror as well as beauty.

From hence we again ascended over the broken ledges of the rocks, the several strata of the limestone shaling off from each other, in thicknesses of from four to eight inches, making a series of natural steps, by each ledge projecting out below and in advance of the one above it; so that if persons possess confidence, nothing can be safer than the foot-hold obtained.

Above these high Falls, is a house of refreshment, where we were all glad to halt, and though the provender was very limited in variety—biscuits, cheese, and sweet cakes, being the only food to be obtained— neither bread nor butter being in the catalogue; yet our climbing exercise had given us appetites, for which anything wholesome had a rich zest; and here we halted, to repose and recruit. The view from hence is also exquisitely beautiful, and may be gazed upon for hours without tiring. There are three other Falls even above this, called “The Mill Dam,” “The Cascades,” and “The Upper Falls;” and each has beauties of its own that are quite worth the fatigue of the walk to examine and enjoy, though these cascades are not more than fourteen, eighteen, and twenty feet in perpendicular fall.

The winding path which leads from the last point of inspection, back to the hotel, is through a dense primeval forest, the shade of which was most grateful during the heat of the day, for our excursion occupied about three hours, from eleven to two. Besides the pleasure it afforded us from its shade, 181 the path brought us every now and then to the immediate brink of the precipice overhanging the deep valley on its western edge, and gave us frequent opportunities of looking down into the magnificent ravine below. The whole difference of elevation between the point where the first rapid commences, just above the Upper Fall, to the place where the last rapid terminates, beyond the lowest, or Conrad's Fall, is 387 feet, in a distance of 5 miles; but in the walk along the edge of the western cliff from the High Falls to Sherman's Fall, and a little below it, the views are indescribably beautiful.

The scene wants the might and majesty of Niagara, with which, indeed, it ought never to be compared, because they are entirely dissimilar; but what it wants in size and grandeur, is made up fully in picturesque beauty, and in exquisite variety of view, changing at every point, and forcing the most indifferent to express their admiration. Altogether we were delighted with our excursion; and after dining at the hotel at two, we returned home by the same route, enjoyed a lovely sunset view of Utica glittering in the centre of the great plain on which it stands, and reached the city about six o'clock.

On the following morning, Sept. 16, we left Utica by the rail-road cars for Schenectady, starting at nine o'clock, and arriving at one, being thus four hours in performing a distance of 81 miles. Our route was through the beautiful valley of the Mohawk, which lost none of its charms on a second inspection, but presented a continued series of lovely landscapes, thickly-wooded hills, rich grazing plains, abundant cattle, the constantly-enlarging and ever-winding river, and flourishing 182 villages all along the line. At Schenectady we were joined by a British officer, who had come out by the last London packet from England to New York, and was on his way to Montreal and Quebec, this being found a nearer route than the passage to Halifax or Canada direct. We took, at this place, the rail-road cars for

Saratoga Springs, and reached there about half-past five o'clock; we found comfortable quarters at our former abode, the Union Hall Hotel, with very few visiters, and here we remained, therefore, for the night.

On the next morning, as the weather was delicious, we took a walk around the village; but nothing could be more striking than the solitude and silence in which it was now enwrapped, compared with the throng and bustle in which we left it six weeks ago. Then, it was estimated that there were more than 3,000 visitors from all parts of the Union, and every house, public and private, was full to overflowing. Now, there were not more than 70 strangers in the place, all of whom were stopping at Union Hall, as all the other large hotels had been closed during the preceding week. The spacious porticos and verandas of the Congress Hall and United States Hotel, that a few weeks ago were filled with the choicest specimens of the beauty and fashion of the United States, were now as solitary as the ruins of Babylon or Palmyra; and as a large number of the shop-keepers, as well as those forming the establishments of the hotels, are temporary residents for the season, these, too, had taken their flight; so that in a walk of two or three hours, through and around the village, we did not see half a dozen individuals.

183

The few persons remaining at the hotel were real invalids, who came here, *bona fide*, for their health, some to take the waters, but others for the pure air and undisturbed tranquillity of the spot, and both of these could certainly be enjoyed in the highest degree of perfection at this moment. In the open air, the sun still continued to be warm; but at the same time there was a freshness in the air which made exercise as delightful as it was healthy. Within doors, however, a fire was agreeable; and the majority of the company seemed to prefer forming a circle round a blazing hearth, on which large logs of wood were continually supplied, to going out. and newspapers; books, and conversation beguiled their time.

In directing my inquiries as to our route from hence to Boston, I found that the one which would afford us the best opportunity to see the greatest extent and variety of country in our way, would be to go from hence to the commencement of Lake George, sail up that beautiful sheet of water to the ruined fort of Ticonderoga; there join the steam-boat from Whitehall on the following day, and go up Lake Champlain to Burlington; from thence cross over the hills of Vermont, by Montpelier, to the White Mountains in New Hampshire; and thence across the country to Portland in Maine, from which steam-boats go daily to Boston; for this route we accordingly prepared, sending a servant with our heavy baggage round from New York into Boston by sea.

CHAP. IX.

Visit to Glen's Falls—Caldwell—Voyage up Lake George—Romantic scenery—Beautiful islands—Ruins of Fort Ticonderoga— Passage across Lake Champlain — Shoreham — Burlington steamer—Beautiful model and high order of this vessel—Scenery of Lake Champlain—Solar eclipse—Arrival at Burlington description of the town—Journey to Montpellier—Romantic scenery of the Green Mountains—Exquisite beauty of the autumnal tints—Montpellier, the capital of Vermont—State-house—History and description of Vermont—Resources and productions—Manufactures and commerce of the state—Increase of the population—Religious institutions—Journey from Montpellier to Danville—Extensive view—Elevation of the mountains—Thick forest—Gorgeousness of the trees—Danville—Village gossips—Inquisitiveness of the New England character—First bed with curtains, slept in, since leaving England.

On Monday the 17th of September, we left Saratoga Springs for Lake George, in the regular stage-coach that runs between these places. The distance was only 27 miles, but, though we left at one o'clock, we did not reach the end of our journey till nine: having been eight hours on the road, and with four horses, twice changed on the way, accomplishing only about three miles and half in the hour. The road, it must be admitted, was both hilly and sandy; but it was altogether the slowest rate of travelling we had yet experienced in

the country. The only place of interest that we passed in the route, was the spot 185 where we crossed the Hudson, at Glen's Falls. After Niagara and the Trenton Falls, the cataract here would be regarded as insignificant, though it is not without its share of interest. The actual perpendicular fall is 63 feet, though there is a steep angular descent of 500 feet at least: but at this season of the year the waters were low, and consequently the full effect of the cataract could not be seen. The bed of the river exhibits precisely the same appearances as those already described at Trenton Falls, where successive layers of limestone rock, formed by successive deposits and subsequent pressure, make up an immense bed of strata; and these are in many places so worn by the action of water, and broken off sharply by other causes, as to present regular series of steps.

There are two great cavernous avenues under one of these beds of rock, through which persons can easily pass, and on the walls of which are the names and initials of many former visitors; a custom far more extensively prevalent among the Americans than even among the English, who surpass all the nations of Europe in the indulgence of this propensity. I scarcely remember visiting any place at all remarkable in this country, without finding every accessible space of wall or surface covered with names, initials, and dates of visitors, and this extends even to the walls and windows of hotels and inns on the road: as if the parties thought it a wonderful achievement to have journeyed so far from home!

We found at Caldwell, the pretty village on the banks of Lake George, an extensive and commodious hotel, and there being but few visitors 186 at this late period of the summer, we had our choice of apartments.

On the following morning we had to breakfast at 6, and embark in the steam-boat immediately after, for our voyage up Lake George. The morning was beautiful; and the dense white masses of cloud that hung upon the sides of the hills, and in some places were spread out upon the surface of the lake itself, contrasted strikingly and pleasingly with the green-topped hills, clothed with verdure to their very summits, which rose on every

side above them. We proceeded up the lake, with few passengers besides ourselves, at a rate of about seven or eight miles an hour, and were delighted with every part of our way.

The lake is 36 miles in length, from north to south; but is generally very narrow, varying from one to four miles only in breadth. Its three principal features of beauty are, the lofty and wooded hills which enclose it on both sides, varying from 500 to 1500 feet in elevation: its numerous islands, said to exceed 300, of every variety of size, and full of the picturesque in form and feature; and the remarkable transparency of its waters, which admits a distinct view of the sandy and gravelly bottom, at a depth of 5 or 6 fathoms, and exhibits the movements of the fish with which these waters abound. The cause of this clearness of the water is no doubt the absence of any rivers or streams running into the lake; for these, by the soil they carry down in their course, always render the waters of lakes and seas more or less turbid; and to supply the annual waste by solar evaporation, there are many springs at the bottom, whose bubbling effervescence can be sometimes distinctly seen.

187

The wooded hills near the southern extremity of the lake are mostly untenanted; but as you advance higher up towards the north, some of the lands near the borders of the water appear to be cleared, and farm houses and cattle indicate the presence of agricultural settlements. On several of the islands also are dwellings and farms, though by far the greatest number are uninhabited, and are as romantically wild and beautiful as the most ardent lover of the picturesque could desire.

About mid-way, in our passage up the lake, we passed through a strait, called the Narrows, which is little more than half a mile across in some parts, and varies from this to a mile, for a distance of a couple of leagues; the water is said to be so deep here, that no bottom has been found with a line of 500 feet in length. From hence, too, the mountains become loftier, and one eminence called the Black Mountain, rises to an elevation of 2,200

feet, while many others 188 approach it nearly in altitude, and by their undulated forms and fine intervening valleys and ravines, add greatly to the richness of the scenery.

From the point of departure at Caldwell, near which are Sandy Hill, Bloody Pond, Fort George, and Fort William Henry, all the way up to the point of landing at Ticonderoga, there is a continued succession of military relics, in ruined forts, and well-known battle-grounds, which deeply interest the American traveller, because they tell of the triumphs of his fathers over their enemies, and proclaim the victories of his immediate ancestors. But they cannot and do not so deeply interest the English traveller, though some of them force themselves on his attention. One of these is a place called Sabbath-day Point, where, on a projection of land on the western shore jutting out into the lake, a body of English troops landed on a Sunday, during the French war, and where, in a sanguinary battle fought between them and the Indians, the English were all killed, no way of retreat being left open for them, and no quarter shown. Another spot, a few miles beyond this, is called Lord Howe's Point, it being the place where Lord Howe landed just previous to the battle of Ticonderoga, in which he received his death-wound.

Between these two military spots is a remarkable hill, on the steep side of which, fronting the lake, is a smooth declivity of rock, called Roger's Slide, from this traditional story. It is said, that a Colonel Rogers of the British army, was here pursued by the Indians during the French war; and being driven to the very edge of the descending slide, with no possibility of escape, he boldly dashed on to the Slide, 189 and, having snow shoes on at the time, from the great abundance of snow everywhere on the hills, he slid from the top to the bottom, and landed in perfect safety at the mountain's foot. The Indians regarding this as a feat which no ordinary mortal could perform, concluded that the colonel was gifted with some charmed or supernatural spirit, which protected his life, and rendered him invulnerable; and therefore they thought it might bring upon them the wrath of the Great Spirit to pursue him further.

It was about eleven o'clock when we reached the landing at the upper end of the lake, where we found carriages in waiting to carry us across the narrow neck of land, of three miles in extent, which separates Lake George, or Lake Horicon, which is its Indian name, from the larger sheet of Lake Champlain. The waters of Lake George communicate with those of Lake Champlain by a narrow strait, in exactly the same manner as the waters of Lake Erie flow into those of Lake Ontario. There is said to be a fall of 500 feet from Lake George to Lake Champlain; but instead of the waters being precipitated over one lofty precipice, as in the strait of Niagara, they are here broken into several small falls, at intervals, along the narrow channel of three miles in length, where mills are established for sawing timber, of which we saw vast quantities in the course of our short ride.

We turned off from the ordinary road, between the lakes, to visit the ruins of Fort Ticonderoga, which form a prominent object in the picture from all points of view, and wear an imposing aspect in their solitude. The promontory chosen for the erection of 190 this fort, which was originally built by the French in 1756, resembles that called West Point in the Hudson river, projecting as it does into the waters of Lake Champlain, and completely commanding the passage from this into Lake George, as well as all the range of the former, up and down its waters. The elevation of the fort above the lake is about 200 feet; but it was commanded by two loftier hills, one called Mount Independence on the south-east, beyond the lake, and the other called Mount Defiance on the west, on the other side of the strait. This latter is 720 feet in height, and when the Americans occupied Fort Ticonderoga, in the revolutionary war, General Burgoyne stationed his artillery on this elevation, and compelled the Americans to evacuate the fort; though he was himself soon after obliged to surrender with all his army, to the American forces at Saratoga. The fort was subsequently dismantled, and is now in 191 complete ruins, the ditches, parapets, and outworks are all visible; and the walls of the magazine are still standing. There are several subterraneous vaults and passages, also quite perfect; and it was through one of these that the American Colonel Ethan approached the fort, when he entered, and took possession of it “in the name of the great Jehovah, and the Continental Congress.”

From Fort Ticonderoga we resumed our journey, and descended to the ferry across Lake Champlain, where we passed over in one of the rudest boats I had ever seen; it was little more than an oblong trough or tray, the head and stern shelving upward from the water, and the bottom perfectly flat; it had a mast in the centre, with a swinging gaff and boom for a mainsail that traversed right round the mast, so that the head of the boat could be made the stern, and the stern the head, alternately; and with this single sail and a deep lee-board, the helmsman steering with a long oar, we soon crossed the lake, and landed at the station of Shoreham. There we had to wait the arrival of the steam-boat from Whitehall to Burlington, and we employed the interval in taking dinner, which was provided for us in the most uninviting form, and from which we made an unsatisfactory meal. During our stay, we found some petrifactions on the beach, chiefly of marine shells, imbedded in limestone, as well as some enchrinites, conus, and a fruit or nut, resembling the hickory nut of the present day. We learnt from the innkeeper at Shoreham, that there are neither springs nor rivulets of fresh water within several miles, and that all attempts to sink wells by boring for springs had been hitherto unsuccessful; in consequence of which their only 192 supply of water for all domestic purposes is from the lake; and as this is frozen over, so as to be passed by heavy waggons during three or four months of the year, the mode of laying in their supplies is, to take in a large quantity of the ice during winter, which is kept in a closed reservoir; and this ice, melted down, is the only water they use.

About three o'clock, the steam-boat, Burlington, stopped at the landing-place, and in her we embarked for Burlington, higher up Lake Champlain, where we proposed to land. This was one of the most elegant vessels I had yet seen in America; and of steam-vessels, the most complete in all her fittings and equipments that I had ever seen in any part of the world, not excepting the Great Western, which I visited and examined at New York.

The Burlington being built for lake navigation, and not having to encounter the heavy gales of the Atlantic, did not, of course, require the strength and solidity of the Great Western; and this enabled her constructors to give her a finer mould, and to produce elegance

of form and rapidity of motion in a higher degree. Her hull is a complete model of grace and beauty; all her equipments are of the first order; and her interior accommodation, for comfort and splendour combined, surpass those of any ship or vessel I have ever seen. Her engines are of 250-horse power, and she cost about 100,000 dollars, or 20,000 *l.* sterling. The captain was worthy of his ship, taking the highest degree of pride in her; and every part of her was as sweet, pure, and clean, as a royal yacht.

193

The scenery of Lake Champlain improved as we advanced; in the part where we embarked, the lake was little more than two miles across, and the land not elevated; farther up to the northward, the waters expanded to a greater breadth, the hills became more lofty, and the promontories projected boldly out on either side; the wood and verdure were also abundant, and the whole, though less romantically beautiful than that of Lake George, was, nevertheless, always pleasing, and often picturesque.

During our passage up the lake, we witnessed, between four and five o'clock, an annular eclipse of the sun. The sky was often overcast with clouds, but at intervals the disk of the sun was sufficiently cleared from all obstructions, to enable us to perceive the eclipse in great perfection. The darkness at half-past four was as great as at sun-set on ordinary days; and the whole aspect of nature was of the most solemn and impressive kind; the restoration of the entire light of the sun took place before his setting, and the transition from darkness to light was striking and remarkable.

At eight o'clock we reached Burlington, where we landed, and reposed for the night, the steam-boat pursuing her way to the head of Lake Champlain at St. John's, where the greater number of her passengers would disembark for Montreal; this route from New York to Canada being now the most expeditious, most economical, and most agreeable, and being more and more frequented every year.

On the following morning, Tuesday, Sept. 19, we took an early view of the town of Burlington, the VOL. III. O 194 first place we had visited in New England, which comprehend the six States east of the river Hudson, namely, Vermont, New Hampshire, Maine, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut; to the inhabitants of which States only, the term “Yankee” is applied in America, though in England the term is erroneously used to designate Americans in general. It may be added, that this term is not deemed reproachful here; persons often boast of their being Yankees, as implying a more thorough English descent, with a less admixture of foreign blood; and I remember, in Rochester, seeing a sign over a shop where all kinds of goods were sold, designating it as “The Yankee Pedlars' Store;” the enterprising and industrious New Englanders often travelling, with a pack on their backs, from the eastern through the western States, as pedlars, and thus laying the foundation of a competency which they subsequently improve into opulence.

Burlington is an extremely pretty town; or, as it is technically called “incorporated village,” having an incorporation of municipal authorities for all purposes of municipal government, but not yet possessing the dignity of a chartered city. It is seated on the eastern side of Lake Champlain, on a rising ground that slopes upward with a gentle ascent from the margin of the water, and thus displays all its buildings to the greatest advantage. At present there are about 500 houses of every description, with five churches, and a population of about 5,000 persons. It has a court-house and jail for county purposes; and a fine university, which stands on the most elevated part of the town, about 350 feet above the level of the 195 lake. This university was incorporated in 1791, under the patronage of the State of Vermont, from the funds of which it was largely assisted. Its library contains at present about 2,000 volumes, with an excellent apparatus for scientific experiments. About 40,000 acres of land belong to this university; the income derived from this source is at present nearly 2,000 dollars, and it is increasing every year with the increased value of land. The view from the higher part of the town across the lake, and to the elevated mountains opposite, reminded me forcibly of the view across the Straits of Scio, in the

Greek Archipelago, looking far above the town of Scio across the Strait towards the shore of Asia Minor; the resemblance being very striking.

Having secured an extra coach with four beautiful horses and a smart driver, we left Burlington after breakfast, about nine o'clock, for Montpellier, the capital of the State of Vermont. Our way was through the most beautiful scenery, amid the green hills which induced the original French settlers of this territory to call it the land of the Green Mountains, a name it well deserves. The continued succession of these beautiful hills, with the intervening valleys and plains by which they were divided from each other, made every mile of our ride delightful. The most romantic parts of Derbyshire, and the richest parts of Devonshire, are not so lovely as the hills and valleys of this part of Vermont, in which there is every element of landscape beauty, and every combination of the picturesque.

The river Winowsky, called by the unattractive name of the Onion, which empties itself into Lake O 2 196 Champlain, a little to the north of Burlington, winds its wandering way along the foot of these hills, while its dark clear waters, running in a broken current over a rocky and pebbly bed, add greatly to the beauty of the scene. The hills vary from 1,000 to 1,500 feet in elevation generally, though some few eminences exceed 2,000 feet. These are clothed with wood to the very summits, a great portion of which are evergreens. The plains are covered with the richest carpets of meadow-grass; and cattle of the finest description were grazing in luxuriant abundance. Sometimes a new feature of beauty would burst forth in a frowning perpendicular cliff, or a projecting mass of naked rock, peering out from amidst the thick foliage by which it was surrounded, and then the perpetually winding river, appearing and disappearing at every turn, would vary the scene.

The gorgeous colouring of an American autumn added a still greater charm to this enchanting picture; and we sometimes found it difficult to persuade ourselves that the deep rich browns, bright yellows, and deep blood-crimsons and scarlets of the trees we saw before us, mingled with the richest greens of every tint and hue, could be really natural or without the aid of art, it looked so like the artificial dying or colouring of some

great manufactory; except that the colours were more varied, more brilliant, and more vivid than any that art can produce. Altogether it was one of the most beautiful tracts of country through which we had yet passed, and alone quite worth a voyage across the Atlantic, to see and enjoy.

After passing through the villages of Richmond and Waterbury on our way, at each of which we 197 changed horses, we reached Montpellier at half-past one, having performed the distance of 40 miles, in less than five hours, being the most expeditious rate at which we had yet travelled for any distance by land. Montpellier is the legislative capital of the State of Vermont, and is one of the prettiest towns of its size that can be imagined. Its situation is peculiarly beautiful, overhung on two of its sides by lofty and verdant hills, and open on the other two to a rich valley or plain, along which the river Winowsky winds its serpentine course. The town consists chiefly of a fine broad avenue, like that of Canandaigua, and, like it, lined on each side with fine rows of trees, and neat, pretty, and villa-like residences.

But the most elegant building in the town is the State-House, in which the legislature of Vermont hold their sittings. This is constructed in the best taste as a work of architecture, and its classic portico and graceful dome are in the best proportions; the 198 material is a fine grey granite, of even texture and uniform colour, and the workmanship of the most perfect kind.

The number of inhabitants does not exceed 3,000: yet there are four places of worship, all well built, commodious, and well attended. There is also a court-house, a prison, several excellent stores, for supplying the numerous farmers and graziers of the surrounding country, to the extent of 50,000 dollars annually. The hotel at which we stopped to dine was equal to any, and superior to most, of those we had seen in the State of New York: and altogether we thought Montpellier one of the most delightful of all the many agreeable towns we had seen in the United States.

The State of Vermont, of which this is the capital, is of more recent settlement than either of the New England States. When the British first made the conquest of Canada in 1760, and obtained its cession from the French in 1763, the tract of country now called Vermont, from its beautiful green mountains, was first opened to emigration. Previous to that period, its distance from the Atlantic on the one hand, and from the river St. Lawrence on the other, prevented its being much visited, either by the English from Massachusetts on the south, or the French from Canada on the north. But after that period the settlement rapidly increased: the extreme beauty of the country, and fertility of the soil, both attracting persons of different tastes and pursuits. During the revolutionary war, the inhabitants of Vermont acted with great spirit and vigour against the English; and their name of the "Green Mountain 199 Boys," by which they were then known, is still cherished by them as a title of honour.

Vermont was originally claimed by Massachusetts as a part of her territory, and subsequently by New Hampshire, and by New York, as it borders on each of these three States; but in 1777, the year after the Declaration of Independence, the people of Vermont declared themselves an independent State, and formed a government for themselves. It was not, however, until 1790 that the controversy with New York was terminated; in 1791, Vermont was admitted into the Union, and on the 4th of July 1793, its inhabitants adopted the constitution by which the State is at present governed.

The territory of Vermont is 157 miles in length from north to south; and its breadth from east to west varies from 90 miles on its northern frontier, where it adjoins Lower Canada, to 40 miles on its southern frontier, where it adjoins Massachusetts; its boundary on the west being the Lake Champlain and the State of New York, and on the east the State of New Hampshire. Within these boundaries the area of the State is 10,212 square miles, or 6,535,680 acres.

The ranges of hills extend generally from north to south, in two inclined planes; the rivers on the western side, which include the Winowsky, La Moile, the Otter, and the Missinqua,

emptying their waters into Lake Champlain; and the rivers on the eastern side, including the White river, the West river, and the Pasumpsic, discharging their waters into the Connecticut river, by which they are carried to the sea. Lake Champlain is said to be 90 feet above 200 the level of the Atlantic; but many of the cultivated parts of Vermont are 1,000 feet above the level of Lake Champlain; and some of the Green Mountains 2,000 feet at least. The soil is remarkably fertile, and grain and cattle everywhere abundant; the pasturage is deemed the finest in any part of America; and the beef, mutton, butter, cheese, and milk of Vermont, are all in high estimation; wool is also becoming an article of importance, to supply the woollen manufactures of the neighbouring State of Massachusetts.

The climate of Vermont is considered subject to the extremes of heat and cold; but the weather is thought to be more steady than on the sea-coast, and the land, being a rich dark loam, receives the drainings of the hills, and rarely suffers from want of moisture. Besides grain and cattle, which may be considered the staple productions of Vermont, flax is grown in considerable quantities, and maple sugar is made largely for home consumption and for exportation; that which we saw and tasted appeared to me quite as good as the sugar of the East Indies. Iron-ore, lead, and copperas are also products of Vermont; and no less than 800 tons of the latter article were made in 1826. More than 100 manufacturing companies existed in 1825; but the amount of capital applied to manufactures since that period having more than doubled, the produce is proportionally augmented. The trade is chiefly with Boston, Montreal, and New York; and the facility recently afforded by rail-roads, canals, and steam-boats, for intercourse with these places, have brought them all within easy reach for traffic.

201

The population of Vermont was in 1790 only 85,539; in 1800, it was 154,465; and in 1830, it was 280,657. It has 15 banks, the aggregate capital of which exceeds 1,000,000 dollars; and 100,000 dollars is raised annually for the support of common schools, in addition to 25,000 dollars annually from a literary fund, to assist other schools, independently of

the support of the College of Middleburg and the University at Burlington, both liberally assisted by the State. The religious establishments are also amply supported. The Congregationalists, or, as we more frequently call them, the Independents, have 232 churches, and above 20,000 communicants; the Baptists, 119 churches, and above 10,000 communicants; the Methodists nearly an equal number; and besides these, there are a few Episcopalians, Unitarians, and Universalists.

After dining agreeably at an excellent hotel, we took a fresh extra-coach for Danville, distant 30 miles, where we intended to sleep. The road was still interesting, though not so richly and romantically beautiful as in the former part of the day. We had the same variety of hill and valley, but the woods were not so luxuriant, nor the meadows so verdant. The field-fence of Vermont consists of the great roots and lower part of the trunks of trees, extracted from the ground after felling, and then raised upon their sides, and placed along in a continuous row. It seemed to us more picturesque than the Virginia fence, which is a zig-zag of horizontal stakes; or than another sort sometimes in use here, like the chevaux-de-frize of military lines. Geese were abundant, grazing on the meadows, or on the grass-plots on 202 each side of the road; and turkeys were fully as numerous: whole fields of pumpkins were seen well stocked, and elder-berries were also abundant; though Vermont is not a good fruit-country, nor does it produce so much grain as New Hampshire, cattle being its principal wealth.

We noticed here that the signs of the inns on the road were hung on hinges so as to swing, after the English fashion; while in the State of New York they were fixed, as on a target. In both, however, it is the custom to have ample verandas or piazzas running round the house; and the lower space in front is generally crowded with persons seated on chairs, and smoking cigars, which gives an air of dissipation to the scene. We observed, also, that to many of the isolated dwelling-houses in the country, there were private burial-grounds attached, in which one or two members of the family had been interred; and the place of their repose was marked by a neat monument within an enclosure, just as if it had been included within consecrated ground. Everywhere, however, cleanliness and neatness

prevailed, and gave us a highly favourable impression of the New England character for order and propriety.

In the course of our first stage from Montpellier, we came to one of the many wooden bridges with which the country abounds, now in the act of being repaired, and apparently impassable, as the flooring or platform of the bridge, consisting of loose planks, had all been removed. But the driver, with great good humour and alacrity, set to work himself, to place the planks across again in their proper places; and in the course of half an hour the bridge was sufficiently 203 restored for us to pass in safety. This driver, like all we had yet seen in America, was remarkably kind to his horses; and though he drove faster and steadier than any who had yet driven us, he never used his whip to touch the horses, but merely smacked it in the air, and talked to the animals as though he believed they understood every word he said. I may add, that while the American drivers appear to be uniformly kind to their cattle, the horses themselves are more docile and tractable than with us; and up to the present time, at least, we have met with no one instance of a vicious or refractory horse in any of the teams with which we have travelled.

Though the road was less beautiful than in the morning, it still continued to be interesting, and even picturesque. Immense boulders of granite were strewed on the sides of some of the hills; the trees became more and more vividly coloured by every tint of crimson, scarlet, brown, and bright yellow, mingled with the deep evergreens by which they were surrounded; and when we attained the summit of an ascending slope, up which the road winds for three miles, we enjoyed a most extensive and magnificent view of the country to the west of us, in the direction from whence we had come; all the Green Mountains being visible from this point, the highest eminence among them, called “The Camel's Hump,” rising to an elevation of 2,000 feet.

The latter part of our journey was through a thick wood, in which the splendid varieties of colours in the foliage were such as really to seem extravagant and unnatural. Of this I am certain, that before 204 having seen these woods, had any landscape or picture purporting

to be a faithful representation of an American autumn, been so gorgeously coloured as these woods really were, I should have thought it an exaggeration; but the scene before us was so brilliantly beautiful, that no painter could exaggerate it, in brightness and variety of colouring at least.

We reached Danville at seven o'clock, just as the shades of night were closing in, and were glad to find comfortable quarters there. The inn at which we stopped, though the best in the place, was a very humble one compared with those at which we had recently halted; but it was clean in every part, while some of the larger ones are deficient in this requisite. The quidnuncs of the village soon surrounded the door, and a hundred questions were asked, both of us and the driver, as to our route, destination, &c. It was, indeed, the most truly village-scene we had for a long time witnessed, and reminded us of Franklin's account of the extreme inquisitiveness of the New Englanders, in his day; a characteristic which remains in full force at Danville, however much it may have abated in larger places.

We retired early to rest; and here, in this obscure quarter, slept in the first curtained bed in which we had ever reposed since our leaving England a year ago. We had seen four-post beds with curtains, in private houses; but in no hotel or boarding-house in any of the greatest cities, had we ever met with a bed, not even in the depth of winter, hung with curtains as in England, till this at Danville.

CHAP. X.

Description of the White Mountains—Names and elevations of the principal peaks—Journey from the Mountain Pass to Conway—Stage-drivers and passengers from Conway to Centre Harbour—Winnipiseogee, or the beautiful Lake Meredith—River Merrimack —Shaker village—Concord, the capital of New Hampshire—Excessive use of tobacco —Danville to Littleton—Road through the forest—Autumnal foliage—White Mountain House—Entry into the “Notch” or pass through the mountains—Romantic wildness of the scenery—Accumulation of granite rocks—Lightning and storms—Descent of slides or

avalanches from the mountains—Tragical instance—Fate of the Willey family—Concord and its public buildings—Suitors attending the court—Prolixity of legal proceedings—State of New Hampshire—History of the early settlement—Statistics of its population, manufactures, and trade—Institutions for education —Colleges of Dartmouth and Exeter—Religious establishments and sects in New Hampshire—Journey from Concord to Lowell and Boston.

On the morning of September 20th we took an extra-coach for Littleton, a distance of 25 miles. We left Danville at 8 o'clock, at which hour the surface of all the valleys was covered with a dense white fog, giving them the appearance of small lakes, but this gradually disappeared as the sun advanced towards the meridian. The road was much more hilly than any previous part of our way; and, though the driver did his best, we did not reach our destination till one o'clock, making our speed about five miles an hour with four horses.

206

After various attempts on the part of the innkeeper at Littleton to detain us to dinner, and delaying the supply of fresh horses for that purpose, we pushed forward, so as to get through the White Mountains before night; and having a more level road, we made better progress. After a ride of about ten miles, we entered a dense forest, which continued to border the road for nearly all the remainder of the way, and seemed perfectly impervious on either side. Here and there a few patches had been cleared, the stumps of the felled trees still remaining in the ground, and in some instances the fires still remaining by which the trunks had been consumed; red squirrels were seen in abundance playing their gambols from tree to tree; and the varied tints of the foliage, brighter and more beautiful than ever, seemed to look more glowing amid the deep shadows of the forest than they had done in the midday sun.

There were parts of this drive that were really enchanting; and it was rather like passing through the well-planted and carefully adorned avenue of approach to some splendid château, where flowers of every hue were mingled with the trees enclosing it, than a drive

through a dense natural forest, with no other variations of form and colour than those produced by the wild growth of the native woods, and the various states of vegetable decay, which produced the glowing and brilliant colours all around us. The effect of all this beauty was greatly heightened by the occasional glimpses which we were enabled to catch of the lofty summits of the White Mountains, peering above the trees, and advancing 207 or receding from us, as our course wound through the forest in the bends and turns of the road.

It was about 4 o'clock when we reached the White Mountain House, a distance of 15 miles in 2 hours, and finding here a delightful hotel, clean, spacious, and well provided, we halted to dine, and were never more pleased with everything around us than here. The house is often full of visitors, in the high summer season; but at present there were few or none, the season for visiting the White Mountains being near its close. We were furnished, however, with all we could desire, served in the best possible manner, and at a very moderate expense. This was the first instance in which we had yet seen a servant take a seat in the room while waiting; but it being a young girl of 15 or 16, and every part of her demeanour being modest and respectful, it did not strike us with so much “horror” as it seems to have done some English travellers; for all that we required of her was promptly and cheerfully performed, and the intervals in which her services were not wanted, were those alone in which she sat.

We heard here that on the preceding day, a party had attempted the ascent of Mount Washington, but the lateness of the season obliged them to give it up. Long before they reached the summit, they encountered ice three inches thick, and many were so benumbed as to be unable to proceed further. A young black bear had been caught on the mountain, and was now at the White Mountain House, chained. It was a fine animal, and appeared to bear its confinement with great impatience, and to try every method 208 within its power to regain its liberty, by gnawing at its chain, and trying every turn in hope of escape.

As we had to reach Conway this evening to enable us to be in Boston on Saturday, it was necessary to make a new contract for an extra-coach; and the parties here furnishing these conveyances, seeing our need, took advantage of it accordingly, and demanded 25 dollars for a journey of 30 miles—a dearer rate than we had ever before paid, but certainly not more than under similar circumstances would have been demanded in England.

We left the White Mountain House at five, and proceeding by a good road, with four fine horses and an excellent driver, we reached the entrance to what is called the Notch of the White Mountains, a distance of four miles and a half, in little more than half an hour. There is an inn here also, called the Notch House, but very inferior, in all its external appearances, to the one below. In our way, we saw some fine pheasants, and a great number of wood-pigeons, both of brilliant and beautiful plumage; but the general scarcity of birds, and the entire absence of singing-birds especially, had been remarked by us, not only in this recent journey through Vermont and New Hampshire, but in every part of America that we had yet visited, whether in the State of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, or Virginia, in which we were during the months of February, March, April, and May; or along the banks of the Hudson, across the State of New York, to the Lakes and Niagara, or up Lake George and Lake Champlain, and through the Green Mountains of Vermont, 209 amidst which we had passed the months of June, July, August, and September. In this respect, the country appeared to us less animated and less cheerful than “merry England,” where the linnet and the lark, the thrush and the nightingale, make the woods ring with their delicious melody.

It was about six o'clock when we entered the narrow gorge or pass of the White Mountains, and about seven when we made our exit into the open country on the other side, the whole distance through the pass being about seven miles. The scenery of this ravine is undoubtedly grand, and in some places approaching the awful and sublime. The effect was greatly heightened at this hour of the day, when the broad shadows of the mountains gave a gloom to the depths below; and the forest portions through which we

passed—for thick woods exist in the very heart of the ravine—were buried in absolute darkness; while the perpendicular cliffs, steep slides, and towering summits of the White Mountains above, were still bathed in all the fulness of daylight, the loftiest peaks of the eastern hills being just tinged with the horizontal beams of the setting sun.

What added greatly to the grandeur of the scenery was the desolation and wreck of nature that seemed to reign all around. Along the bottom of the ravine ran the river Saco, winding its course as the projecting and receding points of the foot of the hills directed; and its bed was so thronged with large masses of fallen rock, that its current was interrupted at every step, so that the whole of its waters were in a constant state of roughness and agitation, amounting sometimes to a boiling foam. The slopes of the VOL. III. P 210 mountains on either side are also covered with huge masses of rock, and smaller fragments surrounding them, which, from time to time, find their way to the valley below, and choke up the ravine, so that the whole scene is one of Nature in process of disintegration or decay.

As the mountains are of primitive granite, with all the usual solidity of this material in the mass, it has seemed difficult to account for this immense quantity of *debris* , or broken rock and rubbish, with which the greater part of the surface of the whole is covered: more especially as not only the sides but the tops of the mountains are coated with these innumerable fragments of broken stone. The most probable solution I had heard of this, was that which supposed the hard and compact surface of the primitive mountains to be severed by the operation of lightning, which is very frequent in the summer; and then the snows reposing on these cracked and shivered masses during all the winter, would, of course, insinuate moisture into the very depths of the chasms. The melting of the snows in the spring and summer would greatly assist the progress of decomposition and disintegration in these broken masses; and every loud clap of thunder, by its vibration through the hills, and every storm of wind, would assist to put these disjointed fragments in motion, till step by step they would be perpetually driven lower and lower down the

mountain-side, covering those already below them, and making way for other fragments above to roll down in time, and cover them also.

By such an annual process as this, repeated through a long series of centuries—and this process 211 must have been going on ever since the period when these mountains were first upheaved above the general surface of the surrounding valleys and plains— one can well understand how what was originally a primitive mountain of solid granite rock, should seem at present, both on its summits and down its sides, rather a collection of larger and smaller fragments, heaped up on each other to their present height, making, as it were, a huge mountain of loose stones.

It sometimes happens, that besides the rolling down of single masses or blocks, bringing a large quantity of smaller fragments in their train,—which takes place at all seasons and at all hours throughout the year,—there are periods at longer intervals, when immense accumulations of these masses descend in what is sometimes called a slide, and sometimes an avalanche, to the valley below, carrying devastation and dismay in their path. A comparatively recent instance of this has left so deep an impression on all the surrounding country, that you cannot speak to any one, of the White Mountains, whether on the spot or in the neighbourhood, without hearing the details of this instance repeated.

The history of it Was briefly this. A humble family, named Willey, had taken up their abode on the slope of the western hills, near the ravine, and in so steep and so scantily wooded a part of it, that the very choice of such a spot indicates either great poverty and incapacity to procure a better, or great want of judgment in the selection. Their dwelling was very humble, and their possessions confined to a few sheep and horses, and the produce of a neighbouring patch of ground. In the month of June 1826, a 212 large avalanche descended near their house, though without injuring them; but, instead of removing from their dwelling altogether at that time, which would have been the most prudent course had they possessed the means, they erected a temporary shed and dwelling not far from their own, as a place of shelter in case of any similar occurrence, wholly overlooking the fact,

that the new temporary dwelling was just as likely to be overwhelmed as the older and more permanent one, and that these avalanches descend with so much rapidity, that there is no time between the first hearing of their movement and their actual descent, to escape far from their direction.

About two months after this, in August 1826, during a most tempestuous night, and when the family were all in bed, a vast avalanche, extending, it is said, over a breadth of two miles, descended from the brow of the mountain towards the ravine below, carrying everything before it; but when it arrived within a few feet of their house, it divided into two portions, and encompassed the house at a distance of six feet on each side, without touching it. After carrying away the stable and horses, and sweeping off the temporary shed erected near for shelter also, it reunited again a little beyond the house, leaving the dwelling in an insulated spot, as if preserved by some sacred hand, or for some sacred purpose, untouched and unharmed. But the torrent of wind and rain bore along with it, down the steep sides of the mountain, trees, rock, earth, and everything it met with in its way, completely overflowing every part of the surrounding surface, and choking up for a while even the passage of the river below.

213

Had the family remained in their own humble dwelling, they would have been perfectly safe, as the sheep, grazing on a small plot of grass in front of the house, were preserved alive and unhurt; but in the paroxysm of their fear, they had sought refuge by flight, and were overwhelmed with the torrent and destroyed. When the house was examined on the cessation of the storm, the beds were found in disorder, as if quitted by persons in great alarm; and by a subsequent search in the ravine, the bodies of the victims, nine in number, were found mangled and overwhelmed with the driftwood and rubbish brought down by the stream.

This tragedy of real life is likely to be remembered as long as the hill on which it happened shall endure; but here upon the spot, where one meets individuals who personally knew

the sufferers, and who were engaged in the search after their bodies, the impression is almost as strong as if the event had happened 214 only yesterday, instead of ten years ago. The deep and extensive interest felt in the fate of this unfortunate family, compared with the indifference manifested by the same parties, to the death of much greater numbers and in more cruel and painful methods, if they occur at a distance—is a striking proof of the narrow range or limited circle of human sympathy. For instance, in Hindoostan, the self-immolation of widows burning on the funeral piles of their husbands; the devotion of children as human sacrifices, and their destruction by infanticide, in various shapes; the systematic murder of the Thugs on the continent of India, and the bloody assassinations of the Malays among the islands of the indian seas; the immense destruction of human life by wars, whether at Trafalgar and Waterloo, among the so-called heroes of Europe, or in the swamps of Louisiana and Florida, and on the plains of Texas, between the savage and civilized inhabitants of America;—all these, as well as the as the miseries inflicted on men by ignorance, intemperance, and slavery, seem as nothing—in the degree of interest they excite, or the degree of sympathy they enlist—to the fate of a single family, when it happens in any unusual manner, and becomes a part and parcel of the history of some romantic locality.

Thus it is, no doubt, that individual pictures of suffering affect more deeply than the miseries of masses; though true wisdom should surely teach us, that our sympathies and our efforts would be more wisely, because more usefully, directed, in sorrowing for, and endeavouring to save the many, rather than mourning over the sufferings of the few.

215

The White Mountains consist of several separate elevations, of which the principal have received the names of presidents of the United States. Mount Washington, for instance, is the name given to the loftiest of these eminences; and its height above the level of the sea, is thought to exceed 6,000 feet, its elevation above the river Connecticut being 5,350 feet. The peaks of Jefferson, Adams, Madison, Monroe, and Quincy, vary from 4,500 to 5,500 feet in height above the sea. There are others at greater and lesser

distances belonging to this chain, such as the Lafayette, the Moose-hillock, and the Grand Minadnoc; the two former each about 20 miles distant in a north-east and south-west direction, and the latter 120 miles off, to the south-west also. These are all in view from the summit of Mount Washington, as well as the sea, near Portland in Maine, at a distance of 65 miles south-east; the Kahtadin Mountains near the sources of the Penobscot river, in the north-east; and the Green Mountains of Vermont, near to Lake Champlain on the west; with the various lakes, rivers, and valleys spread around in profusion towards every point of the compass.

The White Mountains are so called, no doubt, from the generally white and bare summits of the principal elevations, being composed of grey granite, and perfectly denuded of vegetation. Near their bases they are well clothed with forest-trees; higher up, the wood becomes stunted and dwarfish, for want of heat and moisture; and, above all, the white or grey summits rise in beds of naked and broken stone, the vegetation ceasing at the elevation of about 4,000 feet. The views are wild and savage, rather than 216 romantic or beautiful; and the pictures they present are such as Salvator Rosa, rather than Claude Lorrain, would delight to paint.

After emerging from the deep forest and the dark ravine, through which we had come, in traversing this mountain-pass—most inappropriately, as it seems to me, called “The Notch,” as conveying the idea of something cut or indented by art, whereas here, the grandeur of nature alone is seen—we came into a rocky tract, over which, however, the road was better than we had expected; and being now completely enveloped in darkness, we trusted to the strength of our horses, and skill of our driver, for the rest of the way, and proceeding steadily, we arrived safe at Conway at about eleven at night. The inn appeared to be the worst we had yet met with; but there was no proceeding farther without help; and as the inmates and servants had all retired to bed, we had to rouse them up, which we found to be an affair of no small difficulty, occupying fully half an hour of time. When roused, however, we appeared to have gained but little, for the inside of the inn was worse than its exterior; and though there was no incivility, but rather an evident disposition on

the part of the attendants to do their best, yet that best was so very bad, that we deeply regretted we could not pass the night in our carriage, by proceeding on our way, but as fresh horses could not be had, this was impossible. We made the best of our disagreeable position, by lighting a fire in the general sitting-room, where Mrs. Buckingham sat up in an easy chair, while myself and my son threw ourselves on the only bed we could procure.

217

We slept but little, though fatigued, and were all glad when the day broke. The remainder of our way was to be performed by the regular stage-coach, in two days' journey, one from hence to Concord, and one from Concord to Boston; the former seventy-two miles, and the latter seventy-three miles. The coach was to leave at half-past six, so we had to take our breakfast at six o'clock. The morning was cold and foggy; the house was filled with tobacco-smoke, as every body besides ourselves and a few females, in the house, had cigars in their mouths— the landlord, waiter, ostler, groom, driver, porter, and stable-boy; in short, the fog within doors was as dense as that without, and far more disagreeable. The breakfast was of the most uninviting description hashed meats and hot boiled potatoes were set on, with coffee and thin slices of new hot bread. The driver of the stage was one of the breakfast party, and appeared to be the principal personage at the table; it being the custom, we were told, throughout New England, for the drivers to take their meals with the passengers. I see no rational objection to this, if they are clean and well-behaved; and as far as we had observed of the drivers on this road, they were often superior in appearance and manners to many of their passengers; and were frequently the proprietors of the coaches they drove.

A great part of our way, after leaving Conway, was stony, flat, and uninteresting, though near Conway itself are several pretty views; we saw, however, few scenes or objects to interest us much, till we arrived at a place called Centre Harbour, which we reached about noon, and where we halted to dine. 218 This town, which is very small, is seated on the edge or border of the Lake Winnipiseogee, or the “Beautiful Lake,” which this name implies in the Indian language, and well indeed does it deserve the epithet. It is 23 miles

in length, from 6 to 14 in breadth, extremely irregular in its shape, and filled with a number of exquisitely beautiful islands. Its shores are less elevated than those of Lake George, and therefore they do not possess the boldness which characterizes the borders of that fine piece of water; but on the other hand, these surrounding lands are more fertile, exhibit a greater variety of foliage; and the shores and islands are far more varied, so that there is more of richness and softness about the “Beautiful Lake,” than there is about Lake George, We saw some rude log-huts here, which indicated the presence of new settlers in the valleys.

At one o'clock we left Centre Harbour in the stage-coach, and pursuing our way over a stony and 219 uninteresting road, with few villages, or people, to be seen. Some orchards now apppeared in different directions, and they were the more remarkable as we had seen none in Vermont or New Hampshire, near the line of our road. We reached Meredith at half past two; this is a large and apparently flourishing town, with a number of water-mills for sawing timber into planks, standing on the banks of the river Merrimack.

From hence onward, the country began to wear a more fertile and more populous aspect, and at five o'clock we passed through a settlement of the Shakers, bearing no other name than that of “The Shaker village.” It appeared to us to be larger than the settlement at Niskyuna, which we had visited near Albany; like it, this was a perfect model of neatness, order, and propriety; and every external symptom indicated a very high degree of prosperity.

The fields belonging to the settlement were all enclosed with well-built stone-walls or hedges: the grounds were entirely free of weeds and stones, and the grass was of the richest verdure. The cattle out at pasture were large, and in excellent condition. Their houses were neat, uniform, and cleaner than any dwellings with which they could be compared or contrasted; and their windows were so clear, that they must have been regularly cleaned every morning. Everything by which a judgment could be formed, showed, as clearly as such things can do, that as far as accumulation and improvement

of property is concerned, nothing can be more favourable to this than the principle of co-operation, as opposed to individual efforts in competition. Indeed if it were not 220 for the religious peculiarities that have been so often mixed up with experiments in forming co-operative societies—some having too much of religious observances, and some not having enough—I cannot but believe that the simple principle of co-operation would have made greater progress among mankind; and that when divested of this hinderance, it will, some day or other, make a great change in the social arrangements of mankind.

The approach to Concord is very pretty. It was nearly seven o'clock when we reached it; and then, owing to the fulness of the town, from the court being in session, and from many strangers having been attracted to the place to see the ascent of a balloon, we found it very difficult to get quarters at the principal inn. On alighting at the door, all the portico and veranda was full; the barroom, the stage-coach office, and every other place equally so: and as every body seemed to have a cigar in his mouth, the clouds of smoke were intolerable. I thought I had seen more tobacco-smokers in the inns of Conway and Concord than in any ten of the hotels of New York; indeed, the remotest parts of the house were fumigated with it, so that the very bed-clothes were saturated with smoke.

This inordinate use of tobacco, in chewing and smoking, is one of the greatest nuisances that one meets with in travelling through America; and it is really surprising, in a country where the outward respect shown to women is so remarkable, and where all ladies express their dislike of both these practices among the men, that they should never theless continue. Yet so it is; and every day in the 221 year, ladies, who are particular about the cleanliness of their houses, are annoyed by seeing their carpets and mats defiled by the chewer of tobacco; while others who are made sick with the smell, are annoyed by the suffocating fumes of the smokers. The selfishness which both these practices engender, makes those who indulge them wholly indifferent to any one's pleasures but their own; and notwithstanding the repeated printed prohibitions hung up over ladies' cabins in steam-boats, ladies' drawing-rooms in hotels, and in rail-road cars

and other places, the practice is still continued, if not in the immediate locality, at least so near it as to be equally offensive.

We passed a disagreeable night at Concord, from the crowded state of the hotel, and the fumes of the tobacco, which filled every part of the house, so that we were up very early. This afforded us an opportunity to make an excursion through the town, which, being the capital of New Hampshire, was thought worthy of some examination. The town is advantageously and agreeably situated on the western bank of the Merrimack river, which is here of a good size, and which proceeds from hence down to the sea at Newbury-port, where it is navigable for ships of considerable burden. The town has about 500 dwellings, and nearly 5,000 inhabitants. The two principal streets are of ample breadth, 120 feet at least; and many of the dwellings have pretty little garden-plots before their doors, while trees are numerous, giving a fine rural aspect to the whole.

Among the public buildings, the State-house, which fronts the principal street, is the most conspicuous. It is built of granite, with a frontage of 100 222 feet, and is three stories in elevation. It contains large hall on the first floor, and the chambers of the senators and representatives on the second. The State prison is also a substantial edifice, and there are the full proportion of churches in the town. The court-house was thronged with clients, and their professional advisers, as the court was now in session; for here, as in England, the disposition of men to go to law with each other, even at the risk of spending five times the original sum in dispute, is very strong, a disposition which the legal profession do not take much pains to discourage, as this would be laying the axe to the root of their own gains, a degree of virtue which individuals may sometimes exercise, but which is rarely practised by large bodies of men.

There is the same tendency in both countries, too, to lengthen out, rather than to abridge, the duration of a cause, because every step brings fees in its train; but as the judges are more indulgent here than in England towards “lengthy” speakers, the court is sometimes occupied for an entire day by some one counsel, and that too on a very trivial subject,

without his being checked. The consequence is, that business accumulates, and arrears remain at the end of every session, to be put off till the next; and then again, for some new reason, still further protracted or deferred; so that the time consumed in conducting a suit to an issue, the quantity of documents written, and the mass of verbiage wasted, on points which any half-dozen men of ordinary capacity and disinterested judgment would settle in a few hours, is a sad tax on the patience, industry, time, 223 and money of the unhappy litigants. In this manner many thousands of persons in England and America acquire fortunes by settling the disputes of others, without contributing in the slightest degree to increase the general wealth of the country.

The speeches of counsel, however, are much longer in America than in England, and the gentlemen of the bar only follow the example of the members of Congress in this respect. The national propensity to prolixity might, no doubt, be greatly checked, if not entirely cured, by the judicious exercise of restraining authority on the part of the bench; but as such authority is never exercised, the lawyers of America literally riot in words; and when a case is opened or a speech begun, no one ever pretends to say when it is likely to be finished. Mr. John Quincy Adams, in the last Congress, occupied the morning hour allotted every day to petitions, by a speech on the affairs of Texas, for several weeks in succession; talking on, every day, during that hour, to the end of the session; so that no one could answer him till the following session, before which, a new Congress would be elected—and many of the lawyers in the courts seem to be imbued with the same passion for loquacity. The most intelligent of the Americans are fully sensible of this defect; and in the beautiful address of Mr. Nicholas Biddle, to the Alumni of Princeton college in New Jersey, it is thus adverted to, and thus pointedly reproved.

“Our institutions require and create a multitude of public speakers and writers—but, without culture, their very numbers impede their excellence, as the wild richness of the soil throws out an unweeded and rank luxuriance. Accordingly, in all that we say 224 or write about public affairs, a crude abundance is the disease of our American style. On the commonest topic of business, a speech swells into a declamation—an official statement

grows to a dissertation. A discourse about anything must contain everything. We will take nothing for granted. We must commence at the very commencement. An ejectment for ten acres, reproduces the whole discovery of America—a discussion about a tariff or a turnpike, summons from their remotest caves the adverse blasts of windy rhetoric—and on those great Sorbonian bogs, known in political geography as constitutional questions, our ambitious fluency often begins with the general deluge, and ends with its own. It is thus that even the good sense and reason of some become wearisome, while the undisciplined fancy of others wanders into all the extravagances and the gaudy phraseology which distinguish our western Orientalism. The result is, that our public affairs are in danger of becoming wholly unintelligible—concealed rather than explained, as they often are, in long harangues which few who can escape will hear, and in massive documents which all who see will shun. For this idle waste of words—at once a political evil and a social wrong—the only remedy is study. The last degree of refinement is simplicity; the highest eloquence is the plainest; the most effective style is the pure, severe, and vigorous manner, of which the great masters are the best teachers."

New Hampshire, of which Concord is the legislative capital, though Portsmouth is a much larger and more populous town, is about the same size in area as Vermont, being 160 miles in length from north to south, 70 miles in mean breadth from east to west, and containing 8,500 square miles, or 5,440,000 acres. The greater portion of this area is in the interior, as the sea-coast measures only 18 miles in length. It is bounded on the north by Lower Canada, which it touches on the disputed boundary-line between the British and the United States' possessions; on the south by Massachusetts, on the west by Vermont, on the east by Maine, and on the 225 south-east by the Atlantic. The country near the sea-coast is generally level; but in the interior the surface is greatly diversified with hills and mountains, and it is said, that from this circumstance the vicissitudes and extremes of temperature are greater in New Hampshire than in any other of the States of the Union. The soil is as varied as the temperature, being rich and fertile near the banks of the rivers, but less productive remote from them; pasture absorbs a larger portion than

tillage; and grain of various kinds is produced in the State; yet cattle are more abundant, and the orchards are also highly productive, though few other kinds of fruits are grown here, except apples.

Settlers from England visited New Hampshire as early as 1622, under a grant from the Plymouth Company, and their first positions were taken up at the Piscataqua river, and at Cocheco, which is now Dover. In 1631, Portsmouth, the chief sea-port of New Hampshire, was settled; and in 1638 the town of Exeter was founded. From 1641 to 1679, New Hampshire existed in coalition with Massachusetts, as a colony of Great Britain; but after that, it separated itself, and so continued till the American revolution, when, in 1776, New Hampshire was the first to form a constitution of its own; and since then it has existed as an independent State. As most of the States of the Union have some distinctive appellation, as “the Empire State,” for New York; “the Key-stone State,” for Pennsylvania; and “the Old Dominion,” for Virginia; so New Hampshire is called “the Granite State,” from the large quantities of granite produced by its quarries, and sent to all VOL. III Q 226 parts of the country for building. It is called also the Switzerland of America, from its beautifully picturesque scenery, in its mountains, rivers, cataracts, and lakes.

The population of New Hampshire was estimated in 1701 at 10,000, and even in 1730, it was but 12,000, having increased only 2,000 during 29 years; nor did it reach higher than 80,000 in 1775; the last year of its being a colony of the British. From the date of its independence, 1776, it went on, like all the other free States, to increase rapidly in population, and the decennial enumerations after this period, give the following numbers: —

In 1790 141,885

1800 183,858

1810 214,460

In 1820 244,161

1830 269,328

1838 300,000

During the last few years, the attention of the people has been fixed on manufactures, and there already exists upwards of 50 cotton and woollen manufactories, many of them on a large scale; there are also many paper-mills, glass-houses, and establishments for iron works, particularly in Franconia, near the White Mountains. The shipping of the State is estimated at about 20,000 tons. There are many canals existing, and others in process of excavation, as well as rail-roads, and all the elements of trade and commerce abound.

The institutions for education include an excellent college at Hanover, called “Dartmouth College,” from the Earl of Dartmouth, who was one of its earliest patrons, the college being founded in 1769. It has 250 students, a library of 7,000 volumes, an anatomical museum, and an annual income of 227 about 4,000 dollars. An institution exists at Exeter also, called “Phillips's Exeter Academy,” which was founded by the Hon. John Phillips, LL.D. in 1781. It has a fund of 81,000 dollars, and this is partly appropriated to the support of indigent students, who have the disposition and capacity for study, without possessing the means.

The religious establishments of New Hampshire are ample, when compared with its population. The Congregationalists, or Independents, are the most numerous; these having 180 churches, and 164 ministers, with about 15,000 communicants. The Baptists have 80 churches; the Methodists, Episcopal and others, 42; Presbyterians 15; Universalists 12; Quakers 12; Unitarians 10; Episcopalians 8, and Catholics 2. There are also two societies of Shakers, and one of Sandemanians. Such is the vigour of the voluntary system, that the ministers of all these sects—excepting only the Quakers and Shakers, who both repudiate the principle of paying “hirelings,” as they call them, for

preaching the Gospel—are liberally sustained by their respective congregations. Their churches are well-built, without assistance from the State, and kept in excellent repair, without forcible levies of tithes or church-rates; and the peace and harmony between them all is rarely or ever disturbed. As far therefore as outward indications can be taken as a safe guide, there seems every reason to believe that religion is very generally respected, and its influence felt as extensively in this State as in any others that we had yet travelled through.

On Saturday, the 22d of September, we left Concord Q 2 228 for Boston, coming through Amoskeag, Merrimack, and Nashwa, all respectable and thriving little towns, to Lowell, which we reached about two o'clock; and finding there a train of cars just ready to start for Boston, a distance of 25 miles, we took our seats, and proceeded on, leaving Lowell for a future visit, as it is deemed the Manchester of America, from its extensive manufactories, and is worthy of a careful examination.

The cars, which were both handsome and commodious, were well filled, the train carrying probably 200 passengers at once; and we performed the distance smoothly and pleasantly in about an hour and a half. The first sight of Boston was very picturesque and promising, with its finely-elevated State House crowning the general eminence, and surrounded by the dwellings of the city; its long bridges, and numerous vessels of all classes and sizes either moored at its wharfs or plying on its waters. Arriving at the depôt, we found an omnibus ready to convey us to the Hotel, and everything connected with the transfer of the baggage being conducted with regularity and speed, we were soon on our way to the Tremont House, where we found excellent quarters prepared for our occupation.

CHAP. XI.

Stay at Boston—Delivery of lectures there—Resolutions presented at their close—Mr. George Combe's lectures on Phrenology—Mr. Cushing's lecture on the influence of women—Governor Everett's lecture on the voyages of the Northmen—Afternoon lectures,

and Madame Caradori's concerts—Public meetings in behalf of the “Sailor's Home”—Institutions visited in Boston—Public characters—Environs—Salem and Marblehead—Military levee.

We remained in Boston for a period of nine weeks, during the most agreeable time of the year, after the summer heats had subsided, and before the extreme cold of the winter had set in, from the 22nd of September to the 26th of November. We saw the city and its environs, therefore, in the most favourable season of autumn, while the foliage was yet on the trees, and richly and beautifully coloured, and while the warm sun and bright skies of this delightful period gave us all the glow of summer, and the bracing freshness of winter combined. It was the season too at which most of the opulent families who pass their summers at their country residences or in travelling, return to town for their winter abode, and when the city is consequently the most crowded.

During our protracted stay in Boston, I was engaged in the delivery of my lectures on Egypt and 230 Palestine, before the members of the Mercantile Library Association, at whose invitation I had come on to Boston for this purpose. The place chosen for their delivery was the Odeon, formerly a theatre for dramatic performances, then converted into a concert-room, and now used for music, and for public lectures. It still retains its usual subdivisions into boxes, pit, and gallery, but is so divested of all theatrical ornaments, and so chastely and tastefully fitted up, as to combine elegance and comfort in a very high degree, and is capable of seating 1,200 auditors comfortably. The lectures were delivered twice in the week, at half-past seven in the evening; and were very fully attended by audiences that were said to contain the most distinguished families of Boston, nearly all the clergy, and literary and scientific men, and the most critical and accomplished among the ladies. They appeared to give more than usual satisfaction to those who attended; and the following resolutions, which were passed at their close, affords sufficient evidence of their having been appreciated by those at whose express invitation they were given:

“At a meeting of the Mercantile Library Association, held on Monday evening, November 19, 1838, the following resolutions were adopted:—

“Resolved—That the course of lectures on Egypt and Palestine, delivered by J. S. Buckingham, Esq. before this association, merits our highest approbation, both for the valuable historical information imparted, and the interesting and eloquent manner in which they were delivered.

Resolved—That, in parting with one, with whom so many happy, and, we trust, useful hours have been passed, we cannot refrain 231 from offering him our ardent wishes for his future prosperity and success, wherever his propensity to travel may lead him.

Isaiah M. Atkins, Jr. President.

W. L. Weston, Secretary.

At such intervals of leisure as I could command, I attended the lectures delivered by others in Boston, and received much gratification from them all. Among others was a course on Phrenology, delivered by Mr. George Combe, of Edinburgh, in the Temple, to an audience of from 250 to 300, which drew together the disciples made by Dr. Spurzheim at his visit a few years since, and gathered others around this nucleus. Mr. Combe was well received, his labours highly appreciated, and publicly commended; and such portions of the course as I had the good fortune to be able to hear, were full of interest and instruction. I heard also a very eloquent lecture by the Hon. Caleb Cushing, of Newbury-port, one of the representatives of Massachusetts in Congress, delivered before the Lyceum, at the Odeon, on the influence of Christianity in the elevation of women, and the benefits which this had produced in the world. I had the pleasure also to hear a very learned and interesting lecture, by His Excellency the Governor of the State, delivered at the Warrenstreet Chapel, on the Voyages of the Northmen to the continent of America, nearly 500 years before the time of Columbus. This historical fact was established beyond

all doubt, from the evidence adduced by him on this subject; though the obscurity into which so interesting a visit to, and occupation of, the territory about Rhode Island and Massachusetts, had subsequently fallen—as it appears to have been 232 wholly forgotten in the time of Columbus—is among the features of the case the most difficult to explain.

Besides the regular evening course of lectures delivered by me to the Mercantile Library Association, an afternoon course on the same subject was given to the public generally, in the Marlborough Chapel, in Washington Street, which was also well attended, but less by men of business than by ladies and pupils. The president and some of the professors of the Cambridge University, with many of the clergy, and most of the Sunday-school teachers—who are not, as in England, composed of persons from the middle ranks of life only, but include the younger branches of the most opulent families in the State—were among this audience. We attended Madame Caradori Allen's concerts also with as much gratification as ever; and having had the pleasure of knowing her and her excellent husband in England, we were glad at the opportunity of meeting in the same house, and enjoyed much of their amiable and agreeable society.

Among the gratuitous labours in which I had the privilege of being engaged, was the delivery of a lecture to the members of the Franklin Institute at the Temple; and the advocacy of the claims of Seamen, in two separate public meetings, held, one at the Marlborough Chapel, and the other at the Odeon, at an interval of some weeks apart. The former was on behalf of “The Sailor's Home,” an establishment supported by the Trinitarian section of Christians, under the presidency of Mr. Pliny Cutler, and the Chaplaincy of the Rev. Mr. Lord; and so 233 well conducted as to be productive of the greatest good in rescuing the seamen, who can be prevailed upon to take up their quarters there, from the horrors of drunkenness and misery which await them in all the ordinary establishments. At this meeting, which was held on a Sunday evening, there were believed to be 2,500 persons present, and upwards of 1,000 are said to have been obliged to go away for want

of room. The addresses of the evening produced a strong and favourable impression, and several hundred dollars were collected from the audience, for the funds of the institution.

The second occasion was for the benefit of the “Mariner's Home,” a similar establishment, of a larger size, and situated in a different locality. This is chiefly supported by the Unitarian portion of the community; though Father Taylor, who presides over the establishment, and is at once its commander, chaplain, and purser, is not a Unitarian in his doctrine. He was originally a Wesleyan Methodist, and continues to be so still, but upon rather a more open and enlarged foundation than any of the mere sects of Christians. To use his own quaint sea-language, in which he so cordially addresses his flock of seamen, he says, “We know nothing here of Unitarians, Trinitarians, or any other-arians into which mankind are divided. We don't allow such smallcraft as these to cruise in our deep waters. We all sail here under the broad pennant of pure Christianity.” And if ever man's heart and mind was truly catholic, such is undoubtedly Father Taylor's. The meeting on behalf of this institution was also very fully attended; the 234 addresses convincing and impressive, and 500 dollars were raised by a collection from the audience for the funds of the institution.

These occupations brought me in communication with the most influential and benevolent of the inhabitants of Boston; and gave me an opportunity of seeing persons of all ranks and classes, from the highest to the lowest. I attended also about twenty of the churches, heard the most distinguished of the clergy, saw the most crowded congregations, and by these opportunities, added to occasional visits and daily intercourse with the inhabitants, enjoyed abundant opportunities for forming correct opinions as to their general character.

Of the Institutions within the city, I inspected personally the greatest number; and visited almost all the public buildings, including the State House, Faneuil Hall, the Court House, the City Hall, the Custom House, the Post Office, the Navy Yard, its dock, ropewalk, and building sheds, the State-Prison, the Hospitals and Asylums, the Public Schools, and indeed almost every Institution of public interest. These were the means I enjoyed for judging of the things I shall venture to describe.

In the environs of Boston, we visited Dorchester, Roxbury, and Milton Hill. We were present at one of the public examinations of Harvard College at the University of Cambridge; and spent delightful day at the beautiful cemetery of Mount Auburn. Each of these excursions afforded us considerable pleasure, though none were so full of interest as the last.

Among the remarkable public men, with whom I 235 had the pleasure to become acquainted in Boston, were—the ex-president, John Quincy Adams, and the senator Daniel Webster, both of whom I had before met at Washington, but here they were at home; President Quincy of the University of Cambridge, Governor Everett, of the State of Massachusetts, the Rev. Dr. Channing, Mr. Pierpont, an accomplished poet, Dr. Harris, the venerable author of one of the most learned and elaborate works I had ever met with on the Natural History of the Bible; and Father Taylor, “the seaman's friend,” one of the most genuine sons of Neptune, with all a sailor's virtues, unspotted by the failings so common to the race. In addition to these, we had the pleasure to enjoy the acquaintance, and I believe the friendship, of several private families, whom I do not name, but of whose kindness we shall long retain the recollection.

During our stay at Boston, I was invited to deliver my course of Lectures at Salem, where I went by the rail-road, a distance of 13 miles, on two days in each week; and though the course was but slightly attended, the audience seldom exceeding 200 persons, I had the pleasure to form some very agreeable acquaintances, and to partake of the cordial hospitality of an English family residing there from Essex in England, persons with whom I had had no acquaintance whatever at home, but who, the moment I arrived in the country, sent me a pressing invitation to visit them at Salem, and desired me, whenever I came there, to make their house my home.

While at Salem I visited several times the interesting Museum formed in that town by the contribution 236 of the many sea-captains who sail from that port to various parts of India, China, and the islands of the Pacific; and made also a pleasant excursion to the

neighbouring sea-port and fishing town of Marblehead; in a ship belonging to which port, called the Rising States, Captain Atkin Adams, I had visited the United States 30 years ago, in a voyage from London to Norfolk in Virginia.

As I purpose repeating my visit to Salem in the summer, I shall defer all description of that city and its environs till then; but I may mention, that during one of my visits here I was much gratified at the opportunity of seeing “all Salem,” as the phrase is, at a military levee which was peculiar to the time. It appears that of late years the military mania, which is so fast dying away in the West, has been revived in the East; and Salem having partaken of it in a large degree, has now several companies of volunteers, who are exceedingly fond of parade days and public displays. A gentleman of fortune, Captain Sutton, who partakes of this taste himself, encourages it in others, by giving, on the occasion of public reviews, and at his own cost, a public levee, at which the volunteers, privates as well as officers, and all their families, are invited to partake in the pleasures of the dance, the promenade, and the refreshments of the evening. I was present at one of these, and found it a miniature edition of the President's levee at Washington. “Everybody in Salem was there,” was the common mode of describing it; and there was certainly a great variety in the complexion of the company. But while there was something that might have been spared by good taste, in 237 the richness and gaudiness of the attire, there was as much of female beauty as I ever saw among the same number of persons, and some of the younger faces were exquisitely lovely. The behaviour of all was respectful, orderly, and becoming; and though there was no want of joy and hilarity, yet it never manifested itself boisterously. I do not think that any country except America could furnish, out of such varied elements, embracing all classes of society, two such agreeable and well conducted parties as these public levees at Washington and Salem.

Such is a brief notice of the chief incidents of our stay at Boston and in its neighbourhood; and it was during this period, and surrounded by these opportunities and sources of information, that I threw into form the scattered facts which I was thus enabled to bring

together, and appended to them the opinions and impressions which the subjects themselves occasioned, as they are arranged in the following chapters.

CHAP. XII.

Influence of institutions on character—Early history of Massachusetts—First charter to the Plymouth company—Origin of the name “New England”—Arrival of the Puritans—Charter of Charles the First—Solemn league and covenant of the settlers—Foundation of Plymouth and Salem—Boston, Charlestown, Dorchester, and Roxbury—First act of religious intolerance—First representative assembly—War with the Indians—Influence of the clergy—Female assemblies—Hazelrigge, Pym, Hampden, and Oliver Cromwell, emigrants—Rigour of the Puritan laws—First federal union of provinces—Foundation of Providence and Rhode Island—Conduct of the Quakers—Death inflicted on Quakers for entering the colony—Firmness of that body triumphing over their persecutors—Restoration of Charles the Second—Increased emigration—Statistics of New England at this early period—Laws for restraining indulgence in dress and amusements—Remarkable men—Sir William Phipps—Cotton Mather—Benjamin Franklin.

As there is no portion of the United States in which the character of the inhabitants has been more extensively influenced, if not almost wholly formed, by the institutions and conduct of their ancestors, than in New England—it is almost indispensable to a right understanding and due appreciation of that character, to examine these institutions, and the conduct of those who framed them, for which purpose, a brief sketch of the early settlement of these territories will, perhaps, be acceptable.

It was in the year 1606, that James the First of England sanctioned the planting of colonies in this part of America, then called Northern Virginia; and two separate companies, one stationed at London, and the other at Plymouth, in England, had granted to them the privilege of forming such colonies in these parts. The leading person in the Plymouth

company was Sir John Popham, then Chief Justice of England, who, a few years before, presided at the trial of Sir Walter Raleigh, and condemned that distinguished individual, to whom both America and England owed so much, to the death of a traitor. The first expedition, led by two brothers of the judge, sailed from Plymouth in 1607, with about 100 emigrants, in two vessels; and landing near the river Sagahadoc, they found themselves in the first period of their stay here so destitute of means, that all but forty-five of their number were sent back to England; while these suffered so severely from the winter, that they lost a great, portion of their number by disease, including their president, Henry Popham, before the spring. A vessel then arrived with fresh supplies; but this ship brought intelligence of the death of the Chief Justice Popham and Sir Henry Gilbert, their two most powerful patrons; and this induced them to return to England, where they spread the most discouraging accounts of the region in which so many calamities had befallen them.

Six years after this, in 1614, the celebrated Captain Smith, so renowned for his adventures with Pocahontas, in Virginia, was engaged by the Plymouth company to make a voyage of trade and survey to the abandoned coast; and after exploring with 240 great care both the coast and the interior, from Cape Cod to Penobscot, he returned to England; and laying his map and the narrative of his travels before Prince Charles, this generous patron of the gallant captain was so much pleased with the region described, that he bestowed on it the name of “New England,” which has always been continued, and which now embraces the six States eastward of the Hudson river: namely, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Vermont, and Maine. So many obstacles, however, intervened between this period and 1619, that the Plymouth company, in this year, laid aside all attempts to colonize the quarter in which their first settlement was made.

In 1620 the Puritans, who had fled from England because of the religious persecutions to which they were subject, and had remained ten years in exile at Leyden, resolved to leave Europe altogether, and settle in America; and having procured from the Plymouth company the grant of a tract of land within their territories, they purchased two vessels, in order to convey 120 of their number to the shores of the New World. The spot on which

they had intended to form their settlement, was on the banks of the Hudson river; but the Dutch, then in possession of a part of that territory, wishing to exclude these new settlers from their neighbourhood, are said to have bribed the captain of the vessel, who sailed with these emigrants from Leyden, to take them to some spot farther north upon the coast. He accordingly took them as far north as far as Cape Cod, where the advanced period of the year, and the sufferings and sickness 241 of a long voyage, compelled them to disembark. They bestowed upon the place of their first settlement the name of New Plymouth, from the English city of that name at which they last touched, when, driven back by storms after their departure from Leyden, they had taken shelter in the harbour of Plymouth, within the British Channel.

This first year was one of great privation, suffering, and difficulty; but these being at length overcome, they began to frame those institutions, which had so powerful an influence on the character of their descendants. Their ecclesiastical constitution was the same as that under which they had lived in their exile at Leyden, and both this and their civil government were founded on the republican principle of the equal rights of man. All freemen who were members of their church, were members also of the legislative body, and this continued until 1639, when for the first time a house of representatives was formed; and these chose annually a governor and council for their executive body. The jurisprudence of England was in most cases their model; but the penalties of the Mosaic code were often intermingled with their laws; and their deep abhorrence of offences against morality, contrasted with their light estimate of pecuniary crimes, is strikingly shown in the fact, that while they punished fornication with flogging, and adultery with death, the offence of forgery was only visited with a trifling fine in money. Considering themselves as members of one family, they adopted a community of property, and this continued for three years: when the influx of strangers rendered a return to individual possession, as they thought, necessary. VOL. III R

242

In 1626, the reign of Charles the First set in motion new causes to augment the number of those who sought refuge from religious intolerance in America, and a non-conformist minister at Dorchester, in England, named White, drew the attention of those who like himself sought relief from persecution, to the importance of leaving their homes for a new country. For this purpose, a publication, entitled “General Considerations for the Plantation of New England,” was extensively circulated; and the effect it produced, may be judged of from some of the passages it contained. “England,” it was asserted, “grew weary of her inhabitants, insomuch that man, the most precious of all creatures, was there recorded more vile and base than the earth he trod on.” “English seminaries,” it was added, “abounded with so many spectacles and temptations of dissolute irregularity, that vice was there more effectually communicated by example, than knowledge and virtue by precept:” and the declaration then followed, that “The whole earth is the Lord's garden, and he hath given it to the sons of Adam to be tilled and improved by them. Why, then, should any stand starving here, in England, for places of habitation, and in the meantime suffer whole countries, as profitable for the use of man, to lie waste, without any improvement?”

The numbers induced by this stirring appeal, were sufficient to furnish the means for a new expedition, and the parties purchasing from the Plymouth Company a tract of land—which included all the coast, from three miles north of the Merrimack river, to three miles south of the Charles river, and in the 243 interior from the borders of the Atlantic to the shores of the Pacific—sent out their first body of emigrants, who, on arriving in Massachusetts, were cordially greeted and assisted by those who had gone before them to New Plymouth; and in the year of their arrival, 1628, they laid the foundations of Salem.

It was on the 4th of March, in this year, that the Puritans in England obtained, for their exiled brethren in Massachusetts, a charter from Charles the First, giving them legal authority to occupy the territory in which they had formed their settlements in America. By this charter, the settlers were incorporated into a body politic, empowered to occupy, cultivate, or dispose of the soil they had purchased, and to govern the people who

should settle on it. Among the patentees were Sir Richard Salstonstall, of an ancient Northamptonshire family, one of whose descendants, bearing the same name, is the present mayor of Salem (1838;) and Samuel Vassal, afterwards member of parliament for the City of London, and distinguished for his patriotic opposition to the arbitrary collection of the shipmoney tax in England. A monument was erected to the memory of this individual, in Boston, by his great-grandson; from which it appears that he was the son of Sir John Vassal, who, in Elizabeth's time, fitted out at his own cost, and commanded in person, two ships of war against the Spanish armada. In a note to Mr. Graham's excellent History of America, he says, “The son, exerting himself as strenuously against domestic tyranny as the father had done against foreign invasion, was deprived of his liberty, R2 244 and of the greater part of his fortune, by the Court of Star Chamber. The long parliament voted him upwards of £10,000 as compensation for his losses, and resolved that his personal sufferings should be still further considered; “but the rage of the times,” says his epitaph, “and the neglect of proper application since, have left to his family only the honour and vote of that resolution.” Such is the fate of those who are oppressed and plundered for their advocacy of popular rights; and such the hopelessness of ever obtaining justice or redress from either the parliament or the people!

In the following year, 1629, on the 1st of May, a squadron of vessels left England, containing 350 emigrants, who were almost wholly Puritans, and non-conformist ministers. The object of their voyage being to escape from religious persecution to an asylum of greater liberty, their time at sea was devoted chiefly to religious exercises; and the crews, touched by their enthusiasm, became as devout as the passengers themselves. Their voyage was happy and prosperous, and they reached Salem in safety on the 24th of June.

They had scarcely landed, before the whole body, including the previous settlers and the new emigrants, united in a solemn league and covenant, and formed a social contract, by which they undertook to dedicate their future lives to God, and the mutual aid and comfort of each other. There is every reason to believe they were sincere; but such were the crude and imperfect notions of religious liberty that existed at that period, even among

men who had fled from religious persecution themselves, that in the very 245 same year in which this solemn league and covenant was made, they banished two brothers, named Browne, who were among the original patentees, for merely dissenting from the model of church-government which the covenanters had framed! But this is, perhaps, the less to be wondered at, when it is remembered that even the great Lord Bacon, in his treatise “De Unitate Ecclesiæ,” expresses his conviction, that “no government could be upheld without uniformity of religious opinions,” and that “toleration to sectarians would be impolitic and unsafe.” And in the History of New Hampshire it is stated, that in a work published in that State in 1645, a Christian minister thus expressed himself: “It is said that men ought to have liberty of conscience, and that it is persecution to debar them of it. I can rather stand amazed than reply to this. It is an astonishment that the brains of men should be parboil'd in such impious ignorance!”

In August of this year, 1629, a most important change took place in the condition of New England, as on the 29th of that month, the charter of Massachusetts, which before made the governing power of the colony to reside in England, was so modified as to transfer this ruling power to America: so that, according to the language of the historian, “an English corporation, appointed by its charter to reside in London, resolved itself, by its own act, into an American corporation, and transferred its residence to Massachusetts.” To this the king not only made no objection, but gave his public assent by a proclamation, in which he gave his royal commendation to the provincial government, and promised it all the 246 aid it would require for its comfort and prosperity. The motive of the king's conduct is supposed to have been a great desire to rid himself of the presence of the Puritans in England, by increasing the facilities and temptations of their emigration to the New World; but, whatever was the motive, the effect was to place the rights and liberties of the settlers in New England on a much firmer basis than they had ever reposed on before, and to make this a most important epoch in their history.

From this period the work of organization went on with spirit, vigour, and efficiency. A general assembly appointed John Winthrop as their first governor, and Thomas Dudley as

their first deputy-governor; and these were assisted by eighteen councillors, which formed the first provincial legislature of New England. This act inspired so much confidence in the future stability of the colony, that in the following year, 1630, no less than 1500 new settlers arrived, in a fleet of 17 ships, which reached Salem on the 6th of July; and among these were many individuals of wealth and distinction, who had embarked with a determination “to follow truth and liberty into a desert, rather than to enjoy all the pleasures of the world under the dominion of superstition and slavery at home.” They were not so pleased, however, with the situation of Salem as they expected to have been, and began to look around in the neighbourhood for some more agreeable locality. They fixed on several spots around the bay, where more eligible positions were easily found; and thus was planted the first beginnings of Boston, of Charlestown, of Dorchester, and of Roxbury, all within a few miles of each other, 247 and all since so much increased, that Boston may be regarded as one of the most important and influential of all the larger cities of America, while the others are considerable towns, either as suburbs or places in its vicinity.

The first year of the new emigrants was full of disaster, from the severity of the winter, the insufficiency of shelter and accommodation, and the prevalence of a pestilential disease, which swept away many by death; but when spring returned, and new supplies arrived from England, they were enabled to revive, and attend to their affairs. Even at this early period, their first act, like that of their predecessors, was one of religious intolerance; for they passed a law that no man should be a freeman, or have any share in the government, who did not conform in all respects to the ecclesiastical opinions and discipline which they chose to set up! A curious instance is mentioned of the influence of the clergy in the province at this time by Hutchinson, who says that the use of tobacco was prohibited under a severe penalty; and in some of the popular books of the colony, its smoke was compared to “the fumes of the bottomless pit.” Soon after this, however, some of the clergy themselves having acquired a taste for the obnoxious weed, their influence was sufficient to get an order from the local government, withdrawing the prohibition and penalty, and leaving tobacco and all its consumers unmolested.

In 1634 the first representative assembly was formed in Massachusetts, the election being by universal suffrage of the freemen; and the representatives, in conjunction with the councillors and governor, 248 forming the legislature of the province. About this time, Providence was founded by Roger Williams, one of the ministers of Salem; Connecticut by Hooker, one of the ministers of Boston; and Newhaven by Theophilus Eaton, a man of large fortune from England, and John Davenport, an eminent Puritan minister.

In 1637, a war occurred between the colonists and the Pequod Indians; and the influence of the clergy may be judged of from this custom, that when a commander-in-chief of the military force was appointed, his truncheon was delivered to him by one of the clergy, and with each regiment was placed a chaplain, who in all circumstances of doubt or danger was instructed to pray for divine direction. The manner in which religion was interwoven in the very texture of society at this time is illustrated by the fact, that it was then the practice in Boston for the inhabitants to assemble together in weekly meetings, to discuss the merits and doctrines of the sermons delivered on the preceding Sabbath.

It was the privilege of men only, however, to attend these meetings; but a lady of the colony, Mrs. Hutchinson, the wife of one of the leading members of the community, feeling aggrieved at the exclusion of women from these debates, determined to assert the rights and privileges of her own sex, and established meetings for them, at which she presided. Her followers and admirers increased so rapidly, that they soon outnumbered the exclusive assemblies of the males; and at length Mrs. Hutchinson attained to such influence, and exercised such power, that the decisions by her authority were fatal to the reputation 249 of those against whose lives or doctrines they were directed. In the language of the historian, “the matrons of Boston were transformed into a synod of slanderous praters, whose inquisitorial deliberations and audacious decrees instilled their venom into the innermost recesses of society: and the spirits of a great majority of the citizens being in that combustible state in which a feeble spark will suffice to

kindle a formidable conflagration, the whole colony was inflamed and distracted by the incontinence of female spleen and presumption."

In 1638, another numerous supply of emigrants arrived in New England; and in a second fleet about to sail, but which was stopped by an order of council from the king, were embarked, among others, the republicans Hazelrig, Hampden, Pym, and Oliver Cromwell. The king, indeed, became so alarmed at the growing strength and numbers of the Puritans in the western world, that he demanded the surrender of the patent or charter of Massachusetts, which would most probably have been enforced, but for the breaking out of the civil war, which almost immediately followed. At this period, 1640, there were about 4,000 families in New England, and more than 100 ministers of religion. These had founded 50 towns and villages, and erected more than 30 churches and dwellings for the ministers: and all this in addition to the expenditure of upwards of £200,000 in equipping the vessels, and conveying the emigrants by whom this colony was formed.

The feelings by which these people were knit * Graham's Hist. of the U. S. of North America, vol. i. p. 252. 250 together, were such as to make them all with one accord abjure luxurious habits, and enjoin, by legislative sanction and personal example, the constant practice of mutual succour and reciprocal aid. The men of larger fortune assisted those of humbler means: and these duties to each other were enforced from the pulpit in such addresses as these: "Remember, brethren," says one of the ministers of New Plymouth, Robert Cushman, "remember that ye have given your names and promises one to another, here to cleave together. You must then seek the wealth of one another, and inquire, as David did—how liveth such a man? how is he clad? how is he fed? He is my brother, my associate, and we ventured our lives together. Is his labour harder than mine? Surely I will ease him. Hath he no bed to be on? I have two: I'll lend him one. He is as good a man as I, and we are bound each to other, so that his wants must be my wants, and his welfare my welfare."*

* Belknap's American Biography.

Notwithstanding the benevolent spirit in which this advice was conceived, there was yet existing in the community, so much of intolerance and bigotry, as greatly to overbalance the good which a right estimate of religious privileges would have ensured. By one of the laws of Massachusetts it was enacted, “that all strangers professing the Christian religion, who shall flee to this country from the tyranny of their persecutors, shall be succoured *at the public charge,* till some provision can be made for them;” and yet, by the same authority, Roman Catholic priests, as well as Quakers, were subjected to banishment and to death if they ventured to return—while 251 the latter were called, “a cursed sect,” and the severest penalties were imposed on the importation of either the persons or the writings of the Quakers!

So rigid were their rules for the observance of the Sabbath, that all persons were forbidden to run, or even to walk “except reverently to and from church, on Sunday,” or to profane the day by sweeping their houses, cooking their victuals, or shaving their beards. Mothers were commanded not even to kiss their children on that sacred day! Adultery was punished by death, but fornication by compelling the parties to marry only. Robbery was punished by branding for the first offence, flogging for the second, and death for the third; but if any crime was committed on Sunday, the ear of the culprit was cut off, in addition to the regular penalty for other days in the week. Blasphemy was punished with death; heresy with banishment. Heavy fines were imposed on people for “observing any such day as Christmas;” and witchcraft and perjury, directed against the life of any one, was punished with death.

Gaming was strictly prohibited, and cards and dice were forbidden to be imported. No assemblies for dancing were allowed; and kissing a woman in the street, even by way of honest and friendly greeting, was punished by flogging! Persons wearing a dress which the grand jury should deem above their station, were in the first instance admonished, and in the second fined. Women cutting their hair like men's, or suffering it to hang loosely on their faces, were also fined. The “select men” visited every family, and prescribed the

quantity of work in spinning, which the young females of the family could 252 execute, and fines were exacted if they fell short of the task.

Usury was forbidden, and no hire was to be paid even for the loan of cattle or agricultural instruments. A male child above 16, accused by its parents of rebellion, was liable to the punishment of death; and any person courting a maid without the sanction of her parents, was subject to fine and imprisonment!—Such were a few only of the most prominent laws, customs, and usages of the Puritan settlers in New England; and such has been their influence upon the posterity of these ancestors, that many traces, and some not very faint ones, are to be seen in the manners and customs of the present day.

The remaining history of the New England States may be very briefly told. In 1643, they formed a federal union, and from that period more rapidly advanced in prosperity. In 1646 they began to make efforts for the conversion of the Indians; and so early as 1664 the Bible was printed, for the first time, in the language of the Massachusetts Indians. When Cromwell succeeded to the supreme power in England, he was favourable to the New England colonies; and after his armaments had conquered Jamaica, he proposed to the people of Massachusetts, to give them this island for their future possession, but they gratefully and respectfully declined his offer.

The persecution of the Anabaptists and Quakers, which occurred in New England in 1656, is a deep stain upon the character of that age; though it must be admitted that the conduct of the Quakers of that day was characterized by an extravagance of opinion and conduct, which it seems difficult to reconcile with 253 the moderate tenets, and meek and pure demeanour of the Quakers of the present day; while the execution of persons for witchcraft, is as remarkable a proof of human weakness. As a specimen of the controversies which passed between the sects of that time, it may be stated that Roger Williams, the founder of Providence, and of the State of Rhode Island, having, as he conceived, made out a triumphant case against the Quakers, published a book, entitled, “George Fox digged out of his Burrow;” to which this leader of the Quakers published a

reply, under the title of “A New England Firebrand quenched; being an answer to a lying slanderous book, by one Roger Williams, confuting his blasphemous assertions.”*

* Elliot's New England Biography.

The persecution of the Quakers, however, produced here the same effects which religious persecution has produced everywhere else; it increased the number of the sect, and augmented their devotion and their zeal. Mr. Grahame says, in his history of this period, “Swarms of Quakers descended upon the colony; and, violent and impetuous in provoking persecution—calm, resolute, and inflexible in maintaining it, they opposed their powers of enduring cruelty, to their adversaries' power of inflicting it; and not only multiplied their converts, but excited a considerable degree of favour and pity in the minds of men, who, detesting the Quaker tenets, yet derived from their own experience a peculiar sympathy with the virtues of heroic patience, constancy, and contempt of danger.”

The manner in which these qualities were exhibited was such, however, as at this time of day seems 254 difficult to credit; and yet the facts are supported by the most unquestionable testimony. The same historian says: “In public assemblies, and in crowded streets, it was the practice of some of the Quakers to denounce the most tremendous manifestations of divine wrath on the people, unless they forsook their carnal system. One of them, named Faubord, conceiving that he experienced a celestial encouragement to rival the faith and imitate the sacrifice of Abraham, was proceeding, with his own hands, to shed the blood of his son; when his neighbours, alarmed by the cries of the lad, broke into the house, and prevented the consummation of this blasphemous atrocity. Others interrupted divine service in the churches by loudly protesting that these were not the sacrifices that God would accept.”

“The female preachers far exceeded their male associates in folly, phrensy, and indecency. One of them presented herself to a congregation, with her face begrimed with coal-dust, announcing it as a pictorial illustration of the black pox, which heaven had

commissioned her to predict as an approaching judgment against all carnal worshippers. Some of them, in rueful attire, perambulated the streets, proclaiming the immediate coming of an angel with a drawn sword, to plead with the people; and some attempted feats that may seem to verify the legend of Godiva of Coventry. One woman, in particular, entered stark-naked into a church in the middle of divine service, and desired the people to take heed to her as a sign of the times, and an emblem of the unclothed state of their own souls; and her associates highly extolled her submission to the inward light, 255 that had revealed to her the duty of illustrating the spiritual nakedness of her neighbours by the indecent exhibition of her own person. Another Quakeress was arrested as she was making a similar display in the streets of Salem"*

* Grahame's History, vol. i. p. 300

If the records of these extravagancies were from the pens of writers opposed to the Quakers generally, they might well be discredited; but two authors of their own sect, Bishop, the writer of a work entitled "New England Judged," and Besse, the author of a work entitled "Collection of the Sufferings of the People called Quakers," relate similar instances, and either defend or excuse them. Both these writers mention the case of Deborah Wilson, whom they describe as "a modest woman, of retired life and conversation; but bearing a great burden for the hardness and cruelty of the people, she went through the town of Salem naked, as a sign; which, having in part performed, she was laid hold on, and bound over to appear at the next court of Salem, where the wicked rulers sentenced her to be whipped." And Besse records the instance of Lydia Wardel, a Quakeress, who "found herself inwardly prompted to appear in a public assembly in a very unusual manner, and such as was exceeding hard and self-denying to her natural disposition, she being a woman of exemplary modesty in all her behaviour. The duty and concern she lay under was that of going into the church at Newbury naked, as a token of the miserable condition in which she conceived the people to be. But they (the people,)

instead of religiously reflecting on their own condition, which she 256 came in that manner to represent to them, fell into a rage, and presently laid hands on her."

This is the language in which the Quaker writers themselves speak of these transactions; and one can hardly wonder that the magistrates of the places named should have endeavoured to put a stop to such proceedings. Three Quaker preachers had their ears cut off, and two were condemned to be sold as slaves in the West Indies, though the sentence was afterwards commuted to banishment from the colony. "Such, (observes the historian,) was the inauspicious outset of the Quakers in America; a country," he truly adds, "where, a few years after, under the guidance of sounder judgment and wiser sentiment and purpose, they were destined to extend the empire of piety and benevolence, and to found establishments that have been largely productive of happiness and virtue."

In 1658 the magistrates of Massachusetts succeeded in passing a law through the assembly, inflicting the penalty of death upon all Quakers who should return from banishment; and though it had been once rejected, and was only finally carried by a majority of one vote, it was acted upon in the succeeding year, when four Quakers, three males and one female, who had not been guilty of any of the extravagancies named, but had been banished from the colony because they were Quakers, and had ventured to return again, were put to death in Boston, for this offence alone! "When they were conducted to the scaffold," says the historian of this event, "their demeanour evinced the most inflexible zeal and courage; and their dying declarations breathed in general the most elevated and affecting piety."

257

The last of these victims to a bigoted and barbarous law, was a Quaker named Leddra; and on his trial, it is related that another Quaker, named Christison, who had been banished for his opinions, but had dared to return, went boldly into the court with his hat on, reproached the judges for their shedding of innocent blood, and told them they would

never extirpate the sect by such means as these: “For (said he) the last man put to death, here are five come in his room; and if you have power to take away my life from me, God can raise up the same principle of life in ten of his servants, and send them among you in my room, so that you may have torment upon torment.” The hopelessness therefore of effecting the suppression of the Quakers by punishment, and the general sympathy of the less bigoted members of the community with the sufferers, caused the persecution finally to die away.

At the restoration of Charles the Second in 1660, the assembly of Massachusetts sent an address to England, acknowledging his supremacy; but in 1661, they found it necessary to make a declaration of their rights to civil and religious freedom, under their own provincial government; while the king issued a general amnesty for all the colonists who had taken part with Cromwell in the civil war, and had thus been legally guilty of treason.

In 1666 a large addition was made to the religious settlers in New England, for in that year a great number of the ministers of the Church of England were ejected from their ministry, for refusing to comply with the act of uniformity; and these non-conformists, as they were called, being of precisely VOL. III. S 258 the same class and character as the original Puritans, resorted to New England as a place of refuge. Here they kept up, by their influence in society, the same rigid spirit as that which had hitherto directed the councils and influenced the opinions and manners of its inhabitants; while, by the fresh impetus thus given to the emigration of conscientious laymen, a body of men were introduced into the country, whose capital, industry, and intelligence, contributed to add greatly to its welfare.

In the year 1673, according to a document procured from the Colonial Office in London, New England was estimated to contain 120,000 souls, of whom 16,000 were capable of bearing arms; and of the merchants and planters, there were not fewer than 5,000 persons, each of whom were worth 3000 *l.* sterling. Three-fourths of the wealth and population of New England centered in Massachusetts and its dependencies. The town

of Boston alone contained at that period 1,500 families. Theft was rare, and beggary unknown; and Josselyn, who returned about two years before this period from his second visit to America, commends highly the beauty and agreeableness of the towns and villages of Massachusetts and Connecticut, and the substantial structure and interior comfort of all the private dwellings.

In 1660, some remarkable meteors having appeared in the air, one of which is described as “resembling the form of a spear, of which the point was directed towards the setting sun, and which, with slow majestic motion, descended through the upper regions of the air, and gradually disappeared beneath the horizon;” the magistrates and clergy 259 availed themselves of the deep impression which these signs created, to promote a general reformation of manners among the people. For this purpose, they published a catalogue of the principal vices of the times, in which were enumerated “a neglect of the education of children, pride displayed in the manner of cutting and curling the hair, excess of finery, immodesty of apparel, negligent carriage at church, failure in due respect to parents, profane swearing, idleness, and frequenting of taverns, and a sordid eagerness of shopkeepers to obtain high prices.” One of the sermons preached at an election about this period, by a minister named Higginson, contains this remarkable passage, on the avidity of gain, which was then thought too prevalent a characteristic of the times, though it has not much abated, if at all, since:—“It concerneth New England,” says this preacher, “always to remember that they are a plantation religious, and not a plantation of trade. Let merchants, and such as are increasing cent per cent, remember this: that worldly gain was not the end and design of the people of New England, but religion. And if any man among us make religion as twelve, and the world as thirteen, such an one hath not the spirit of a true New England man.”

One of the most remarkable of the men produced by New England, William Phipps, appeared, not long after this, in 1688. He rose from the humble condition of a shepherd, to be created a baronet, and to be made governor of the colony of which he was a native. His biographer states that he followed the employment of a shepherd at his native place, till he

was eighteen years of age, and was afterwards S 2 260 apprenticed to a ship-carpenter. When he was freed from his indentures, he pursued a seafaring life, and attained the station of captain of a merchant ship. An account which he happened to have read of the wreck of a Spanish vessel, laden with gold and silver, near the Bahama islands, about fifty years before, inspired him with the bold design of getting up the buried treasure from the sea; and going to England for the purpose of obtaining the requisite assistance, he stated his project so plausibly, that the King, James the First, approved of the design, and sent him in 1683 with a vessel to execute it. The first attempt, however, was unsuccessful, and the king was not willing to make a second. It was subsequently taken up by the Duke of Albemarle, who equipped a vessel for the purpose, which Phipps commanded; and fortune crowning this second attempt, he recovered at least to the value of 300,000 *l.* from the bottom of the sea; of which he retained himself, by agreement, a sufficient portion to enrich him for life, and yet to leave a very handsome residue for his patron and friend. The king, too, instead of being jealous of the good fortune of his second patron, conceived a high respect for Phipps, conferred on him the honour of knighthood, took him into his favour, and even offered him the government of New England, which Phipps then declined, though he used all his influence at court to benefit the province. In 1691 he was appointed governor, on the nomination of the deputies from Massachusetts, and by the authority of William the Third.

It was remarked of him, however, says the same authority, as it had been before remarked of Aristides, 261 that “he was never visibly elated by any mark of honour or confidence that he received from his countrymen;” and he was never ashamed to revert to his original condition. An instance is mentioned in which, when on board one of the ships of a fleet which he commanded, going forth on a military expedition, he called to him some of the young sailors and soldiers on the deck, and pointing to a particular spot on the coast which they were sailing by, he said to them, “Young men, it was upon that hill that I kept sheep a few years ago; you see to what advancement Almighty God has brought me; do you, then, learn to fear God and be honest, and you also may rise as I have done.”

Another of the remarkable men of these times, produced by New England, was Cotton Mather, one of their most eminent divines, who was the author of no fewer than 382 separate works! His biographers describe him as “one of the most remarkable economists of time; being at once the most popular and voluminous writer of the day, and yet, withal, the most zealous and active minister of his age.” Above his study-door was inscribed this impressive admonition to his visitors, “Be short;” and among his manuscripts was a theological work which he had prepared for publication, and of which they say, “it contained enough constantly to employ a man, unless he were a miracle of diligence, the half of the threescore years and ten allotted to us as the term of life.” One of his 382 published works (of which a full catalogue is preserved) was entitled “Essays to do Good;” the object of which was to show the abundant opportunities which present themselves to men of every 262 rank and condition to promote the glory of God and the good of mankind; and Dr. Benjamin Franklin, himself a native of Boston, declared, in his printed works, published at the close of his active and useful life, “that all the good he had ever done to his country or his fellow-creatures must be ascribed to the impressions made on his mind by perusing these ‘Essays to do Good,’ by Cotton Mather, in his early youth.”

From such a combination of peculiarities as those enumerated, influenced again by events and circumstances arising in the course of years, and from such remarkable men as those described, the institutions and character of the people of New England have derived most of their excellencies and defects. The former, however, has always prevailed to a very great degree, and still happily continues in the ascendant. But as the main object of this brief sketch of the early history of Massachusetts, bringing it up to the beginning of the 18th century, was to render more intelligible the description hereafter to be given of the present condition of the cities, towns, and people of this State, with their manners, customs, and character, it may be well to follow this up by a summary view of the effects produced by the causes already enumerated.

263

CHAP. XIII.

Provision made for education—Statistics, and state of manners in Boston—Gradual preparation of the colony for self-government—First outrage on their liberties—Impressment of seamen at Boston—Successful resistance by the population—Second infringement of their liberties—The stamp act—Representatives from America proposed by the historian Oldmixon—Representation advocated by Adam Smith and Franklin—Eloquent speech of Colonel Barre in the British House of Commons—Planting of the tree of liberty—Demolition of the stamp office—Public journals established, and sermons preached against the stamp act—Resistance of America applauded by Pitt and Camden in England—Stamp act finally repealed—Third invasion of rights—Project for taxing the colonies—Bill for imposing duties on tea—Independence of America proposed by Tucker, Dean of Gloucester—Characterized by Edmund Burke as a “childish scheme”—Admitted by George III. to be a wise one—Outbreak at Boston—Seizure of the tea, and its destruction—First Congress formed—Stirring appeal of Patrick Henry—First blood shed at Lexington—Battle of Bunker's Hill—Installation of General Washington—Last act of the political drama—Declaration of American Independence.

Though New England might be considered as yet in a state of political infancy, it had passed through a great variety of fortunes. It had been the adopted country of many of the most excellent men of the age in which its colonization began, and the native land of others who had inherited the character of their ancestors, and transmitted it in unimpaired vigour, and with added renown. The history of man never 264 exhibited an effort of more resolute and enterprising virtue, than the original migration of the Puritans to this distant and then desolate region; nor have the annals of colonization ever supplied another instance of the foundation of a commonwealth, and its advancement, through a period of weakness and danger, to strength and security, in which the principal actors have left behind them a reputation more illustrious and more unsullied, with fewer memorials calculated to pervert the moral sense or awaken the regrets of mankind.

The chief, if not the only fault, with which impartial history must ever reproach the conduct of these people, is the religious intolerance that they cherished, and the persecution which, on too many occasions it prompted them to inflict. On the other hand, institutions for the education of youth were coeval with the first foundation of the provincial community, and were propagated with every accession to the number of the population, and with every extension of their territory. Every town containing 50 householders was obliged by law to maintain a schoolmaster qualified to teach reading and writing; and every town containing 100 householders, was compelled to maintain a grammar-school. In addition to this provision for the education of the less affluent classes of the community, institutions for the more perfect education of those who were devoted to learned pursuits, sprang up on every side. Of these it is enough to mention Harvard College, now forming the University of Cambridge in Massachusetts, and Newhaven and Yale College, in Connecticut; which were in such repute, even at this early period, more 265 than a century ago, that many families in Great Britain sent their children out to these colleges for the excellent education they afforded.

At this period, Boston contained a population of 10,000; and in 1720, its inhabitants amounted to 20,000. Ship-building was carried on to a great extent here, and the commerce was enlarging itself every year. Linen manufactures, by Irish hands, were established in New England, and others followed in other branches of industry; while the feeling of veneration and respect for England was so great in all classes, that, notwithstanding the harsh treatment they had so often met with at royal hands, they constantly spoke of England as their “mother country,” or their “home.” The standard of public and private morals was at this time also very high. Sobriety and industry pervaded all classes of the inhabitants. The laws against immoralities of every description were extremely strict, and most rigidly executed; while the rulers, cordially supported by public opinion, were enabled to render every vicious and profligate excess alike dangerous and discreditable to the perpetrator. Beggars were wholly unknown; and Trumbull, a writer of

unquestioned veracity, declares, that during a residence of seven years in Massachusetts, he had never heard a profane oath, or witnessed a single instance of drunkenness.

Labour was at the same time so well paid, land was so cheap, and the elective franchise was so widely extended, that every industrious man might acquire a stake in the soil, and a voice in the civil administration of the country. The general diffusion of education caused the national advantages, which 266 were vigorously improved, to be justly appreciated; and a steady and ardent patriotism knit the hearts of the people to each other, and to their country. The taxation of the settlers was extremely light, and perfectly just, because founded only on assessments according to the extent of each man's property. Justice was accessible to all classes, from being unburdened with heavy costs and fees: the business of government was so cheaply and yet efficiently conducted, that the whole annual expense of the public institutions of Connecticut did not exceed 800 *l.* sterling per annum, which was less than the salary of a single royal governor; and the public respect for distinguished patriots was constantly manifested by the admiration by which they were surrounded while living, and the honours paid to their memory when dead.

It can hardly be wondered at, that such a colony as this should soon attain to a capacity for self-government, independently of any foreign aid; and that the consciousness of its capacity should grow up in the minds of all men, as time and experience developed to their observation the grounds on which their claim to independence might be fairly and justly asserted. Accordingly, as the province increased in wealth, population, intelligence, and enterprise, its inhabitants became more and more sensitive to any invasion of what they deemed their just rights and privileges. An occasion arose, in which this feeling was put to the test, and which may perhaps be regarded, as the first distinct link in the great chain of events, which subsequently led to their throwing off, at once and for ever, all allegiance to 267 England, and asserting the political independence which they so bravely maintained, and have so long happily enjoyed. The occasion of that outrage of the English, and resistance of the New Englanders, is thus narrated.

A squadron of British ships, under the command of Commodore Knowles, was stationed on the coast of Massachusetts in 1747, for the general protection of the trade of the colony; and having lost many of their seamen by desertion, the commodore resorted to the English method of impressment, for the purpose of supplying their places. The town of Boston was the scene of this operation, and the boats of the squadron being sent on shore at daylight, before any one was aware of the proposed visit, the press-gangs not only seized all the seamen that were on board the merchant ships lying in the harbour, but swept the wharfs also, of all the workmen they could find, who were likely to be made useful in any way on board the ships of war. This was an outrage, which the free spirit of the New Englanders was determined not to brook; although the Old Englanders had submitted, without resistance, to the frequent perpetration of similar outrages by the press-gangs that range the Thames, and sweep the streets of Liverpool, Bristol, Portsmouth, and Plymouth, when men are wanted for the Navy of Great Britain, at the very moment when the national theatres are echoing the well-known line, “For Britons never will be slaves.”

The popular indignation excited at Boston by this outrage pervaded all classes; and a number of the inhabitants arming themselves without delay, repaired 268 to the government-house, at which some of the English naval officers were then staying, to demand redress. The English officers armed themselves with carbines for defence, and, but for the intervention of the governor and some of the most influential citizens, to stay the popular fury, blood must have been shed. The firmness of the people in demanding redress was, however, not to be shaken, and they persevered until they obtained the release of their fellow-citizens who were impressed. So effectual was this resistance, that Commodore Knowles was obliged to leave the station with his squadron, and the provincial authorities did not dare to inflict any punishment on those who had led the populace in their just demand for retribution.

In the following year, 1748, the first project was entertained by the British cabinet, of taxing the American colonies generally, for the support of the British government; and

this, though frequently talked of, put aside, and again renewed, was at length determined on, when, in 1764, the British ministry proposed to introduce the Stamp-act into America. It was in vain that the people of Massachusetts remonstrated against this, by declaring that “the taxation of the colonies by a parliament in which they are not represented, would necessarily establish this melancholy truth, that the inhabitants of the colonies are the *slaves* of the Britons from whom they are descended.” Some thought, indeed, that the differences between the mother-country and the colonies would best be settled by the latter being directly represented by members of their own in the British House of Commons, an opinion first suggested 269 by the historian Oldmixon, and subsequently maintained by the high authorities of Benjamin Franklin and Adam Smith, the author of the “Wealth of Nations,” as well as by one of the most popular of the American writers of the day, James Otis, the author of some of the most spirited remonstrances against British encroachment on colonial privileges; but this plan never found sufficient favour with the general public in either country, to be pressed for adoption.

In 1765, the project of the Stamp-act was debated in parliament; and on this occasion the first great display was made of the antagonist principles by which the oppressors and friends of the American colonies regulated their respective conduct. These are at once so concisely and so clearly exhibited, in a short passage of the history of those times, that it cannot be put in a briefer compass or more striking light, than by transcribing the passage entire.

“One of the earliest measures that was proposed in this session of parliament (1765) was Grenville's bill for imposing a stamp-duty on the American colonies. On the first reading of the bill it was opposed, as an unjust and oppressive measure, by Colonel Barré, an officer who had served with the British army in America, and who was highly distinguished as an eloquent and zealous advocate of the principles of liberty. Charles Townsend, another member of the House, who afterwards succeeded to the office of Grenville, supported the bill with much warmth, and after severely reprobating the animadversions which it had received from Colonel Barré, concluded his speech by indignantly demanding, ‘And now,

will these Americans, children planted 270 by *our* care, nourished by *our* indulgence, until they are grown up to a high degree of strength and opulence, and protected by *our* arms, will *they* grudge to contribute their mite to relieve us from the heavy weight of that burden which we lie under?'

"Barré, in an explanatory speech, after repelling the censure that had been personally addressed to himself, thus forcibly replied to the concluding expressions of Townsend: ' *They* planted by *your* care!' No! your *oppressions* planted them in America. They fled from your tyranny to a then uncultivated and inhospitable country, where they exposed themselves to almost all the hardships to which human nature is liable, and amongst others to the cruelty of a savage foe, the most subtle, and I will take upon me to say, the most formidable of any people upon the face of God's earth; and yet, actuated by principles of true English liberty, they preferred all hardships to those which they had endured in their own country from the hands of men who should have been their friends. ' *They* nourished by *your* indulgence!' No! They grew by your *neglect* of them. As soon as you began to care about them, that care was exercised in sending persons to rule them in one department and another, who were perhaps the deputies of deputies to some members of this house, sent to spy out their liberties, to misrepresent their actions, and to prey upon them—men, whose behaviour on many occasions has caused the blood of those 'sons of liberty' to recoil within them; men promoted to the highest seats of justice, some of whom, to my knowledge, were glad, by going to a foreign country, to escape 271 being brought to the bar of a court of justice in their own. ' *They* protected by *your* arms!' No! They have nobly taken up arms in *your* defence; and have exerted a valour, amidst their constant and laborious industry, for the defence of a country whose frontier was drenched in blood, while its interior part yielded all their little savings to their emolument. And believe me—REMEMBER, I THIS DAY TOLD YOU SO—that the same spirit of freedom which actuated that people at first, *will accompany them still.* But prudence forbids me to explain myself further—God knows I do not at this time speak from motives of party spirit; what I deliver are the genuine sentiments of my heart. However superior to

me in general knowledge and experience the respectable body of this house may be, yet I claim to know more of America than most of you; having seen and been conversant with that country. The people I believe, are as truly loyal as any subjects the king has; but they are a people jealous of their liberties; and *they will vindicate those liberties* , if ever they should be violated!"*

* Grahame's Hist. of the United States, vol. iv. p. 192.

Though this just and forcible speech had not sufficient influence on the British House of Commons to arrest the fatal measure in its progress—for it passed by a majority of 250 against 50, in the Lower House, went wholly unopposed, and even unobserved upon, through the Upper House, and immediately received the royal assent; yet its republication in America added fresh fuel to the flame already lighted up there; and the patriots of this country appropriated to themselves the animating title of the 272 "Sons of Liberty," by which Colonel Barré, had designated them in the parliament of the mother-country; Patrick Henry arose like a brilliant star in Virginia, the light of which spread rapidly over all the surrounding region.

In Boston, the tree of liberty was planted in the main street, the effigies of the promoters of the stamp-act were exhibited to public scorn, and the stamp-office, just erected, was levelled to the ground. Sermons were preached from the pulpit, from the words, "I would they were even cut off which trouble you." A public journal was established, having for its device or head-piece, a snake, cut into several pieces, each marked with the name of one of the American provinces, and the whole surmounted by the motto, "Join or Die." Another gazette was issued, with the motto, "Vox populi, vox Dei!" and underneath it, the text, "Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is Liberty." The stamp-act was reprinted and proclaimed in the public streets, under the title of "The folly of England, and ruin of America;" and when the first ships from England arrived, bringing with them the stamped papers that were to be used in the colonies, all the vessels in the harbours hoisted their colours half-mast high; a melancholy peal was tolled from the muffled bells of the

churches; and before the arrival of the day on which the use of stamps was to commence, such was the universal unpopularity of the measure, that every individual who had received the government appointment of stamp distributor in the country, had resigned his office, from fear of popular fury.

This resistance of the colony to the authority of 273 the mother-country excited, of course, the liveliest interest at home; and in the debates in the British parliament, the speeches of the first William Pitt (afterwards Earl of Chatham,) and of Lord Camden, excited great attention. Pitt said—“Sir, I rejoice that America has resisted. Three millions of people, so dead to all the principles of liberty, as voluntarily to submit to be slaves, would have been fit instruments to make slaves of all the rest;” and Lord Camden said—“I repeat it, and will maintain it to my last hour, that taxation and representation are inseparable; and whoever attempts to take a man's property from him without his consent, commits a robbery.” The stamp-act was accordingly repealed, and the independent resisters of oppression in America, a second time triumphed over their oppressors in England.

As nations never profit by experience, however, the British government, instead of avoiding the rock on which it had already twice split, rushed on it a third time, and was wrecked, as far at least as the entire annihilation of its power and authority in these Colonies can be designated by that catastrophe. In 1767 the same blind and obstinate spirit that projected the stamp-act, devised the plan of taxing the articles of glass, lead, colours, paper, and tea, imported into America. A bill was accordingly brought in by Townsend, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, authorizing the king, by sign-manual, to establish a civil list, to an indefinite extent, in every province of North America, with salaries, pensions, and appointments, to an unlimited amount; and the bill provided that after the liquidation of the civil list, the residue VOL. III. T 274 of the revenue derived from these duties on the newly taxed articles named, should abide the disposal of the British parliament.

The bill was opposed by two members only of the House of Commons, and soon became law. It is remarkable that after the experience of the past, there should have been only one Englishman who at that period lifted up his voice in favour of the only true remedy for these disputes, namely, the peaceful separation of the two countries, and that that one person should be a dignitary of the Established Church, Dr. Josiah Tucker, then Dean of Gloucester, who in 1771 published a pamphlet, in which he openly recommended an immediate separation of the two countries, and a formal recognition by England, of the independence of the American States. The principle on which he founded this recommendation was this, that “when colonies have reached such a degree of wealth and population as to be able to support themselves, the authority of the parent state whence they emanated, must necessarily be trivial and precarious; and that, consequently, in all cases of this kind, it is the dictate of prudence and sound policy that the parties, instead of waiting to be separated by emergent quarrel and strife, should dissolve their connexion by mutual consent.”

Yet this sound principle, and this excellent advice, were equally repudiated and disregarded by all parties, and their wise and benevolent promulgator regarded as a “visionary;” the common fate of men in advance of their time. Even Edmund Burke characterized this proposal in the House of Commons as a “childish scheme.” But Watkins, in his life of the Duke 275 of York, states, that “ *after* the independence of America had been irrevocably conceded by the treaty of Paris, George the Third, meeting Dean Tucker at Gloucester, said to him, ‘Mr. Dean, you were in the right, and we were all in the wrong.’ And yet, at the present hour, when the same principles are advocated, and the same advice given, respecting the Canadas and the other British colonies that yet remain, it is sneered at with the most contemptuous disdain, and the utterers of such counsel are characterized either as “visionary enthusiasts,” or as treasonable enemies to British interests. So entirely does the experience of the past seem to be thrown away upon those who rule the destinies of nations.

At length the crisis arrived, in which the last act of resistance was to be performed, preparatory to the great revolution which was to set them free. In 1773, a large quantity of tea was sent to the principal ports of America, by the East India Company, to test this experiment, of making the Americans consume articles taxed in England, and thus contribute to swell the revenues of the mother-country. At New York and Philadelphia, the people forced the ships to return to England with their cargoes untouched. At Charleston, the tea was landed and placed in warehouses, where it was suffered to perish. At Rhode Island, an association of women was formed, to abstain from and discourage the use of tea altogether. And at Boston, the cargoes were seized by the populace, and thrown into the sea.

From this moment the flame began to gather such strength, and to spread so far and wide over every part of the country, that all hope of extinguishing it T 2 276 seemed vain. In 1774, a general Congress was formed of delegates from all the American States. Town-meetings were also held in every place of importance; and the Suffolk resolutions, passed in the town of Boston, declared “that no obedience is due from this province to either or any part of the recent acts of the British parliament; but that they should be rejected as the attempts of a wicked administration to enslave America.” The first American Congress met on the 5th of September, 1774, and Randolph, Patrick Henry, Lee, Hancock, Livingston, Jay, and Washington, were among its most distinguished members. The number of the members was 55, and the free population which they collectively represented, amounted to upwards of three millions of people. Of the character of their proceedings, some estimate may be formed by the language of Lord Chatham, who said, “that notwithstanding his ardent admiration of the free states of antiquity, the master spirits of the world, he was constrained to acknowledge, that in solidity of reasoning, force of sagacity, and wisdom of conduct, the American Congress was second to no human assembly of which history has preserved the memorial.”

In 1775 the necessity of appeal to arms was universally apparent; and the eloquent speech of Patrick Henry was re-echoed from every tongue in the land. “There is no longer any room for hope,” he said; “an appeal to arms, and to the God of Hosts, is all that is left us. They tell us that we are weak, and unable to cope with so formidable an enemy. But when shall we be stronger? Will it be when our supineness shall have enabled our 277 enemies to bind us hand and foot? Sir, we are not weak, if we make use of those means which the God of nature has placed in our power; three millions of people armed in the holy cause of liberty, and in such a country as ours, are invincible by any force which an enemy can send against us. Nor shall we fight our battles alone. That God which presides over the destinies of nations will raise up friends to aid us. The battle is not to the strong alone, but to the vigilant, the active, and the brave. Besides, we have no longer a choice. If we were base enough to desire it, it is now too late to retire from the contest. There is no retreat but in submission and slavery. Our chains are forged. Their clanking may be heard on the plains of Boston. The war is inevitable; and let it come! Gentlemen may cry peace, peace, but there is no peace. The war is actually begun!”

This was said on the 23d of March, and on the 19th of the following month, April, the first blood was shed, in the affair of Lexington in Massachusetts, eleven miles north-west of Boston, by the British troops firing on the Americans, and thus becoming the first aggressors. The intelligence of this attack spread like lightning through the country; and old men and young, as well as middle-aged of all ranks and classes flew to arms; while the mothers, wives, and sisters of those who went forth to battle, enjoined their sons, their husbands, and their brothers, “to behave like men, or never to return;” 20,000 men were soon collected, to keep the British troops locked up in the peninsula of Boston. The battle of Bunker's Hill was fought; the second American congress 278 was assembled; General Washington was elected commander-in-chief of the forces; the female inhabitants of the county of Bristol in Massachusetts raised and equipped a regiment at their own expense. Funds arms, ammunition, and provisions, were liberally raised and accumulated. Judges on the bench gave utterance to their feelings in passages like the following, in

their charges to the grand juries. “The Almighty created America to be independent of Great Britain. Let us beware of the impiety of being backward to act as instruments in the Almighty hand, now extended to accomplish his purpose.”

Lafayette of France, and Kosciusko of Poland, joined the American army, which, while it had Washington at its head, had also men such as Reed of Pennsylvania, who had declined a most lucrative practice as a barrister, to become a volunteer in one of the regiments of Massachusetts, among its privates: and who, when he afterwards rose, by his skill and valour, to be adjutant-general of the army, and was sought to be detached from his country's cause by the offer of riches and honours made him by the agents of Britain, replied, “I am not worth purchasing; but such as I am, the king of Great Britain is not rich enough to buy me.”

The last act of this great political drama was the Declaration of American Independence on the 4th of July 1766, an act that will be revered and honoured to the latest periods of time, as long as the English language shall be understood, or the memory of this great revolution shall endure; and from this period the birth of American liberty, the commencement of its rapid career of prosperity, may also be dated. 279 The result of this career has been already shown, by the description given in former sections of this work, of the progress made by New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland, and the cities of these respective States already visited; and it will be well to show the effects produced by the same course, in the increased wealth, population, intelligence, and general prosperity of Massachusetts. But it was thought best to precede this with a brief sketch of the leading characters of its inhabitants, in order to show how such events would be likely to influence the institutions to which they gave rise, and how the examples of such characters would be likely to mould and form those of their posterity; and this having been done, a description of the present State of Massachusetts, its resources, cities, ports, population, and institutions, will more appropriately follow.

CHAP. XIV.

Description of the State of Massachusetts—Extent of area, soil, climate, and productions—Manufactures—Shipping and Commerce —Colleges and Academies for higher education —Public Schools—Statistics and Revenue—Religious Establishments— Sects and churches—Legislature of Massachusetts—Governor —Number of Members in each house—Qualification of Voters— Scale of Taxation—Principal Cities, Ports, and Towns of Massachusetts —Progressive increase of population from 1700 to 1837—Analysis of Males and Females—White and coloured— Early attempt of New Englanders to abolish slavery—Opposition to this made by the British Government—Annals of Boston from 1621 to 1832.

Massachusetts is so: called from the name of the Indian tribe by which it was peopled when the first European settlers landed on its shores. It is one of the earliest in its foundation, and from the industry, intelligence, and opulence of its inhabitants, it is also one of the most powerful in its influence among all the States of the Union. It is bounded on the north by New Hampshire and Vermont, on the south by Rhode Island and Connecticut, on the east by the Atlantic Ocean, and on the west by the state of New York. Its average length from east to west is 140 miles, and its breadth from north to south 70 miles. Its area, therefore, contains about 8,500 square miles, or 5,440,000 acres. It is called, for distinction, “The Bay State,” from the fine bay of Massachusetts, lying between Cape Cod on the west, 281 and Cape Ann on the east, within which Salem, Marblehead, Boston, and its surrounding ports are situated.

Its territory presents three distinct belts from east to west, of which that nearest the sea is a marine deposit, not much elevated above the level of the sea, and is sandy and not very fertile. The second belt is a hilly tract, which is mostly of granite rock, with a scanty soil, succeeding abruptly to the more level plains near the sea. The third belt is more

beautiful, and more productive, including part of the valley of the Connecticut river, and the mountainous and fertile tract of Berkshire, up to the western extremity of the State.

The soil is extremely varied, from sandy and almost barren tracts, to spots of the greatest fertility; every part of the State is well watered by rivers and smaller streams; and in no part of the United States is agriculture better understood, or its processes and operations more skilfully performed. The smallest farms contain at least 100 acres, and the largest do not exceed three times that extent. The roads are better than in any other part of the Union; the fences are also more neatly arranged, and kept in good repair; and the whole aspect of the country betokens intelligence, industry, order, and general competency. Grain of every kind is grown in perfection, and cattle are produced in great variety and abundance. Gardening is better understood, and more generally practised, in New England, than elsewhere; and vegetables and fruits are more carefully and successfully cultivated 282 than in any other part of the country; so that the traveller is more frequently reminded of the parent country, Old England, by the neat villages, flowery fields, herds, flocks, orchards, and gardens of her younger namesake, New England, than he is in journeying through any of the states south or west of the Hudson river.

There are mines of iron in several parts of Massachusetts, especially in the counties of Plymouth, Bristol, and Berkshire; and in each of these counties are establishments for manufacturing it. Lead mines are worked also, and are productive. Quarries of excellent marble exist in Stockbridge, Sheffield, Lanesborough, and Pittsfield. Limestone is abundant in Berkshire, and freestone in almost every part of the State. Soapstone is found at Middlefield, slate at Harvard, Bernardson, and Lancaster: and a fine grey close-grained granite, equal to the finest Aberdeen stone, for building, is obtained from Chelmsford, Tyngsborough, and Quincy; so that all the materials for constructing the most splendid edifices are close at hand.

Commerce, however, is the most distinguishing feature, and most general occupation of the inhabitants, of Massachusetts; the fisheries form also a large source of employment

and profit. Manufactures have been more recently introduced; but by the operation of the tariff laws, which exclude British goods from competition, and by the constant application of skill and capital, the manufactures of this State have already grown up, within the space of a few years only, to be greater 283 than that of any State in the Union; while internal navigation and intercourse by canals and railroads, has been so improved of late, that there is now a cheap and speedy communication between every part of the State, from one extremity of it to the other.

The shipping of Boston are second, in amount of tonnage, to those of New York only. Its imports in 1837 exceeded 17,000,000 dollars; its exports were above 10,000,000. It is stated that upwards of 50,000,000 dollars are engaged in manufactures alone; 20,000,000 are invested in banking capital; and 8,000,000 at least in insurance offices; while the capital invested in canals and rail-roads in different parts of the State, is thought to be quite equal to the residue of 100,000,000 dollars.

Institutions for the promotion of learning and education were more early founded, and have been more liberally supported, in Massachusetts and New England generally, than in any other part of the United States; it is this, indeed, that constitutes the true glory of this northern section of the Union. The University of Cambridge, or Harvard College, about four miles distant from Boston, was founded as early as 1638, within less than twenty years after the first settler landed on the shores of the country; and it is still maintained in full vigour, having educated upwards of 7,000 students. Williams College, in the northwest part of the State, was incorporated in 1793. The Theological Seminary at Andover was founded in 1808, and the college at Amherst in 1825. 284 Harvard has an excellent library of more than 30,000 volumes, and is provided with ample funds. Andover is richly endowed by private bounty, and within ten years after its first foundation, it received in donations upwards of 300,000 dollars from seven individuals, only.

Besides these larger institutions for the more finished education of those designed for the higher walks of life, and many private seminaries and academies for the tuition of youth

of both sexes, the number of public schools, supported at the public expense, is greater in proportion to the whole population than in any country in the world, Prussia, perhaps, alone excepted. The superintendence of these public schools being a duty undertaken by the Secretary of the State, an elaborate and faithful report is rendered by him to the State legislature every year. The last report presented, for 1837, fills an octavo volume of 300 pages, closely printed, in which is given a tabular return from every separate town, with remarks of the several committees appointed to examine them, forming a valuable annual mirror of the state of education throughout the whole province. From this report I have selected some of the more prominent features, which will show at a glance the statistics of public education at the present moment in Massachusetts.

No. of towns making returns 294

Population, 1st May, 1837 691,222

Valuation of property in 1830, in dollars $206,457,662

No. of public schools 2918

No. of scholars attending school 141,837

285

No. of scholars between four and sixteen years of age 177,053

No. of teachers, males 2370, females 3591 5961

Wages per month, with board, to male teachers $25

Wages per month, with board, to female teachers $12

Public taxes paid for support of schools $465,228

Public taxes paid for teachers' wages $387,124

Voluntary contributions in aid of schools $48,301

No. of academies or private schools 854

Aggregate of scholars in private schools 27,266

Aggregate paid for tuition in private schools $32,826

Amount of local funds for education $189,536

Annual income arising from this $9,571

In consequence of this ample provision for education, there is not a single child in the State, for whom gratuitous instruction may not be secured; and, in point of fact, all are educated to such an extent as the means of their parents will allow of the children continuing at the public schools for a greater or lesser degree of time. Within a few years the single city of Boston alone is said to have expended upwards of two millions of dollars in support of her literary, religious, and benevolent institutions, in addition to an annual amount of $200,000, or £40,000 per annum, for the support of public schools alone; while the utmost amount that could be obtained from the British government, a few years ago, for the whole kingdom of Great Britain, was only £20,000, not for a single year, but for an indefinite period. What a contrast does this single fact exhibit between the two nations, as to their expenditure for education!

The religious establishments of Massachusetts are as numerous, in proportion to the whole population, as in the most favoured States; and all are 286 liberally supported by the voluntary system. Even among the Presbyterians, the churches are chiefly congregational; that is, each congregation selects and supports its own minister, and manages its own affairs, independently of synods or presbyteries. This is also the case with the Unitarians,

Baptists, and Universalists; though the Methodists are governed by a conference, the Episcopalians by a bishop, and the Catholics by their usual ecclesiastical authorities. All, however, are maintained by the voluntary system, though all are not so chosen or appointed. The Presbyterians or Calvinists have 387 churches, the Unitarians 120, the Baptists 135, the Methodists 97, the Episcopalians 30, the Universalists 42, the New Jerusalems 8, the Roman Catholics 4, and the Shakers 5 communities. Among them all, toleration seems now to be so perfectly established, that the harmony of the whole is rarely disturbed, even in the mildest forms of religious controversy.

The legislature of Massachusetts consists of a house of representatives, containing upwards of 600 members, a senate of about 50 members, and a governor. The suffrage is nearly universal, the elections annual, and the vote is by ballot. The members for the house of representatives are chosen for towns, each town in proportion to its population. Boston, for instance, sends fifty-six members, and other towns in the same proportion to the number of its inhabitants: the only qualifications of the voter being, citizenship, mature age, residence in the town for which his vote is given, and the payment of a poll-tax of about a dollar and a half per 287 annum. The payment of this entitles him to have his name entered on the list of voters; but if the payment is withheld, and his name is consequently not on the list, his vote is not allowed to be given at the poll.

While the house of representatives represents the *numbers* of the community, the senate represents its *property;* as the senators are chosen by the counties, and each county sends a number proportioned to the amount of taxes paid by it to the state; the taxes being an assessment on the property of each individual. But while the amount of property determines the number of senators which each county shall send, the voters for such senators are precisely the same as the voters for the members of the house of representatives, the qualification for the suffrage being the same for each.

There are three classes of taxes paid by individuals to the State, and one other description paid to the general government. First, there is the town-tax, for municipal purposes, paid

by every resident in each town in the State, the proceeds of this being applicable solely to municipal purposes. Secondly, there is the poll-tax of a dollar and half per head for each voter, which may be called the representative tax. Thirdly, there is the tax on property, according to the county assessment, which goes to the funds of the State. And fourthly, there are the duties paid on foreign produce and manufactures imported, and paid at the customhouse, which goes to the revenue of the general government, and is under the control of the Congress of the United States.

288

The municipal tax in Boston, where it is heaviest, does not exceed *one* per cent. on the assumed property of the individual; but though the assessment is rarely higher than one-half of the actual property known and admitted to be possessed by the party taxed, thus making the tax only half per cent. on his actual wealth, it is often evaded by the very richest of the inhabitants, who leave their town residences before the 1st of May, pay their town-tax in some smaller place near which their country abode may be, and thus avoid their liability to the larger tax, which, as resident inhabitants of Boston, they would otherwise be obliged to pay. The poll-tax is often avoided also by those who do not deem the electoral privilege worth that sum, and who, by neglecting to pay, are not registered, and are by this neglect, disfranchised accordingly.

The county-tax on the property of the inhabitants, is not to be thus escaped from; but this is even lighter than the municipal.

The heaviest tax of all, is the unseen duties paid on foreign commodities; but this is not so unpalatable as the others, because its payment is made in the extra price of the articles; and the display of luxury and wealth, which fine furniture, fine clothes, and other external signs of opulence, enable those who pay these duties to make among their neighbours, seems amply to repay them, in the gratification of their vanity, for the sacrifice made to obtain them. This sacrifice however, they make as light as possible, by procuring, whenever the opportunity presents itself, smuggled goods, 289 through private channels;

the people of this country thinking just as lightly as any of the old nations of Europe, of the crime of defrauding the revenue; though the necessary consequence of this is, to place heavier burthens on the more honest members of the community, by whom, of course, the deficiency must be made good, and who are therefore made to suffer for the evasions and frauds of others.

Under the old despotisms of Asia and Europe, where the will of the sovereign or his minister imposes all taxes, and where the people have no voice whatever in the matter, there may be some show of excuse for the oppressed subjects evading the payment of these often unjust imposts when they can; but in a republican country, where the suffrage is universal, and where no taxes or duties can be imposed but by representatives in the State legislature or general Congress, in the choice of whose members every man has a vote, it is as mean as it is unjust for any one to shrink from the payment of his full share of the necessary contributions towards the support of the institutions under the protection of which he lives. It is of course doubly so when done by the rich, as they are the persons whose property is protected by the laws; and they ought, for this reason, to be the most liberal, as well as the most cheerful contributors to the funds, by which alone, the army, navy, civil service, judicial establishments, institutions for education, and maintenance of internal police, can be carried on or sustained. Yet, according to the almost universal testimony of the Americans VOL. III. U 290 themselves, it is by this class generally, that the evasion of the taxes is chiefly practised, in the several ways described.

The principal cities, ports, and towns in Massachusetts, with their respective population, at the census of 1837, are the following:

Boston 80,325

Salem 15,272

Charlestown 8,536

Cambridge 6,527

Lowell 18,010

Nantucket 7,872

Newburyport 6,375

New Bedford 7,592

Taunton 6,042

Springfield 6,784

There are many others, whose population varies between 1000 and 5000; and these are nearly all upon the increase; the average rate of which may be seen by the ratio of Boston and Salem at different periods, which is thus given:—

Boston.

In 1700 7,000

1765 15,520

1790 18,038

1800 24,937

1810 33,250

1820 43,298

1830 61,392

1837 80,325

Salem.

In 1700 2,000

1765 4,427

1790 7,921

1800 9,457

1810 12,613

1820 12,731

1830 13,886

1837 15,272

Massachusetts.

In 1700 70,000

1765 227,926

1790 378,787

1800 422,845

1810 472,040

1820 523,287

1830 619,669

1837 801,278

In an analysis of the whole population at the last general census of 1830, the following were the subdivisions:

White Males 294,685

White Females 308,674

Aliens 9,261

612,620

Free Coloured Males 3,360

Free Coloured Females 3,685

Slaves 4

7,049

291

These four slaves were the personal servants of individuals coming up from the south, and returning again to the slave State from which they originally came, as no slaves exist among the permanent residents of Massachusetts. Their number was never great in the north, at any period of its history; and it may be mentioned to the honour of the people of New England, and to the disgrace of the government of Old England, that as early as 1773, three years before the declaration of American independence, the legislature of Massachusetts passed a bill, prohibiting all traffic in slaves; which bill would have become law, but that the British governor, Bernard, acting under instructions from the British

ministers of the crown, refused to give it his assent; and though the same or similar bills were on three subsequent occasions passed through both Houses of the legislature of Massachusetts, during Hutchinson's administration, they were all in like manner negatived by the governor, under instructions from the British crown.*

* Mr. Grahame, from whose valuable History these facts are cited, says with great justice on this passage, “And yet, it was at this very period, when Britain permitted her merchants annually to make slaves of more than 50,000 men, and refused to permit her colonists to withdraw from all participation in this injustice, that her orators, poets, and statesmen, loudly celebrated the generosity of English virtue in suffering no slaves to exist on English ground and the transcendent equity of her judicial tribunals in liberating *one* negro who had been carried there.”— *History of the United States,* vol. iv., page 326.

This is a fact which ought always to be remembered in all discussions in which America is U 2 292 for still continuing to hold slaves. To New England, at least, this reproach will not apply; for, so long ago as the year 1783, the Supreme Court of Massachusetts decided, that the declaration of rights contained in the first article of the general constitution, asserting that “all men are born free and equal,” is a virtual and legal abolition of slavery; and since that decision slavery has ceased to exist by law in Massachusetts.

If the other states of the Union could but be persuaded to see the general constitution in the same light, and their supreme courts to decide in the same manner on its constructive application to this institution of slavery, it would be as effectually abolished every where throughout the Union as it has been ever since the period named, in Massachusetts. Let us observe the maxim, therefore,

“Honour to whom honour is due.”

To this general description of the State of Massachusetts, may be added a more detailed description of its chief city, or capital. But before entering on a description of Boston *as it is* , it will be interesting to cast a hasty retrospective glance over its annals, and select from

these some of the most prominent and striking points of its progress, by which the city will grow up under our eye, year by year, to its present noble form and stature.

It was in 1621 that the first exploring party from Plymouth, which had been founded in the preceding year, came to the peninsula on which Boston stands, and which was then called Shawmut, and was under the authority of an Indian Sachem, named Obbatinemat. It contained an area of 293 about 600 acres, and was then thinly covered with trees. Small as this peninsula was, two small creeks which were filled at high water, divided the peninsula into three little islands, each of these being a separate hill, and the westernmost, which is the highest, terminating in three peaks. From this circumstance, the Indians called the place Shawmut, meaning, according to some, “the living fountains,” because of its fine springs; or, according to others, “the hill with three tops;” and the English, following out the last idea, called it “Trimountain,” or “Tremont.”

In 1626, the Rev. W. Blackstone, an Episcopalian clergyman, became the first white inhabitant of the settlement, by building a cottage on a spot, since called after him, Blackstone's Point. In 1628, a tax of £12. 7 *s.* was laid upon the colony, of which Mr. Blackstone's single share was 12 *s.* , or about one-twentieth part of the whole sum. In 1629, Mr. Samuel Maverick fixed his residence on the island now called East Boston, where he built a fort, and mounted on it four guns. He too was an Episcopalian, and was esteemed as “the most hospitable man in all the country, giving entertainment to all comers gratis.” A large and splendid hotel, called “Maverick House,” occupies the spot at the present day.

In 1630 a large body of emigrants arrived from England, among whom was Mr. John Winthrop, who was made their first governor, and took up his abode at Charlestown, where a church was formed, and a day of thanksgiving and prayer observed for their safe arrival. In this same year 294 the first court of assistants was held on board the ship Arabella: and soon after, the second court of assistants held on shore, ordered that the name of “Trimountain” should be changed to “Boston,” and the church removed there.

The reason assigned for this name was, that one of the first Christian ministers, Mr. John Cotton, had been minister of a church at Boston in England, just before his embarkation, and that several of the first settlers came from that town. In this same year also, the first three children of the colony were baptized in the church of Boston, and were called respectively Joy, Recompence, and Pity.

In 1631, the court ordered that all persons having cards, dice, or gaming tables, should put them away immediately; and a gentleman of Boston was fined because his servant burnt two Indian wigwams for mischief. Chickataubut, an Indian chief, visited the governor, and at dinner refused to eat until the governor had “asked a blessing,” and afterwards requested him to “give thanks.” A person named Philip Radcliff, for venturing to censure the churches and the government, had his ears cut off, and was whipped and banished.

In this year also the governor began to discourage the practice of drinking toasts at table, so that it grew by little and little to be disused. One Nicholas Knopp was at the same time fined £5 for taking upon him to cure the scurvy, by a water of no value, which he sold at a dear rate; to be imprisoned till he paid his fine, or give security for it, or else be whipped, and be liable to any man's 295 action, of whom he had received money for the said water.

In 1632 the first meeting house was built; and the court ordered that no person should take any tobacco under the penalty of one penny for each offence. In 1634, the representative system was first introduced; the first house for public entertainment, and the first store for the sale of English goods, were opened; and the first volume of the Town Records was begun. In this year (1634) a man who had often been punished for drunkenness was ordered to wear a red D about his neck for a year.

In 1635, the ministers met at Boston to consider two questions; first, whether they should receive a governor from England, which was decided in the negative; and secondly, whether they should continue to bear the cross in their banners, which was deferred. The court ordered that brass farthings should be discontinued, and that musket bullets

should pass for farthings. The town voted that “any person making hinderance in a town meeting by private conference, do pay a fine of one shilling;” and they further voted “that our brother, Philemon Porment, be *intreated* to become schoolmaster.”

In 1636, a ship arrived from Bermuda with 30,000 lbs. of potatoes, which sold at twopence per pound; and William Maverick returned from Virginia with fourteen heifers and eighty goats. In 1637 forty-eight Indian women and children, taken in war, were brought to Boston, and sold as slaves; and two white men were hung for murder. 296 In 1638, the weather was so cold, that the people were obliged to plant their corn several times; and there was also a great earthquake. Twenty vessels with 3,000 emigrants arrived in this single year. A woman named Dorothy Falbye was hanged “for murdering her child, three years old, in a spiritual delusion.”

In 1640 Boston Common was preserved by a vote of the town, “that no more land shall be granted from it;” and money was so scarce, that all commodities fell to half their usual price. In 1641, there was a training of 1200 men at Boston for two days, “but no one was drunk, nor was there an oath sworn.” The harbour was more solidly frozen over than for forty years preceding; but three ships were built at Boston in the summer. In 1644, Lady de la Tour arrived at Boston, and prosecuting the master and owner of the ship for detention, she received £2,000 damages. The winter was so mild that the ground could be ploughed; and a black person, brought from Guinea, in Africa, was claimed by the general court, released, and sent back to his native country.

In 1647, the general court enacted, “that if any young man attempt to address a young woman without the consent of her parents, or the county court, he shall be fined £5 for the first offence, £10 for the second, and imprisonment for the third.” In 1648, Margaret Jones was executed at Boston for witchcraft. In 1649, Matthew Stanley was tried for drawing the affections of John Tarbox's daughter without the consent of her parents. He was fined £5, with fees 2 *s.* 6 *d.* , and 297 6 *s.* for three days' attendance by her parents. In the same year, three married women were fined 5 *s.* each, for scolding.

In 1651, the court ordered, that no person who was not worth £200 should wear any gold or silver lace, or any silk hoods or scarfs. In 1656, Mrs. Ann Bibbins was executed for witchcraft; and about the same time “some people called Quakers first came to Boston.” In 1658, there was a great earthquake; and three Quakers had their right ears cut off. In 1659, the first town house in Boston was built; and two Quakers were put to death.

In 1660, generals Walley and Goffe, two of the regicide judges, who condemned Charles I. of England to the scaffold, arrived at Boston; and in the same year two Quakers, William Leddra and Mary Dyer, were hanged. In 1662, the general court appointed two licensers of the press. In 1664, the town voted to have the bell rung every day at eleven o'clock, to call the merchants together at the town house.

In 1670, Mr. Josselyn, in his Journal, says,— “On the south side of the mansion-house there is a small but pleasant common, where the gallants, a little before sun-set, walk with the marmalet madams, till the nine o'clock bell rings them home.” In 1674, John Foster set up the first printing press in Boston. In 1679, a great fire happened near Dock-square, which burnt eighty houses, seventy stores, and several ships, the whole loss being estimated at £200,000. In 1690, the first paper money was issued; and in 1694, the 298 general court required the select men of each town to post, on the taverns, the names of all drunkards.

In 1701, the representatives of Boston were instructed by the town to endeavour to obtain the abolition of slavery. In 1704, the first newspaper in Boston was published, under the title of “The Boston News Letter,” edited and issued by John Campbell, the postmaster. The western post then left Boston for Hertford, in Connecticut, once a fortnight. In 1708, Ezekiel Cheener died, aged ninety-three. He was schoolmaster of Boston for thirty-eight years; he wore his beard, and is called in the News Letter “the ancient and honourable master of the free-school.” In 1709, the newspapers contained advertisements of “negro men, women, and boys to be sold; inquire at the post-office.” In 1711, another announced

“An Indian boy and girl to be sold;” and in 1714, another announced, “A Carolina Indian man to be sold.”

In 1725, James Cochrane received from the town funds £200 for the scalps of two Indians; and Capt. Lowell and his men were paid £1,000 for the scalps of ten Indians, with whom the people of Boston were then at war. In 1730, the centennial celebration of the settlement of Boston was omitted, on account of the sickness, 480 persons having died in the city alone of the small pox. In 1732, a young man, taken by the Indians before he was two years of age, and kept twenty-two years, came to Boston in search of his 299 unknown parents, who were afterwards found at Kittery.

In 1750, the first theatrical exhibition was given at a coffee-house in State-street. In 1752, an Irish maid-servant was advertised “to be sold for four years;” and about the same time, there were also advertised, “To be sold, Guernsey boys and girls, for a term of time, on board the sloop Two Brothers.” In 1756, a man was paid £40 for an Indian scalp. In 1774, lamps were first lighted in the streets of Boston. In 1788, mass was first celebrated in Boston by the Roman Catholics.

In 1791, the first museum was opened in Boston. In 1794, the first theatre in Federal-street was opened; and in the same year the Massachusetts Historical Society and the Boston Library were incorporated. In 1798, the new State House was first occupied. In 1800, the Boston municipal court was established, and the alms-house in Leverett-street built.

In 1801, the Boston Dispensary was opened. In 1803, the Boston Female Asylum was incorporated. In 1807, the Boston Athenæum was opened. In 1811, the Massachusetts General Hospital was incorporated. In 1812, the Howard Benevolent Society was organised; and in the same year the first Sunday school established in New England was opened. In 1814, the Boston Asylum for Indigent Boys was established. In 1815, the Haydn and Handel Society for cultivating Sacred Music was organized; and in the same year, the Massachusetts Peace Society was formed.

300

In 1822, Boston was first incorporated as a city. In 1823, the Penitent Female Refuge was incorporated. In 1825, the Prison Discipline Society was formed; and a High School for girls established. In 1826, the House for Juvenile Offenders was opened. In 1827, the Boston Mechanics' Institution was formed; and in 1828, the Boston Infant School Society was instituted.

In 1830, the American Institute of Instruction was organised, and the Boston Lyceum instituted; and in this year the second centennial celebration of the foundation of Boston was celebrated.* In 1832, the New England Anti-Slavery Society was formed, the Young Men's Temperance Society was instituted, and the New England Institution for the Blind was opened.

* An ode written for this celebration will be found in the Appendix.

It is impossible to review this sketch, slight as it is, and in which only the most prominent and characteristic facts are mentioned, without being struck with the growing attention in later years to moral and benevolent objects, in the formation of institutions for the education of the young, and for relieving the wants and soothing the infirmities of the old, as well as for affording the means of innocent and intellectual gratification to all classes; an honour of which the promoters of such works may well be proud.

301

CHAP. XV.

Description of the City—Streets and Dwellings—Boston Common —Hotels and Boarding Houses—State House—Extensive Panoramic View—Legislative Chambers—City Hall —Faneuil Hall—Cradle of American Liberty—Court House—Jails and Custom House—The Odeon, Masonic Temple, and other Halls —Literary Institutions—Boston Athenæum —American Academy of Arts and Sciences—Library Society and Columbian Library—Society of Natural History—Massachusetts Historical Society—Mercantile, Mechanics' and

Apprentices' Libraries—Lectures delivered in Boston—Governor, Ex-President, Senators, Judges, Physicians, and Divines.

The site of Boston, like that of all the large cities and ports of the United States, is commanding, beautiful, and advantageous; and the noble bay which lies before it, studded with islands, and yet immediately accessible to the ocean, makes it almost equal New York in its maritime advantages; and gives it a great, superiority over Philadelphia and Baltimore in this important feature. Being built on an area of unequal surface, with elevations and depressions, it has a greater resemblance to Baltimore than to New York or Philadelphia, which are on more level sites. The general aspect of the city, as you approach it by land or by sea, is imposing, from the rising slopes of the buildings, the numerous steeples of the churches, and the crowning dome of the lofty State House, which, standing on the highest ridge of the city, is rendered strikingly prominent in every view of the picture, and 302 forms a most appropriate and beautiful elevation in the centre of the whole.

The piece of land covered by the city of Boston is a peninsula, nearly resembling an irregularly oval circular island, connected with the main land by a very narrow neck. This peninsula is about three miles in length, and a mile and a half in breadth; but the narrow isthmus or neck, which connects it to the main land, is not more than a few yards across. It is thus surrounded on all sides, except at this narrow neck, by the sea; and affords ample space and accommodation for wharfs, warehouses, docks, and ships.

It is surrounded by large and populous suburbs, such as Charlestown, Cambridge, South Boston, and East Boston, to each of which it is joined by a bridge of the requisite length; excepting only the last, where the passage requires to be kept open for large ships, and where a steam ferry boat which crosses every five minutes, answers every 303 purpose, of a bridge. Thus all the suburbs are in constant and easy communication with the city; though its marine boundary will always keep its own peninsular site separate and distinct from all its surrounding settlements.

The plan of Boston is the most irregular of that of any city in the United States; arising partly, no doubt, from the undulating irregularity of its surface, but still more from the indifference of the early settlers to that symmetry, for which Philadelphia and many other of the American cities are so remarkable. In all the more recent improvements of the old parts of Boston, as well as in all the new additions to it, this irregularity has been corrected and avoided; so that though the streets are winding and crooked in some places, they are straight and symmetrical in many more; and on the whole, the aspect of the city is far from disagreeable, even in its worst parts; while in its best, it may be truly said to be beautiful. As is usual in sea-port towns, the places of business, in warehouses, counting-houses, banks, insurance offices, &c. are near the water. Among these, Faneuil-market and State-street may be regarded as fine specimens of street architecture. Cornhill, Washington-street, and Tremont-row, are the most busy places of the interior, or heart of the town; and each of these is of ample breadth, and lined on each side with spacious and commodious buildings; those of Tremont-row being as elegant in its shops as Ludgate-hill, or Regent-street, in London.

The streets of private residences in the quieter 304 parts of the city, such as Pearl-street and Summer-street, in the heart of the town, and the still more fashionable quarters of Park-street, Beacon-street, and the neighbourhood of the State House and the Common, are as fine as are to be seen in any city of England, London perhaps, alone excepted. This Common, as it is called, or “The Park,” as it might with propriety be designated, with the fine view of the surrounding country from its more elevated parts, and the noble trees and gravel walks throughout, is only inferior in size and beauty to Hyde Park, Regent's Park, and the Green Park in London; and is greatly superior to any similar enclosure in New York, Philadelphia, or Baltimore. It covers an area of seventy-five acres, and has upwards of 600 trees planted in it. The whole is enclosed with an ornamental iron fence, or railing, which cost 90,000 dollars, or nearly £20,000. Within it is a fine sheet of water, surrounded with elms, called “The Crescent Pond;” and very near the centre of the whole are the

remains or traces of a fortification, thrown up by the British troops who were stationed here in 1775.

The Common is surrounded on three of its sides by noble rows or terraces of houses, like the parks in London; and as it was originally granted for the public use, and any further encroachment upon it rendered impossible by a clause in the last charter of the city, it is of the utmost value to the inhabitants. It is not merely a beautifully ornamental appendage to their noble city, but is used as a place of healthful and innocent recreation for all classes, as a spot of constant exercise and promenade; and 305 it is impossible to witness its advantages, without regretting that every town in England is not provided with a similar extent of public grounds for the delight and enjoyment of its population.

The most striking feature in the general aspect of the buildings and streets of Boston, whether in the business quarter or “Heart of the City,” as it is called, or in the more private and fashionable quarters, is the solidity and substantiality of their exterior, and the amplitude of comfort in their interior. There are few or no wooden houses to be seen, as in New York and Philadelphia: stone and brick are the chief materials of the buildings, and these are of the best kind. The surbasements and steps are usually of the finest granite; the doors are mostly sheltered by tasteful porticoes, and handsome iron railings surround the areas. Bowed projections, for bay windows, are often seen in the fronts; the window frames are large, and the glass windows beautifully clean. Balconies adorn most of the houses: and small plots of grass or garden ground, with tall and stately trees, are seen in many of the streets. Every thing indeed betokens the presence of great wealth, very equally divided and diffused; no one living in ostentatious display, but all possessing ample means, and expending them in real and substantial comfort, rather than in extravagant show. The cleanliness of every part of the city is as remarkable as is its air of comfort. No dilapidated houses or untenanted dwellings meet the eye; the streets are well paved, well lighted, and well swept and drained; many of the less traversed ones are macadamized;

and neither mud in VOL. III. X 306 the wet weather nor dust in the dry, occasions half the inconvenience that both do in New York especially.

The hotels of Boston are equal to those of any city in the Union. The Tremont House is nearly as large as the Astor House in New York, and much more agreeable, because it is more quiet and less crowded. The boarding houses are not so numerous, but appear to be of a higher order, and more select in their guests, than those of the Atlantic cities generally. The hours of meals are not so early in either, as in corresponding establishments of the same kind elsewhere, and there is not the same hurry and bustle in dispatching them; as persons remain at table much longer than we had ever observed them to do before.

Of the public buildings of Boston, the State house is in every point of view the principal and most important. It occupies a most commanding 307 site, on the most elevated point within the city, not far from its centre, having the noble common im mediately in front of it, and the two fine rows or terraces of Beacon-street on its right, and Park-street on its left. It is built on ground formerly belonging to the venerable revolutionary patriot, John Hancock, one of the signers of the declaration of American Independence, whose dwelling house still exists close by; and while the scene from its lofty turret embraces, in its extensive panorama, a complete view of every part of the city and its environs, the edifice itself, whose foundations are 110 feet above the level of the harbour, forms a prominent object from every surrounding quarter, and seems, like a terminating pinnacle, to cap or crown the summit of the whole rising mass of buildings with which all the ascending slopes of the hill are covered.

The foundation of the State house was laid in 1795, and it was first opened for the use of the legislature in 1798; its whole cost being 134,000 dollars, or about £26,500 sterling. It has a frontage of 173 feet, and a depth of 51 feet. The basement story is 20 feet high, and the principal story above this is 30 feet high. In the centre of the front, this is covered with an attic story 20 feet high, which is crowned with a pediment, supported by a Corinthian

colonnade, forming a fine balcony or gallery in front, looking out upon the common, the city, and the harbour beyond it. The whole is crowned by a well-proportioned dome, 52 feet in diameter, and 32 feet in height, surmounted by a circular lantern, 25 feet high, supporting a gilded x 2 308 pine cone. An easy ascent is provided to this lantern, on the inside; and on the day after our arrival at Boston, we ascended here to enjoy the panoramic view, which for extent, variety, and beauty, we thought unsurpassed by any we had ever seen in any part of the world. The point of view is at an elevation of 270 feet above the level of the sea; and the numerous suburbs of Chelsea, Charlestown, Cambridge, East Boston, and South Boston, with Dorchester, Roxbury, and Milton Hill, are all brought within view at once, by a mere turning of the eye in the several directions in which they stand; while the colleges of Harvard University, the public buildings of the Navy yard, the unfinished monument of Bunker's Hill, the long bridges connecting those suburbs with the city,—one of these being 3,846 feet in length, and 40 feet in breadth, and costing 76,000 dollars,—and the numerous islands, shipping, and small vessels in motion, scattered over the extensive and beautiful bay, all combine to make up a picture of surpassing interest and beauty.

The interior of the State house has a large hall or lobby, in the centre of the basement story, which is 50 feet square and 20 feet high, supported by Doric columns; and at the northern end of this, is a noble statue of Washington, executed by Chantrey, in the best style of the art. In the principal story above this, are contained the two legislative halls: that is, the senate chamber, and the hall of the representatives. The senate chamber is 55 feet long, 33 feet wide, and 30 feet high, with two screens, of Ionic columns, supporting, 309 with their entablature, a richly decorated arched ceiling. The hall of the representatives is 55 feet square, the corners being formed into niches for fire places, with Doric columns on two of its sides, at a height of 12 feet from the floor, forming galleries; the whole supporting a bold and well-proportioned dome, the centre of which is 50 feet above the level of the floor.

The arrangement of the seats for the members is the same as in the hall of representatives at Washington; and indeed in all the legislative chambers of this country, as well as in the chamber of deputies and chamber of peers in Paris; namely, in the semicircular and progressively elevated form of the old Greek theatre—the Speaker's chair occupying the centre of the radius, while the seats form the successive arcs of the semicircle—a form which, for elegance of appearance, comfort to the members, convenience of hearing and seeing, and every other requisite of a public assembly, is greatly superior to any other that has yet been devised. The seats for the members will accommodate 350 with separate desks; and a large space behind these will seat a great number of spectators, without inconvenience to the members; besides which there are two galleries, one for the general admission of the public, and one for members and their friends. A combination of elegance and comfort reigns throughout these chambers, as well as in the council room, and all the public offices under the same roof, which might serve as a model to other countries.

310

The oldest public building of Boston, is that which is now called the City Hall. On the spot where the present building stands was erected the first place for the transaction of public business, so long ago as 1658. This was built of wood, and was twice burnt down; the last time that this happened was in 1747, when it was repaired in the following year, in nearly its present form. After the revolution it was the place of meeting for the general court, till the completion of the new State house already described. It was again thoroughly repaired in 1830, when it was called by the name of the city hall: and it is now used for the three joint purposes of the post-office, the merchants—exchange, and the public news room, for all which it is admirably adapted, being in the very centre of business, in State-street, one of the finest streets of the city.

On the upper floor are the hall of the mayor and aldermen, and the common council hall, in which the business of the city is transacted: and a great 311 number of the public offices

and departments are here brought under the same roof, to the great convenience of all parties. In the post-office no less than 2,000 mail-bags are made up in the course of every week.

Faneuil hall, so called from its original proprietor, who built it in 1742, and made it a free gift to the city, is the most popular of all the public buildings in Boston, and is called “The Cradle of Liberty,” from its being the place in which the patriots of America met to rouse the people to resistance against the tyranny of their British oppressors. All the great public meetings of the citizens on political subjects are continued to be held here: and “Old Faneuil Hall,” as it is called, is an object of universal veneration. The edifice is of imposing size in its exterior, but not remarkable for architectural beauty.

Its interior, however, furnishes all the requisite accommodation which the attendants on public meetings require. The great hall is 76 feet square and 28 feet high, with a gallery running round three of its sides, supported by Doric columns. Raised seats under and in the galleries accommodate the spectators with comfort, while the central floor will contain a very large number of auditors. On the western wall are suspended two excellent pictures: one a full-length portrait of general Washington, by Stuart; another of Peter Faneuil, the donor of the building; and between these is a marble bust of the third president of the United States, John Adams. Above this great hall is another room, 78 feet by 30 feet, used for the military exercise of the city troops, with surrounding apartments for their arms and accoutrements; and the basement story, formerly used as a market, is divided into stores or shops, which produce to the city a rental of about £1,000 sterling a year.

The new Court house, which is 176 feet by 54 feet, and 57 feet high, is a fine building, and well adapted to the purposes of the legal tribunals held here; and the county court house and jails, are also handsome edifices of stone. The present Custom house is, however, inferior in size and accommodation to the scale required for so commercial a city

as Boston, though the new edifice, now in course of erection, will be better adapted to the wants and the taste of the times.

313

Perhaps no city in the world is better furnished than Boston, with public buildings adapted to literary meetings, and the delivery of public lectures. The first in order and in importance of all these, is the Odeon, which was originally built as a theatre; it was then converted into a music hall, under its present name, and it is now used as a place of worship by a Presbyterian congregation on the sabbath, and as a lecture room during the week. The house retains all its original subdivisions of boxes, pit, and galleries, while the orchestra has been added to the pit, and the stage thrown open to receive a fine organ in the centre, with rising platforms ascending all around it for musical performers. The seats in every part of the house are covered with crimson moreen; all the gilding and theatrical decorations are removed, and the panels are neatly painted: so that nothing can be more simply elegant, or more thoroughly comfortable, than the interior, for both speaker and auditors.

In this building I delivered two courses of lectures, 314 of eight each; one course on Egypt, and the other on Palestine, which were attended three times a week by about 1,000 auditors. In the same building Mr. Everett, the governor of the State, delivered an opening lecture before the Mercantile Library Association; and Mr. John Quincy Adams, the late president of the United States, Mr. Caleb Cushing, one of their representatives, Mr. Daniel Webster, the celebrated senator, and the Rev. Dr. Channing, the equally celebrated divine, all gave lectures to the Lyceum, the Franklin, and other public societies formed here for the diffusion of useful knowledge, in which the most distinguished men of the country take a deep personal interest, and to which therefore, they cheerfully give much of their personal attention; another feature of the New England character which is worthy of imitation or adoption in other lands.

The Masonic Temple is another of the public buildings, much used for musical, literary, and scientific purposes. It has the most convenient and agreeable situation in the city for

public meetings, facing the Common, in Tremont-street, and is consequently in constant use. It was built originally for a masonic lodge, and dedicated as such in 1832. But the odium and unpopularity into which masonry has fallen, by the abduction and murder of Morgan, who professed to reveal its secrets, has occasioned lodges to be almost every where to be closed altogether, or if held at all, to be held in great secrecy. Its style of architecture is Gothic, and its subdivisions include a chapel capable of seating 600 persons, a lecture 315 theatre capable of seatings 1000 persons, a hall capable of seating 400 persons, with a great number of smaller rooms, used as school rooms, committee rooms, &c. while the Masonic Hall and its smaller apartments for the regalia and the lodges, are on the attic story, and are now rarely used.

Besides these principal edifices adapted to public meetings, there are the following: Boylston Hall, Concert Hall, Congress Hall, Corinthian Hall, Pantheon Hall, Washington Hall, Amory Hall, Lyceum Hall, and Chauncey Hall, of varying capacities for accommodating from 200 to 600 persons each.

There are two remarkable buildings in different quarters of the city. One of these is in the heart of the business part of it, being an old house of the date of 1630, the only relic of architecture that has an air of great antiquity about it, resembling as it does some of the oldest houses in Bishopsgate, 316 London, or Chester and other old cities of England. The other is in the most fashionable quarter of the town, Beacon-street, overlooking the common, and close to the State house. This was the residence of the patriot, John Hancock, and is occupied by the descendants of his family, with whom we passed many agreeable hours under its venerated roof.

Of literary institutions there are many, and some very distinguished. The first is perhaps the Boston Athenæum, the proprietors of which were incorporated as a body in 1807. It is agreeably situated in Pearl-street, and has a large and commodious building with all the requisite accommodation for its members. The house, worth at least 30,000 dollars, was the gift of one munificent citizen, the late James Perkins. The books, pictures, statuary,

and cabinet, were purchased by the funds of the shareholders. Each proprietor's share is $300, and of these there are 258. Of life subscribers at $100 there are fifty, and of annual subscribers at $10 there are about fifty more. Proprietors have three tickets of perpetual admission, life subscribers 317 one, and both of these have the privilege of introducing any number of strangers during their stay in Boston.

All the members of the legislature, of the judiciary, and of the colleges of education, have free access at all times. The library contains upwards of 30,000 volumes; the reading-room is furnished with American and foreign newspapers, and almost every periodical of value, at home and abroad. The gallery contains an excellent collection of pictures and statuary; and a lecture room, capable of seating 500 persons, with a complete apparatus for scientific lectures, completes the establishment, which appeared to me, in all its arrangements and details, to be equal to any of a similar kind that I had ever seen in England, and inferior only to the Institute at Paris, which is undoubtedly the first of its class in the world.

The American Academy of Arts and Sciences is another excellent institution. It was chartered in 1780. Its design is to promote the study of the natural history, productions, and antiquities of the North American continent, to encourage science in all its branches, and to apply the knowledge thus obtained to the advancement of American interests and American happiness. Its library comprises about 2,000 volumes, and it has published four quarto volumes of its transactions, the last of which appeared in 1821. General Washington, President Adams, and many other distinguished men of the country, have belonged to it; but it seems to languish at present, amidst the more attractive institutions by which it has been since surrounded.

318

The Boston Library Society was instituted in 1794, mainly with the view of collecting together for general reference such books as are not usually found in popular libraries, including foreign works of celebrity as well as English; and the collection now amounts to

more than 7,000 volumes, which appear to have been carefully and judiciously chosen. A proprietor's share in this library costs only $25, with an annual payment of $2 for adding to the stock, which is continually augmenting in the numbers and value of the books added to it every year.

The Columbian Library, formed on nearly the same model, but situated in a different part of the city, contains upwards of 5,000 volumes, and is also constantly increasing in extent.

The Boston Society of Natural History is in active and vigorous operation. It was instituted in 1830, for the investigation of the natural history of the United States, and for forming collections of the various specimens of natural productions from all parts of the world. There are about 300 members belonging to this society, at an entrance fee of $5, and an annual payment of $3; in addition to which, the State Legislature has granted them $300 annually, for five years. The zeal and good taste with which these funds have been applied in increasing and enriching the museum and cabinet belonging to this Society, is deserving all praise; and the stranger who visits Boston will find few objects more worthy of his attention, than the beautiful specimens and preservations which this cabinet and museum contain.

319

The Massachusetts Historical Society, which was incorporated in 1794, has for its exclusive object, to collect, preserve, and communicate materials for a complete history of Massachusetts, as well of the Indian tribes who first peopled it, as of the white race who succeeded them; and of the progress made by these last in arts and industry. They have an excellent library and museum, and include among, their members some of the most distinguished men of the state; and the diligence with which they have carried out the design of the Society, may be judged of from the fact, that their published “Collections of Papers” amount to twenty-two octavo volumes, and contain a great variety of curious and important matter.

In addition to these, there is the Mercantile Library Association, formed chiefly of the younger members of the mercantile community; and the Mechanics' Apprentices' Library, for the accommodation of that class of society. The subscription to the former is $2 annually, and the addition of a volume to the library, worth at least $1. To the latter, the only qualification of membership required, is that of being an apprentice, and having a certificate from the master under whom they serve, that they are worthy of the privilege of attending and using the books of the library.

Besides these facilities for acquiring knowledge, there are courses of lectures delivered every winter in some one or other of the public rooms, to which the admission fee is made as low as possible, hardly ever exceeding a dollar, and sometimes 320 half a dollar, for the whole season; which gives to all classes, at this cheap rate, an opportunity of hearing from twenty to thirty lectures, from as many of the most eminent men in the State, including the governor, senators, representatives, judges, counsellors, divines, physicians, merchants, and others; so that every evening in the week, from the end of October to the beginning of June, there is a lecture or a public meeting, a debate or an address, somewhere or other in the city, at which almost all who desire it may attend. Audiences from 1000 to 1500 are quite frequent at such meetings, all behaving with the utmost decorum, and all evidently taking the deepest interest in the information thus communicated to them. It would be a miracle, indeed, therefore, if the members of such a community were not generally well informed.

CHAP. XVI.

Public Schools—Statistics of Education—Course of studies in each class—Grammar Schools, for English, Latin, and Greek— Harvard College, or the University of Cambridge —Exhibition of the Students—Speech of Mr. Adams on Education.

To prepare the rising generation of Boston for the enjoyment of all the advantages in store for them, great care is taken, and great expense bestowed on the public schools of the

city. The first class of these are called “Primary Schools,” for the education of children of both sexes, from the age of four to seven years. Of these, there are no less than eighty-three in the city of Boston alone, so situated and classified, by districts and numbers, as to be accessible to the children in every quarter, and the number of these is every year increasing. The management of these schools is conducted by a board, consisting of twenty-four members, two from each ward of the city, who are annually chosen by the town; and these, with the mayor and president of the common council, appoint a committee man, to look after each separate school, and to be held responsible for its state and condition. There are besides these primary schools, fifteen grammar schools, into which those educated in the primary schools are deemed eligible to enter, when they have attained to a correct knowledge of spelling and reading the English language.

322

The primary schools were instituted in the year 1818, for the gratuitous instruction of children from four to seven years of age. The school rooms are hired or built by the city, in convenient places, each designed to accommodate on an average 50 pupils. The services of the board and committee men, though laborious, are wholly gratuitous. The following is an abstract of the report of the Boston schools, presented to the State legislature, for the past year 1837:—

Population of the city of Boston 80,325

Valuation of its property for taxes $80,000,000

Number of public schools in the city 91

Number of scholars in these 9,683

Number of persons between 4 and 16 in the city 17,485

Number of teachers, male 40, females 119 159

Average wages of teachers per month, including board, males $102

Average wages of teachers per month, including board, females $20

Amount of city tax for support of schools $107,500

Amount of city tax for teachers' wages $78,750

Amount of local funds $8,000

In addition to these, the report adds, “There are a great number of private schools; the number cannot be ascertained, the mode of keeping them, nor the number of pupils attending them. They are generally kept through the whole year, with short vacations. The amount estimated as paid for private tuition is *greater* than that paid for public schools; but the amount cannot be exactly ascertained.” Thus speaks the official report.

During my stay in Boston, however, having been invited to give my courses of lectures on Egypt and Palestine to the pupils of the private as well as public schools, in the afternoons of 323 Wednesday and Saturday, when their usual studies are suspended, I had the means of learning that the private schools exceeded fifty in number; that on the average they educated forty pupils each; and that the expense of the tuition, not including board, averaged at least $60 per annum, which would make the number of pupils in private schools about 2,000, and the annual sum paid for their tuition $120,000. Seeing by the official report that there are 17,485 children between four and sixteen years of age in Boston, and that of these there are 9,683 in the public schools, and 2,000 in the private schools, there remains a balance of 5,802 children between these ages, who are not educated in either. These, no doubt, will be found chiefly among the children of emigrants, who, though they can obtain instruction gratuitously, are not permitted by their parents to attend the schools, because their services can be turned to some immediately profitable account at home. It is for this class that the Prussian system of enforcing the attendance

of every child at school, would be so useful; and were this one feature only added to the American system of education, as it is seen in Boston and Massachusetts generally, it would be complete.

The course of instruction pursued in the primary schools is as follows:—

Alphabet on Cards.

Monosyllable Spelling.

Numeration, 1 to 100.

Dissyllable Spelling.

Combination of, Numbers.

Easy Reading Lessons.

The Lord's Prayer.

Easy Arithmetic.

Punctuation, Reading.

New Testament. Y 2

The grammar schools receive the children at the age of seven years, if they can spell and read English correctly. Boys may continue in these until the annual exhibition after they have reached their fourteenth year; and girls may continue till they have completed their sixteenth year. The art of writing is then taught, and reading and arithmetic of course continued; but the general character of their studies, and the subjects on which their minds

are exercised during the period, may be best judged of by the following list of the books used by the pupils:—

Ecermal's National Spelling Book

History of the United States

Composition and Declamation

Philosophy of Natural History

Nat. and Experim. Philosophy

Elements of General History

Algebra and Geometry.

Pierpont's National Reader

Murray's English Grammar

Foxe's Progressive Exercises

Field's Geography and Atlas

Frost's Exercises in Parsing

A philosophical apparatus is furnished to all these schools, by which natural and experimental philosophy is illustrated; and the Bible is read by each class frequently.

Besides these grammar schools, there is an English High School, which was instituted in 1821, for the purpose of furnishing the young men of the city, who are not intended for a collegiate course, but who have enjoyed the usual advantages of the other public schools, with the means of completing a good English education. Pupils may enter this

school at the age of twelve, and remain there till eighteen: during which period they receive instruction in the elements of mathematics 325 and natural philosophy, with their application to the sciences and the arts; in grammar, rhetoric, and the belles lettres; in moral philosophy, in civil history, and in the French language. The teachers must all have had a collegiate education, and be in number as one to every thirty-five pupils. There is an excellent apparatus for philosophical experiments. The pupils to be admitted must bring certificates of intellectual attainments and good moral conduct from their previous masters. The books used are the following:

Worcester's Ancient Geography

Works on Chemistry

Trigonometry and Astronomy

Constitution of the United States

Practice of Linear Drawing

Paley's Natural Theology

Logic & Intellectual Philosophy

Worcester's General History

Colburn's or Baily's Algebra

Legendre's Geometry

Blair's Rhetoric

Paley's Moral Philosophy

The Latin Grammar School is still a degree beyond the English High School. In this, the Latin and Greek languages are taught, and scholars are fitted for the University. Mathematics, geography, history, declamation, and English composition, are also carefully attended to. Boys may enter this school as early as ten years of age, or as late as fifteen, but they cannot remain longer than five years as pupils. Certificates of qualification and good moral conduct are required, as in the English High School. The books used are the following:—

Stoddart's Latin Grammar

Viri Romæ

Andrews's Latin Reader

Dillaway's Mythology

Dlliaway's Roman Antiquities

Phædri Fabulæ Expurgatæ

Cornelius Nepos

Cæsar's Commentaries

Excerpta ex Ovidio

Greek Delectus

326

Wilson's Sallust

Cleveland's Greek Antiquities

Cicero's Select Orations

Gould's Virgil

Jacobs' Greek Reader

Greek Exercises

Leverett's Juvenal

Gould's Horace

Homer&s Iliad

Greek Testament

Xenophon's Anabasis Fisk's

Paley's Evidences of Christianity

The pupils are also frequently exercised in arithmetic, geography, algebra, geometry, and trigonometry, as well as in translations and composition in the Greek and Latin languages; and no English editions, or interpretations, or keys to any of the authors, are permitted in the school. They are examined also in Starling's Catechism of the Constitution of the United States, and in the knowledge of the Old and New Testament.

The higher branches of education are reserved for Harvard College, or the University of Cambridge, as it is called, which is within four miles of Boston, across one of the bridges leading to Charlestown, and may now be almost regarded as a part of Boston itself, from the facility of access by omnibuses and other public conveyances. This institution was established so long ago as the year 1636, and is named after the Rev. John Harvard, who was the first to make a donation to its funds, of £780 sterling. Since then, the donations

have been considerable; so that it has now a permanent fund of $600,000 in property, and an income of more than $22,000 per annum, besides the fees of the students and graduates. The college buildings are agreeably situated, and surrounded with lawns and trees. University Hall, which is built of granite, is 140 feet long by 50 broad, and 42 feet high. The separate colleges, of which there are six, are 327 of brick, but substantially built, and furnished with every requisite accommodation, as well as with a library of 30,000 volumes, and a most complete philosophical apparatus for experiments.

The residences of the professors are separate buildings, in the villa style, near the colleges; and the village itself, in which the whole are seated, is extremely pretty.

There are usually about 400 students in the University; and the president, as well as the professors generally, are highly respected for their learning, virtue, and high character as citizens and men.

Attached to the University is a Medical College in Boston, at which lectures are given by the most eminent professors in anatomy and surgery; and not less than 400 students, partly from the University, and partly from the country, come up to attend these in the winter. The museum, formed and classified chiefly by Dr. Warren, one of the 328 principal physicians of Boston, and lecturer of the institution, is one of the best I remember, for the extent and variety of its anatomical preparations, and the exquisite skill with which some of those in wax are executed. I had the pleasure of visiting it under great advantages, and have rarely been more highly gratified.

I had an opportunity also of attending one of the exhibitions at Cambridge, of which there are three in the year, besides the anniversary, called the “Commencement,” which takes place in August; and I was much pleased with the gentlemanly appearance and manners of the students, as well as with the perfection of their exercises. We dined afterwards with the president, Mr. Quincy, the governor of the State, Mr. Everett, the ex-president of the United States, John Quincy Adams, and other friends and official guardians of the

institution, and were much delighted with our visit. The number of auditors who attended the exhibition amounted to about 300, among whom the ladies were as numerous as the gentlemen; and the following was the order of the exercises:—

“Latin Oration, De Festis diebus qui nostra in Universitate celebrantur.—English Version, The Real State of France.—Latin Dialogue, Procida and Raimond.—Conference, History, Biography, and Fiction.—Greek Version, Extract from a Speech of Tiberius Gracchus. —Colloquy, How far the Right should be controlled by the Expedient.—Latin Version, Orationis Josephi Story apud Societatem P. B. K. habitæ pars.—Forensic Disputation, Whether a Want of Reverence be justly chargeable on our Age and Country.—Greek Dialogue, Eurylochus and Melanthus.— Dissertation, Pablic Opinion as a Standard of Right.—Mathematical Exercises, The Construction of Charts, Rotary Motion 329 derived from the Electro-Magnetic Forces, Properties of the Cycloid, Meteors, Use of Infinitely small Quantities in Mathematical Investigations.—English Oration, Modern Patriotism.

I believe that neither Oxford nor Cambridge in Old England would have been ashamed of their own students, if they had been the actors, and had acquitted themselves as well as these youths of New England did on this occasion; and this perhaps is as high praise as any English auditor could bestow.

Notwithstanding these ample means of education, from the primary schools to the University, means in which America is surpassed by no nation on the globe excepting only Prussia, there is yet a strong desire on the part of the leading men in society to do more. Indeed where 5,000 children between the ages of four and sixteen, in such a city as Boston, attend no school at all, there must of course be ample room for improvement, though this is perhaps a smaller number of uneducated children out of a population of 80,000 than any city in Europe, those of Prussia alone excepted, could present. In consequence of this, public meetings are continually held, to awaken public feeling to the importance of using additional means, so as to extend, education to *all* children, and to train, by normal schools, the teachers with more care. One of the most recent meetings

of this kind was held at Worcester, during my stay in Boston. Governor Everett, Daniel Webster, and Mr. John Quincy Adams, were among the speakers; and the following short extract from the speech of the last-named gentleman is so good and so characteristic, that I venture to transcribe it.

330

“The Hon. John Q. Adams said he had noticed the organization of the Board of Education, the reports, and improvements in those reports. He had examined the subject of late, and he thought the movements in this country by the friends of education had been deliberate, and wise, and christian; and he thought the plan contemplated by the very important resolution before the meeting, could not but find favour with every one who would examine and comprehend it. We see monarchs expending vast sums, establishing normal schools through their realms, and sparing no pains to convey knowledge and efficiency to all the children of their poorest subjects. *Shall we be outdone by kings?* Shall monarchies steal a march on republics, in the patronage of that education on which a republic is based? On this great and glorious cause let us expend freely, yes, *more* freely than on any other. There was one usage, he added, in the ancient republic of Sparta, which now occurred to him, and which filled his mind with this pleasing idea, viz. that these endeavours of ours, for the fit education of all our children, would be the means of raising up a generation around us which would be superior to ourselves. The usage alluded to was this: the inhabitants of the city on a certain day collected together and marched in procession, dividing themselves into three companies, the old, the middle-aged, and the young. When assembled for the sports and exercises, a dramatic scene was introduced, and the three parties had each a speaker; and Plutarch gives the form of phraseology used in the several addresses on the occasion. The old men speak first; and addressing those beneath them in age, they say,

‘We have been, in days of old, Wise and generous, brave and bold.’

Then come the middle-aged, and casting a triumphant look at their seniors, say to them,

‘That which in days of yore ye were, We, at the present moment, are.’

Lastly, march forth the children, and looking bravely upon both companies who had spoken, they shout forth thus:—

‘Hereafter at our country's call, We promise to surpass you all.’”

CHAP. XVII.

Periodical literature of Boston—Statistics of the public journals— Quarterly and monthly publications—Newspaper press — Partisanship — Examples of political exaggeration — Opposition or indifference to abolitionism—Morals and manners turned to party account— Scenes in Boston theatre, and on the bridges.

The periodical literature of Boston is more varied and extensive than that of any other city in the Union, though the operations of its publishers are not so large as those of the same class of persons in New York and Philadelphia. Among the best periodicals may be mentioned the North American Review, published quarterly, and the Christian Examiner, published every two months. There are, however, besides these, four large periodicals, published quarterly, and at intervals of two months; twelve monthly Magazines, including a Horticultural an Educational, and several Religious journals; a Medical journal weekly, several Literary and Religious newspapers published weekly also. The newspapers include 10 daily, of which eight are morning and two evening papers, 8 semi-weekly, and 24 weekly, exclusive of The Yankee Farmer, an agricultural paper, and The Liberator, an abolition paper; and upon the average of the whole, the circulation may be estimated at 2,500 each, some having 332 a circulation of 5,000, and some not more than 1,000. This would give an aggregate of 153,000 copies per week, for the 10 daily publications; 40,000 per week for 8 semi-weekly papers; and 60,000 per week for the 24 weekly papers; or an aggregate of 253,000 copies per week, in a population of 80,000 persons, exclusive of the

monthly and quarterly journals—a proportion, it is believed which exceeds that of any other city in the world.

The quarterly and monthly publications are conducted with great ability, and in a spirit of moderation, fairness, and candour. This praise cannot, however, in justice, be bestowed on the greater number of the daily and weekly papers. They partake of all the feebleness and inefficiency of the newspaper press of the country generally, while they are inferior in original intelligence to the papers of New York, though in the spirit of partisanship they surpass all their contemporaries. Relying chiefly, if not entirely, on their advertisements for support, and these being furnished by persons engaged in the mercantile and trading operations, they can hardly dare offend those on whom they are so dependent, by advocating what is unpopular with them. Hence they are almost all Whigs in their politics; and nearly all opposed to the recent law for restraining the retail of spirituous liquors in quantities of less than 15 gallons, because all the importers, manufacturers, and sellers of this article will have their profits lessened by it. One paper alone, out of all the daily press, the Mercantile Journal, had the courage to run counter to its contemporaries in this matter, and was severely handled by the rest for so doing. Its reply to these 333 attacks was at once calm, dignified, and unanswerable; because it exposed the vulnerable point of its enemies in a manner of which all men saw the force and applicability. The following is the short paragraph in which they notice the subject.

“The editors of the Centinel and Gazette think it a remarkable circumstance that the Mercantile Journal is the only Whig paper which has yet arrayed itself against the proscriptive measures of the Convention. It may at first appear somewhat remarkable that a wise, a just, and expedient law, (the law for restraining the sale of spirits in smaller quantities than 15 gallons, so as to put an end to all retail or dram shops,) which, if carried into effect, will tend to promote the happiness and prosperity of the people of this Commonwealth, to an extent surpassing that of any law ever enacted by our legislature, should not receive, not only the approval, but the earnest support of the whole newspaper press throughout the State. But we all know the influence which self-interest ordinarily

exercises over the human mind—a person is proverbially unwilling to believe that an action which militates against his individual interest, can be just, righteous, or expedient—and by examining the advertising columns of most of the newspapers in this city, a key may be furnished which may solve the enigma—provided no other solution can be found."

Of the spirit of partisanship in which the newspapers are conducted, a hundred proofs might be given; for every paper on both sides furnishes continual evidence of this; but one specimen will suffice. It is taken from the Boston Courier, one of the leading morning papers, of Oct. 31, and is by no means the worst of its kind. It is as follows:

" The Elections. —The time is now close at hand when the people of this State are to be called upon to exercise that most precious and important right of freemen—the choice of their rulers and representatives. The coming election puts it in the power of every 334 man to mark his disapprobation or approval of the party who have, for nine years past, ruled over this country, and made it the scene and the subject of the most wanton, reckless, and disastrous experiments, ever conceived by human folly, or practised by human wickedness. The party who hold the reins of the Federal government, now call upon the people of the United States to continue them in power. What have the party done, to merit such a reward? They have done all these things:—

"In the name of Liberty, they have tyrannized over the land: oppressed the people; set up a despotic, haughty, arrogant, and overbearing military chieftain; and called upon a nation of freemen to bow the knee to their master.

"In the name of Democracy, they have organized a cabal of selfish, avaricious, unprincipled office-holders, who have monopolized the power, influence, and revenues of the nation—proscribed all freedom of thought and action, and driven the obedient slaves in their ranks, hither and thither, at the word of command.

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“In the name of Reform, they have turned all honest men out of office, and filled their places with knaves, profligates, cheats, swindlers, and desperadoes.

“In the name of Retrenchment, they have doubled and tripled the national expenses.

“In the name of Equality, they have set on foot machinations to perpetuate all rule and dominion in their own hands, and trample under foot the dearest rights of our citizens; they have widened the ordinary distinctions between the different classes of society; and pursued deliberate schemes to make the rich richer, and the poor poorer.

“In the name of Government, they have violated law, constitution, and equity; stolen the people's money, and squandered it upon their hirelings and adulators.

“In the name of Patriotism, they have sought nothing but the elevation to power of a few selfish, greedy, and designing political knaves; and the aggrandizement of their own desperate and unprincipled faction.

“In the name of the People, they have vetoed the public will, spurned the people's petitions, the people's wishes, and the people's complaints; and laughed to scorn the people's sufferings. In the 335 name of the people, they have abused the nation with more insult and grinding oppression, than has been perpetrated in the same time, in the most despotic monarchy in Europe.

“If the people of the United States wish for the renewal or the perpetuation of all these indignities, they have only to continue these men in power. They are men who will certainly repeat all their follies and all their iniquities, for they are neither wiser nor more honest than they were at first. They are too dull to learn anything by experience, and too deeply dipped in corruption and fraud, to leave any hope of their repentance. In the miry slough of political profligacy, they have

Stepp'd in so far, that should they wade no more, Returning were as tedious as go o'er.

“These are plain facts, stated in plain language; there needs no rhetoric to make them effective; and with these facts in mind, we ask how any man can, with an honest conscience, give his support to the men who have perpetrated, wilfully and deliberately, all these misdeeds, and the party who deliberately sanction them? People of the United States, which do you choose—honest men, and an honest Whig government?—or Jacksons and Bentons, and Tory corruption, Tory misrule, Tory experiments, and the consummation of Toryism—calamity and disgrace?”

The droll part of all this is, that the extreme radicals, or the only truly democratic party in the United States which recognises the will of the majority, and are advocates of universal suffrage, are called “Tories;” and the conservative or aristocratical party, who call the people “the rabble,” and designate the democrats as agrarians, levellers, Jacobins, and so on, who are opposed to universal suffrage, and who demand a property qualification for voters, these call themselves “Whigs.”

The despotism of the government must be very mild indeed, when such articles as these can be printed in half the newspapers of the Union, and no 336 editor banished, as in India, no newspaper seized and suppressed, as in France, and no criminal information filed by a state attorney-general, as in England. The “despotism” exists wholly in the imaginations of the defeated and disappointed party. Indeed, it is difficult to say what more of liberty they would have than they now enjoy. Each State has its separate sovereignty, and by universal suffrage, or nearly so, all the members of its upper and lower house are elected, and its governor chosen. No laws can be made or taxes imposed without their consent; and freedom of the press and trial by jury exist in their greatest vigour; while all opinions on political or religious subjects are as free, and persons and property as perfectly protected, as in any country that ever existed; so that if the present administration were removed to-morrow, and another planted in its place, not a single additional liberty—civil, political, or religious, could be granted to the people.

Just as idle and as groundless are their alarms about existing distress, and their predictions of inevitable ruin. This cry has been raised so often for party purposes, in England, in France, and America, that few thinking people now heed it as anything more than the ravings of a party out of office, which cease the moment they get into power. The agriculture of America is flourishing, its commerce active, its shipping all fully employed, and its manufactures thriving. There is no country in which a larger proportion of wealth is diffused among a similar number of persons. Many are opulent, all are possessed of competency, and few or none suffer from actual want. Wages in every department 337 are high, food is abundant and cheap. There are no artisans out of employment in large masses, no poor clamouring for parochial relief, and no beggars. The churches are filled with elegantly dressed people; the theatres and concerts are crowded; the lecture-rooms are filled; the hotels and boarding-houses are thriving; the rail-roads and steam-boats are filled at every trip; benevolent objects are supported by munificent subscriptions; and private parties are thronged with the gay and the fashionable in every quarter. And yet, in the face of all this, the Whig newspapers insist upon it that the nation is hastening on at a rapid rate to ruin, calamity, and disgrace; though, if their party were to come in to-morrow, their note would be changed before a single month were over, and they would then find America to be the freest, happiest, and best-governed country in the world—because their party were at the helm—and they are infallible!

Another remarkable feature of the newspapers of this class is, the indifference, if not approbation, with which they look upon all the attempts made to put down freedom of discussion on the subject of slavery; they do not think this “despotism” any infringement upon liberty, because it relates to another class of their fellow-men. The tyranny of the whites over the blacks they justify, or excuse, on the ground of its being a right guaranteed by the constitution, and, if not just, at least expedient. The despotism of the anti-abolitionists over those who are in favour of emancipation is also applauded by some, justified by others, and excused or winked at by nearly all. But so one-sided and oblique is their vision in all matters VOL. III. Z 338 of politics and government, that while they rave at

an imaginary despotism of the President and his supporters, which has no existence but in their disordered imaginations, they are perfectly blind to the real despotism exercised by a race boasting to love freedom, and declaring in their constitution that “all men are born equal,” over a race whom they continue, against all remonstrance, example, and appeal, still to keep enslaved. The following paragraph is from the Boston Morning Herald, of October 31:

“ Anti-Abolition. —The second attempt of the abolition lecturer, named Colvert, to deliver a lecture in Danbury, Connecticut, has ended in smoke. The reverend gentleman concluded it unsafe to venture another trial, according to his previous announcement. His effigy was carted about the streets by the multitude, (among which were many persons from the neighbouring towns) and finally burnt! A few nights previous, he got possession of the Congregationalist church in Bethel, Connecticut, through the management of one of the deacons, named Seth Seelye, although the largest portion of the church were opposed to it. A few women and children attended; the multitude on the outside stoned the building, rang the bell, &c. The majority of the congregation left before he had finished his lecture. Mr. Seelye, having the keys, ‘took the responsibility’ upon himself to open it to the reverend lecturer, although against the expressed will of the majority of the church members.”

Abundant specimens might be offered, to show the manner in which the American press is disposed to turn almost every striking incident to political account, to soften down all frauds and immoralities committed by men of their own party, and to put forth in the most prominent light all similar acts when committed by their opponents. If a bank stops payment, the main object of inquiry with the newspapers is, 339 whether the directors were Whigs or Democrats. If a treasury defaulter runs off with a large sum, it is sure to be attributed to his Whig or Democratic politics; neither of them caring a straw about the immorality of the act, but each being anxious to obtain a party triumph.

While incidents like these are recorded without a comment, and this really deep stain on the morals as well as manners of a nation excites only, a moment's attention, matters of minor import obtain a large share of space and comment. Some of these are such as no English traveller would be forgiven for saying, and it would be imputed to his malice, or envy, or jealousy, if he did so; but when the Americans speak thus of themselves it may be well to record it. Here is a paragraph from the Evening Gazette of October 27.

“ Hats in the dress circles. —We shall really be compelled to invite Madame Trollope to pay the country another visit, if our young men do not amend some of their uncouth practices. Among these, one of the most public, and therefore most generally displeasing, is the habit of wearing hats in the dress circle of the theatre; and some old men too, we perceive, indulge in the same breach of good manners—for it is no less. The very fact that one part of the house is distinguished from the others by the name “dress circle,” should advise people that in that part at least they should not demean themselves as if in the street. No one would think of entering a ball-room in Wellington boots and a wrap-rascal—yet the one offence against etiquette is no more frequent than the other. There is another trick which we would gladly see abolished—that of chewing tobacco in the house. We dare say the partakers of the weed derive great enjoyment therefrom—but it is more than a little selfish in them to put everybody to inconvenience on their account. A neat man not a chewer, or a lady, feels in complete misery when the vicinity of a devotee of the Indian weed is Z 2 340 discovered. It is not the small of the article alone that is offensive—but the fear of cloth and dresses stained and spoiled. Our gallants must look to these things.”

As a faithful delineation of one striking feature of the American character,—the haste with which every thing is despatched,—though there is less of this in Boston than in New York, the following article may be worth transcribing. It is from the Mercantile Journal of October 31, and says what no English traveller could venture to say without being described as a libeller. It is this:

“ Daily Scenes on Warren Bridge. —There is probably no people more industrious than the New Englanders. They seem to have carefully conned Dr. Franklin's admirable lessons on the value of time. There are among us no men of leisure—all are occupied—and whatever their particular employments or pleasures may be, they pursue them with an enthusiasm and an earnestness truly astonishing. ‘No time must be lost’ appears to be the universal maxim—and for this reason they bolt their food, and complain of dyspepsia—hurry through the streets, as if the fate of the world depended on their exertions—or drive, like Jehus, about the country, as if racing against time—and complain of the dulness of rail-road travelling when proceeding at the rate of only twenty miles an hour. When arrived at the end of their journey, all are anxious to be the first to get out of the vehicle, many shoves are given or received, and many hats or bonnets are fearfully compressed. The same scene is witnessed at the close of the services in a church—the moment the benediction is pronounced, a rush is made by the male members of the congregation for the door—and a scene of great disorder and confusion ensues. A similar exhibition is witnessed in a lecture room—each person is so reluctant to lose only two or three minutes of time, that he presses forward with a perseverance, and a disregard of obstacles, which would better become a better cause.

“But perhaps the best illustration of the value which the Yankees attach to time, may be witnessed in passing one of the large bridges 341 which connect Boston with the adjacent country, when the draw is about to be raised. We have often witnessed the bustle incident to such an occasion, on Warren Bridge, the great thoroughfare to Charlestown, and have derived no little amusement therefrom. When preparations for raising the draw that a vessel may pass through, are seen from afar, anxiety and alarm are strongly depicted on every countenance, for each one fears that he may be left on the wrong side of the draw, and thus be compelled to sacrifice from three to five minutes of his valuable time, when a scrub race commences among the pedestrians, and feats of agility are practised which are truly wonderful to behold. A looker-on, who was not in the secret, would suppose that a sudden mania, a simultaneous and instinctive impulse to take the most violent

muscular exercise, was felt by every individual on the bridge, without regard to age, sex, or occupation. The youth of sixteen is seen straining every muscle, apparently, to keep pace with some grave old gentleman of threescore years and ten, and is not unfrequently beaten in the race—blooming damsels and sage matrons, the finical dandy and the ragged loafer, the thoughtless buffoon and the sedate clergyman, all seem to be actuated by the same emulative spirit, and press forward with a zeal and activity which excites the marvel of the bystander, who does not feel inclined to contest the prize. One would think, that, like Burns' Tam O'Shanter, they deemed that some fierce and malignant spirit was in full pursuit, and that not merely five minutes of time, but health, fame, happiness, ay, life itself, depended on reaching the keystone of the bridge with all possible despatch.

CHAP. XVIII.

Proportions of churches to each seat—Historical peculiarities— Unitarians, Presbyterians, Catholics, Universalists, Old South Church—King's Chapel—Ancient peal of bells—Revolutionary sermons—First Sunday-school—Roman Catholic worshippers— Convents —Nunneries—Influence on pupils—Bethel church for seamen—Preaching of Father Taylor —Chapel exclusively for children—Auxiliares of education and industry—Chapel for the free use of the poor—Chapel for religous and benevolent meetings—Temperance hotel—Churches—Clergy—Services— Music, and singing.

The churches of Boston are very numerous, and the changes that have taken place in the religious opinions of the clergy and their congregations, are among the most remarkable that are to be found in any part of the United States. From the high degree of respect in which the character and office of a minister of religion is held here, Boston has been called “the paradise of clergymen,” and from the number, wealth, and influence of the Unitarian preachers and hearers here, it has been also called, “the headquarters of Unitarianism.” The statistics of the several churches, sects, and worshippers, carefully compiled from the most authentic sources within reach, may be interesting to many, and instructive to a few, and therefore they are here presented. The number of places of worship, now in regular

and occasional use, in Boston, are about 70: of which 60 343 are constantly filled, and 10 occasionally, in a population of 80,000 persons, making nearly one to every 1,000 of its inhabitants. Their relative proportions will be seen in the following list of the 60 that are constantly occupied:

Unitarians 14

Presbyterians 13

Baptists 8

Methodists 7

Episcopalian 6

Universalists 6

Roman Catholics 4

Swedenborgians 1

Quakers 1

Of the Unitarian churches, the greater number were originally either Presbyterian or Episcopalian, and have since been occupied by Unitarian ministers. The change in opinion took place in many instances while the clergymen filling the Episcopalian and Presbyterian pulpits were preaching what was considered orthodox doctrines; though there was great caution used on the manifestation of the change; until a period arrived, which was thought favourable to its developement, and then it is said that there was only one church of importance in all Boston, the Old South, which appeared not to partake of the change.

At that period, now some 50 years ago, Unitarianism might be said to be the religion of the majority in Boston; but it has remained nearly stationary since then, while other sects

have increased. in numbers, so as to alter the balance materially. Even now, however, the Unitarians have a greater number of churches than any other single sect; their preachers are more eminent for learning and eloquence; and their congregations embrace mearly all the most wealthy and influential families of the city; while the University of Cambridge is also in their 344 hands, nearly all the professors there being Unitarians in their opinions.

Under the head of Presbyterians are classed all the Congregational churches that are Trinitarian and Calvinistic in opinion, and are neither Episcopalians, Baptists, nor Methodists; but these, though called Presbyterians, are not subject to any General Assembly, as in Scotland.

The Episcopalians follow the ritual of the Church of England, with such alterations in the service as the difference of country and government require; and in respect to the opulence and station of their adherents, they come next to the Unitarians.

The Roman Catholics are very numerous, there being not less than 10,000 members of that church, or one-eighth of the whole population in Boston.

The Universalists are also numerous, and are yearly increasing. The Swedenborgians are few in number, but the Quakers have hardly enough to form even a small congregation; and have only occasional meetings, at irregular intervals of time. Of Jews none appear to reside here; at least no place of worship exists for the exercise of their religious services.

All are conducted on the voluntary system, without the least aid, either in patronage or pay, from the State; and in no city in the world are the clergy better provided for, the churches more commodious and comfortable, the congregations more numerous, or the harmony and friendly feeling between the different sects more remarkable than here.

The largest of all the churches is the Old South Church, Presbyterian, built in 1669, which stands in 345 the heart of the city, and is used for religious and benevolent anniversary meetings, as it is supposed capable of accommodating 3,000 persons. During the

revolutionary war, the British dragoons stationed here in 1775, entirely destroyed the interior of it, by removing all the pews, pulpit, and altar, and converting it into a riding-school!

King's Chapel, which was built in 1686, was, before the revolution, used for the governor and other public authorities, it being then an Episcopalian church. It is now Unitarian; but still uses the Church of England Liturgy, with slight variations. The old English governor's pew, which was higher and more ornamented than the rest, has been recently removed, yet it still retains the name of King's Chapel, by which it is generally known. This is the more remarkable when it is remembered, that in the fever of the revolution, the names of King Street, Queen Street, Prince's Street, and so on, were changed for names more agreeable to Republican ears. King's Chapel, however, having outlived these times, will most probably retain its name as long as the building itself shall endure.

Brattle Street Church, at present Unitarian, built in 1699, originated in the following manner. It was not usual, in the early part of the history of Boston, for the Scriptures to be read in any of the churches of the Puritans, as they regarded that as a relic of the Old Church of England service, which they desired to avoid; and the suffrage for electing a minister was confined to the communicants, who were strictly examined before they were admitted to the sacrament. A number of persons then united, to 346 form a church in which the scriptures should be read at the minister's discretion; in which all adults who had been baptized, and contributed to the funds of the church, should have a vote in the election of its minister, and in which all persons who applied should be admitted to the communion “without relation of their experience.”

Old John Hancock, the revolutionary patriot of 1775, whose signature is one of the most prominent among the signers of the Declaration of Independence, and who was specially excluded from the amnesty offered by the British to all traitors who should repent, was a liberal benefactor to this church, and his name was engraved on one of the cornerstones of the building in large letters by some of his admirers. The hatred, however, borne to this

name by the English was such, that it was defaced by the British soldiery, who occupied it as a barrack for the infantry, while the Old South Church was occupied as a riding-school for the cavalry. The stone still remains, with the mutilated yet honoured name of “John Hancock” sufficiently legible to be traced; and on a slab, in another part of the exterior, the name is again inscribed at full; so that this attempt to obliterate an honoured name, has, like many others, served only to fix it deeper in the hearts of the people. A shot which was fired from the American batteries at Cambridge struck the church wall, and, being nearly spent, it lodged in the brickwork for a few minutes, and then fell on the ground. It was picked up, and carefully preserved; and when the British were compelled to evacuate the town, and permit the victorious rebels to march into it, the ball 347 was placed in the hollow it had made, securely fastened there, about half buried in the wall and half projecting from it, where it still remains as a memento of the struggles by which the people of that day won their independence.

Christ Church, Episcopalian, built in 1722, is the only church in Boston that was furnished with a peal of bells, which used to chime merrily for several nights before Christmas, and to ring out the old year and ring in the new, after the fashion of “merry England.” This ancient practice has long since been discontinued. On each of these bells, eight in number, is a separate inscription, among which are the following. On the Sd, bell, “We are the first ring of bells cast for the British empire in North America, 1744:” 4th bell, “God preserve the Church of England:” 7th bell, “Since generosity opened our mouths, our tongues shall ring aloud its praise.” The doctrines of the Church of England are here preached with a more rigid adherence to the 39 articles of the mother-church, than in any other pulpit of the city.

The handsomest steeple in Boston is that of the Federal Street Church, where the celebrated Dr. Channing, the Unitarian preacher, officiates; though the tower of the Old South, of Park Street, and several others, are lofty and imposing.

West Church, built in 1737, was the one in which the celebrated Dr. Mayhew preached at the time of the revolution, his sermons there being supposed to have had as great an effect in producing resistance to the oppressions of the British, as the speeches of Otis, and the other popular orators of the day. He died 348 only a few weeks after delivering in this building his memorable discourse on the repeal of the stamp-act. It is the first church in Boston that adopted the practice of having a Sunday School attached to it. This was commenced for the first time in 1812; and so extensively has the example been followed, that there is now scarcely a church in the city that has not its special Sabbath School. The whole number of pupils at these schools exceed 5,000; and the teachers are not, as in England, exclusively from the middle ranks in society; but here, the sons and daughters of the most opulent merchants, and the most distinguished families in the State, take an active personal share in the business of teaching; and may be found at their post in the Sabbath schools with as much regularity as in their places of worship. This church is one of the few in Boston which stands apart from all sects. Its members adopt no other name than that of “Christians.” It professes no particular creed, but acknowledges the Scriptures in the light in which each devout member of the church may regard it, as the only rule of faith and practice.

The Catholic communicants are said to be at present the most numerous of all the sects in Boston, as they exceed 10,000 in the city alone, and are every year increasing, as indeed they appear to be in every part of America, chiefly by the constant influx of Catholic emigrants of various nations, but especially from Ireland. A convent of Ursuline nuns also exists in Boston. This was formed originally of four nuns, who were invited here by Bishop Cheverus, in 1820; and maintained by a provision made for them by the will of a Catholic gentleman, named Thayer. They 349 were employed for the first six years in the instruction of females; and having by that time increased their numbers, they removed to Charlestown, one of the suburbs of Boston, just across one of the bridges, and there established the Ursuline Community, on Mount Benedict. This was in 1826, and they

continued there until 1834; when the convent was destroyed by an intolerant mob of incendiaries, and the nuns and their inmates obliged to save themselves by flight.

The convent has never since been rebuilt at Charlestown; but the nuns now inhabit a large house near Pearl Street, in Boston, and still continue the occupation of teaching female children. By this practice there is no doubt that they make many converts to their faith, and add even to their own numbers as nuns. While at Washington we heard, from good authority, many instances of young Protestant females becoming so attached to their teachers in the Catholic seminary at Georgetown, as to be induced to take the veil; instances have happened in Boston also, where Protestant young ladies instructed by the nuns have ended in becoming Catholics, and all efforts to recover them have been ineffectual.

The Mariner's Church is under the care of the Reverend Father Taylor, as he is generally called, and is chiefly, though not exclusively, frequented by seamen and their families. Mr. Taylor was himself for many years a mariner; and subsequently became a preacher of the Methodist connexion; but his peculiar talent for addressing seamen, and his long experience of their habits and modes of thought 350 and feeling, suggested the idea of his being set apart and consecrated to their ministry. And most fortunate was the selection. I had the pleasure, not only to hear, but to make the acquaintance of this remarkable and valuable minister in Boston; and I can truly say, that I know of no one better adapted to the sphere he fills, than Father Taylor.

His influence over his maritime flock is greater than that of any other minister that could be chosen for the purpose; for they not only reverence his piety, but they appear really to love him, as children would a father. His preaching has all the earnestness of one whose whole soul is concentrated in the one object for which his tongue is pleading: and his eloquence, though peculiar, is characterized by that simplicity and frankness, which rivets the attention and penetrates the heart; and through his indefatigable efforts, the seamen of Boston

generally are a more sober, orderly, moral, and religious class of men than those perhaps of any other port in the world.

The Warren Street Chapel is an excellent institution, erected chiefly for the accommodation of children, and superintended by a society of gentlemen. At the ringing of the first bell on the Sabbath, the children attend here at the Sunday-school; and at the close of their studies, they repair to the chapel to hear discourses suited to their age and comprehension, as the sermons preached generally to adults are above the measure of their understanding. There are free seats, however, for all adults who desire to be present. The children are visited during the week at their own homes; and they meet occasionally, with their teachers, to take a walk into the 351 country, or to pass a few hours in innocent recreation at the chapel. A sewing school is provided on Saturday afternoons, and there are two evening schools for boys, and two afternoon schools for girls each week, intended for those who may be in want of a common English education, and not in a situation to attend the other schools of the city. Instruction is also given in vocal music and linear drawing.

Besides the library attached to the Sunday school, a collection has been formed of 2,000 volumes, as the nucleus of a future free library and reading-room. A cabinet of natural history is also in progress of formation, and a garden is attached to the building. Besides this, a course of lectures is given during each winter, and two concerts during the season; and the publication of occasional works by the committee, added to the voluntary contributions of the community, sustain the expense of all this; while a series of tracts are also published for the use of the children attending the chapel, and for such other children as they may be disposed to send them to for perusal The property is held by trustees, for the proprietors; and the services of the committee, and of many of the teachers, are gratuitous. No particular sectarian doctrines are professed or expounded; but the instruction given is such as all good Christians would agree in and approve; and the amount of good done by the institution is incalculable.

The Pitts Street Chapel was erected in 1826, by a number of gentlemen forming an “Association for Religious Improvement,” the object being to obtain the services of Christian ministers of every denomination in turn, to give free religious instruction to 352 the poor. The sum of 6,000 dollars was raised for this purpose, and a commodious chapel built, in which religious services are performed gratuitously by ministers of all the Christian denominations; and it is always well attended. Attached to it are two rooms for a Sunday school, and a parish library; the Howard Sunday school held in this place has nearly 400 scholars, who regularly attend it; so that both instruction and religious worship are here obtained and enjoyed by a large portion of the community, “without money and without price.”

The Marlborough Chapel is another capacious and beautiful edifice, recently erected in the great thoroughfare of Washington Street, on the model of the Broadway Tabernacle in New York, and, like it, a “free church,” in which service is performed every Sabbath, open to all, without cost; as the pews are not the property of any individuals, nor is any rent paid for them. The expenses of the chapel are defrayed by the rental of the building for public meetings, for which it is admirably adapted; and, like our Exeter Hall in London, it is used for public assemblies, anniversaries, and miscellaneous meetings, connected chiefly with moral, philanthropic, and benevolent objects.

Attached to this is a Temperance Hotel, which is considered one of the most comfortable and best regulated establishments of the kind in America, it being conducted on the principle of total abstinence from all intoxicating drinks, so that neither wine, beer, nor spirits are supplied in it; and tobacco is equally excluded. The cleanliness and purity of such a house, compared with the atmosphere of hotels in 353 general, may easily be conceived. It is well frequented by travellers and visiters of the first respectability; and the Marlborough Chapel is also in constant use for meetings connected with temperance, slaveemancipation, objects of general benevolence and peace, and all that harmonizes with sound morality and religion.

The Churches of Boston, like those of every other city or town that we had yet visited in America, are remarkable for the uniform combination of external and internal elegance, ample space, great comfort, perfect repair, good means of warmth and ventilation; and the total absence of anything like neglect, or insufficiency of funds or materials. In all of them, the music and singing is much better than in the churches and chapels of England, excepting only the cathedral and collegiate choirs. The ministers, too, as a body, are better educated, more competent, and stand higher in the general estimation of their followers. Their sermons are almost uniformly written, (excepting among the Methodists and a few of the Baptists,) and are prepared with great care. There is an absence generally of that zeal and fervour of eloquence, which extemporaneous preaching can, perhaps, alone produce; but there is a freedom also from many of the imperfections almost inseparable from unstudied extemporaneous effusions. In most of the churches there are three services in the day; in all there are two; and whatever may be the state of the weather, the churches are almost always filled.

CHAP. XIX.

Benevolent societies—General hospital—Institution for the education of the blind—Humane society and Howard benevolent society—Asylum for indigent boys, and farm schools—Institutions for orphans and widows—Boston port society—Sailor's home—Bethel union, for protecting sailors' rights—British and Irish charitable societies—Cultivation of music—Lyceums, libraries, and debating clubs—Society for promoting arts and manufactures —Massachusetts peace society—Sabbath school, Bible, and Missionary associations—Religious statistics of America and Scotland.

The benevolent societies of Boston are almost as numerous as the churches, and all are freely and amply sustained. The religion of America shows itself in the erection and support of institutions for the great purposes of humanity in a more powerful manner than that of any other country in the world, and speaks volumes in favour of the voluntary

system. It may be well first to present a list of them, and, then add some descriptions of such as require it:—

Massachusetts General Hospital.

Asylum for the Insane.

Marine Hospital.

Quarantine Hospital.

Lying-in Hospital.

Institution for the Blind.

Eye and Ear Infirmary.

Boston Dispensary.

Humane Society.

Charitable Fire Society.

Howard Benevolent Society.

Charitable Mechanic's Associat.

Asylum for Indigent Boys.

Penitent Female Refuge.

Female Orphan Asylum.

Children's Friend Society.

Boston Port Society.

British Charitable Society.

Charitable Irish Society.

Charitable Congregational Soc.

Massachusetts Charitable Soc.

Episcopal Charitable Society.

Boston Seaman's Society.

Scott's Charitable Society.

Boston Female Society.

Young Men's Benevolent Society

Female Philanthropic Society.

Fatherless and Widow's Society.

Female Samaritan Society.

All these Institutions are for works of pure benevolence; to afford relief to sufferers, of whatever class or nation, and to do it freely, without cost to those who are relieved. They are all excellent of their kind, and are all liberally supported and ably administered by their respective directors. The General Hospital is inferior to none in the country for its size, accommodation, air, food, cleanliness, and medical skill; in all of which it equals the Pennsylvania Hospital in Philadelphia, and higher praise cannot be bestowed on it than this. The Asylum for the Insane is a noble building, at a short distance from the city, in a

beautiful, as well as healthy situation; and every thing about it reminded us, during our visit to its various wards, and conversation with its inmates, of the splendid Hospital of Bloomingdale, in New York, and anything more perfect than that, of its kind, it is really difficult to imagine.

At the Institution for the Blind, we witnessed a most gratifying exhibition of the progress of the pupils, previous to their breaking up for their short vacation. Their proficiency in almost every branch in which they were examined was astonishing—in history, geography, mathematics, moral philosophy, logic, languages, but, above all, in vocal and instrumental 356 music. We were accompanied in thii visit by the accomplished Madame Caradori Allen, who, at the request of the examiners, proposed to the blind pupils, some questions on the theory of music, formation of chords, resolutions of keys, modulation, &c.; and their answers both surprised and delighted her. In return for the pleasure she enjoyed at their hands, she kindly played and sang to them two or three delicious airs, and the children were enraptured. I took the opportunity also, on my part, to extend to the whole number of teachers and pupils a free admission to my two courses of lectures on Egypt and Palestine; and I had the satisfaction to find, by subsequent examination of them, that scarcely a word was lost by them; and that their memories had retained the most important points of all the lectures of the course. The gentleman who conducts this establishment is Dr. Howe, a genuine philanthropist, and so fitted, by skill, gentleness, generosity, and enthusiasm, for the task, that the globe might be ransacked before a better could be found. His pupils venerate him as a master, and love him as a friend; and his assistants, being persons of his own choice, are all, more or less, mirrors that reflect, to a great extent, his own peculiar excellencies.

The Boston Humane Society, is for careful treatment and recovery of persons who are wounded, or whose lives are endangered by injuries received in any manner whatever; and the Charitable Fire-Society directs its attention to the care of those unhappy individuals who are burnt out of their homes, and thrown, as they often are, destitute on the world; as well as the reward of those who discover the 357 best modes for

extinguishing fires, or who prevent them from becoming destructive, by their vigilance and courage in the hour of need. By the operations of these two Societies, many valuable lives are saved; much property is also secured from destruction, and a great deal of personal suffering alleviated.

The Howard Benevolent Society occupies itself in searching out, and ministering to, the wants of the sick and infirm, more especially of that class of their fellow-citizens who, not being connected with any of the religious societies, are in no way benefitted by the provisions made in most of them for the relief of their poor. The Asylum for Indigent Boys takes the destitute of this class, and especially orphans, under its care, and brings them up to the knowledge of some art or trade by which they may obtain an honest livelihood; and when they have attained a certain age, they are apprenticed out, to complete their preparation for making their own way through the world.

The Farm School has been recently added to this Institution, seated on one of the small islands of the bay of Boston, called Thomson's island; so that agricultural occupation is furnished to many, and the most satisfactory results are produced. In addition to these two, the Boston Children's Friend Society pursues an equally benevolent though somewhat different object, which is to rescue from want and degradation, poor children, whose parents, from extreme poverty, indolence, or intemperance, so entirely neglect them as to render their situation pitiable. It also takes care of children, to enable their parents the better able to work for their own maintenance. The published report on the state of 358 this Institution says, its internal arrangements and the management of the children, is such as to make it like a well-regulated family of brothers and sisters; they are provided with decent and comfortable clothing, with wholesome and sufficient food, and comfortable lodging, as well as medical attendance when needed; and they are instructed in all the branches of learning taught in the common schools.

The Female Orphan Asylum is devoted to the care and protection of female orphans and destitute female children; and the Female Philanthropic Society, and Female Samaritan

Society extend their operations towards benefiting the distressed of adult age among their own sex; while the Female Fatherless and Widow Society, embracing both, extends its aid to all who come within either of the classes named.

The Boston Port Society, and the Boston Seaman's Society, take care of the interests of the maritime class, and a vast amount of good is done by their exertions. A boarding-house, called “The Sailor's Home,” has been fitted up for the reception of the crews of ships as they arrive from long voyages, in which ample accommodation and comfortable board is provided at the bare cost of the materials used; good beds, an excellent table, a general sitting-room, a library and reading-room, medical attendance, and every domestic enjoyment, being provided at the moderate rate of three dollars, or about twelve shillings sterling, per week. The seamen's clothes are taken care of, and repaired and put in order for the next voyage; their wages secured in a savings' bank, and the interest drawn as required; and the most friendly advice is given to them, by the Superintendent of the 359 establishment, himself for many years a sea-captain, and thoroughly competent to treat them as brothers and friends. The house forms in itself a Temperance-hotel, as no intoxicating drinks are either sold, or permitted to be brought into it, or used by any of the inmates.

A Nautical School is attached to this institution, in which young seamen are instructed in writing, arithmetic, and practical navigation. A Seaman's Aid Society also belongs to it; and the object of this branch is to furnish to seamen, the best description of clothes used by them, at mere cost of materials and labour; as well as to employ in the making of them, the wives and daughters of seamen, who receive adequate wages, instead of the miserable pay they get from the usual venders of clothing; and besides good wages, the young girls receive a gratuitous education also.

In addition to all these, is another co-operating society called the Bethel Union, composed chiefly of the former captains and officers of ships, who constitute a standing committee from their own number, to hear cases of complaint on the part of seamen, of injustice

or harsh treatment from their commanders; to adjust, if it be possible, without recourse to expensive litigation, such disputes as may have arisen between masters and owners of ships, and the crews they employ; or if this be found impracticable, then to protect the seamen's rights, and procure for them the redress they need, at the expense of the Society's funds.

While all these institutions extend their protection and benevolence chiefly, tho' not exclusively, towards the native citizens of the United States, the British and the Irish Charitable Societies take special care 360 of their respective countrymen. The following statement of the origin, object, and operation of these societies cannot fail to be read with interest by every Briton, as well as by all who love their country, and care for their countrymen, to whatever nation they may belong.

A few Englishmen, mostly strangers to each other, but influenced by similar feelings of compassion for their unfortunate countrymen in distress, established the British Charitable Society in 1816. Its avowed object was to receive, on their arrival, and to advise as to their best mode of future proceeding, all the emigrants who might reach this country from the British Islands; and to assist those who, from disappointment in their expectations, failure in their enterprise, sickness, or poverty, might wish to return to their native land.

By the aid of this Society it is ascertained that nearly 1500 distressed British subjects have been relieved, and many of them raised from absolute destitution to comfort in this country, and others returned to their homes. There are about 200 members belonging to this Society, by payment of donations and annual subscriptions: and the trustees, who are appointed to examine the cases referred to them, are always provided with sufficient funds to relieve those whose cases and characters are such as to give them a fair claim to assistance.

Such are the benevolent institutions, of which I have given only a brief and imperfect sketch, for the history and operations of each would furnish materials for a large volume,

and their statistics occupy an equal space. But I shall have said enough at 361 least to establish the just claim of Boston to rank among the foremost in the list of those cities of the world, whose true glory is to be seen,—not in their gorgeous palaces, or sumptuous mansions,—not in their costly banquets, or crowded theatres,—not in their brilliant equipages, or warlike trophies;—but in the brighter and more enduring lustre of Benevolent Institutions, for the relief of suffering humanity, and the administration of comfort and consolation to the dejected poor.

To this catalogue, honourable as it is to the character of the people of Boston, should in justice be added, those also, which, though not within the class of charitable or humane associations, are yet promotive of benevolent and important objects, and among these are the following. The American Education Society, for the promotion, improvement, and extension of the best plans of Education in every branch of useful learning.—The Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge.—The Boston Society, for the Moral and Religious instruction of the poor.—The Boston Mechanic's Institution—The New England Society for the promotion of Manufactures and the Mechanical Arts—The Young Men's Society, for the propagation of Literature and Science—The Massachusetts Lyceum—The Mechanic's—Lyceum—The Social Lyceum—The American Tract Society—The Boston Lyceum—The Boston Young Men's Society —The Prison Discipline Society—The Boston Debating Society—The Franklin Debating Society —The Boston Academy of Music—The Handel and Haydn Society—The Society for the Suppression of Intemperance—The Massachusetts Peace Society— 362 The Massachusetts Sabbath School Union—Several Bible and Missionary Societies, for the promotion of Religion at Home and Abroad.

When it is considered that all these Institutions for the support of religion, the exercise of benevolence, and the diffusion of knowledge, are sustained purely and entirely upon the voluntary principle, it is impossible not to be struck with its superior efficacy, as compared with the fruits of any system of compulsory support, especially for religion, in any country whatever. The statistics on the subject of population, churches, ministers, and communicants so carefully compiled and clearly arranged by Drs. Reed and Matheson,

in their recent work, giving the result of their mission as a deputation to the American churches from the Congregational Union of England and Wales, is so decisive of the superiority of the voluntary principle, that they deserve to be repeated in every possible way; and from these I select the following statements, as peculiarly worthy of notice, and as having borne the test of very careful and repeated examination.

States. Population. Churches. Ministers. Communicants. Massachusetts 610,014 600 704 73,264 New York 1,913,508 1,800 1,750 184,583 Pennsylvania 1,347,672 1,829 1,133 180,205 Tennessee 684,000 630 458 60,000 Ohio 937,000 802 841 76,460 Indiana 341,000 440 340 34,806

The three first of these States are among the earliest settled, and best supplied with the means of religious instruction, in America; and Scotland is believed to be the portion of Great Britain best provided 363 with churches and ministers in proportion to her population, The comparison of these with each other will, therefore, be the fairest test of the effect of the two systems.

Countries. Population. Churches. Ministers. Communicants. 3 Atlantic States 3,871,194 4229 3587 438,052. All Scotland 2,365,807 1804 1765 Uncertain. 3 Interior States 1,862,000 1872 1639 171,266

The result of this comparison shows, that while in the three Atlantic States of America there is one church for every 917 persons—in Scotland there is only one church for every 1312 persons; and while in America there is one minister for every 1082 persons—in Scotland there is only one minister for every 1346 persons.

If a comparison be made between the three interior States—though these have been so much more recently peopled, that they are yet in their infancy—and Scotland, it will still be advantageous to this country: for while in Scotland there is one church for every 1812 persons—in the three interior States of America there is one church to every 995 persons; and while in Scotland there is one minister to every 1346—in these States there is one to every 1135 of the population; and this, too, notwithstanding the manner in which the population is scattered over nearly three times the surface of Scotland; Tennessee being

still almost in a state of forest and recently-cleared plantations and fields; Ohio covering a surface of 40,000 square miles, nearly equal in area to England exclusive of Wales; and Indiana scarcely yet emerged from the very first stage of settlement and civilization.

364

The most striking light of all, however, in which this question can be put, is to take the whole of the ten States which have been last added to the Union, and are consequently most recently peopled and organized; namely Kentucky Tennessee, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Alabama, Mississippi, Missouri, Louisiana, and Florida. These States cover an area of 480,670 square miles, and are about *nine* times the size of England and Wales; and, according to the latest and most authentic returns, the statistics of their religious establishments are as follows:—

Countries. Population. Churches. Ministers. Communicants. Ten newest States 818,641,000 3701 2690 286,560 Scotland 2,365,807 1804 1765 Uncertain

The result of this comparison gives to these States one church to every 984 persons—while in Scotland there is only one to every 1312; and it gives to these States one minister to every 1353 persons—while in Scotland there is one to every 1346. When it is taken into consideration that Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dundee, and Aberdeen, concentrate, in their respective circles, a larger population than either of these ten States named, in neither of which is there any town of the size of those mentioned, this comparison is even still more favourable to the new than to the older States, with all those great advantages by which time has contributed to surround them.

A comparison of some of the cities of the three countries, England, Scotland, and the United States, may appropriately complete this examination; and they shall be placed in juxtaposition for the greater ease of seeing their differences:—

365 Cities. Population. Churches. Ministers. Communications. Liverpool 210,000 57 57 18,000 New York 280,000 132 142 31,000 Edinburgh 150,000 65 70 Uncertain Philadelphia 200,000 93 137 Uncertain Glasgow 220,000 74 76 Uncertain Boston 80,000 70 80 Uncertain Nottingham 50,000 23 23 4,864 Cincinnati 30,000 24 22 8,555

The contrast between each of these cities, taken in pairs, is most striking, but in none is it more striking than in the two last, in which it is seen that Cincinnati, a city not yet 50 years old, and the site of which was a dense forest in the memory of many of its inhabitants, has now, with little more than half the population of Nottingham, as many ministers and churches, and nearly twice the number of communicants, that is possessed by this opulent and long-established manufacturing town of England.

The aggregate of all the States in the Union gives the following results:—

Population 13,000,000

Communicants 1,550,890

Churches 12,580

Ministers 11,450

making about one in nine of the whole population, in a state of communion with some church; and by this is not meant mere attendance on worship, however regular, but strict membership, by partaking of the most solemn ordinances of religion, and belonging by the strictest union to the body constituting the church. It gives, also, about one church and one minister to every 1000 of the population; both of which results are undoubtedly much higher than that of any other country with which America can be compared.

366

There is only one other comparison necessary as the fit and becoming accompaniment to this, which is the proportion of persons out of the whole population receiving education at schools. In the United States it is one in five; in Scotland one in ten; in England one in twelve; in Wales one in twenty; and in France there are 4,000,000 of children who receive no instruction whatever, and nearly half the population are unable to read or write, though

in America there are very few native-born inhabitants of either sex, who are not able to do both.

CHAP. XX.

The municipal government of the city of Boston—Police establishment —Probate and Register office—Revenue and expenditure —Theatres—Museums.

The municipal government of Boston is vested in a mayor, eight aldermen, and 48 common-councilmen —four for each of the 12 wards into which the city is divided—12 overseers of the poor, and 12 school committee-men. The charter incorporating Boston as a city, is of comparatively recent date, namely, Feb. 28, 1822; and on this charter its present municipal government is founded. The common-council composing the lower house are elected by the wards, four for each; the aldermen and the mayor, composing the upper house, are elected by all the citizens generally. Each of these have a negative in the proceedings of the other, so that it is only when the majority of both are agreed that any city ordinance can have the force of law. The mayor's salary is 2,500 dollars a year, but the aldermen and common-council-men serve gratuitously. The meetings of both houses are held in the City Hall, and nothing can surpass the 368 combination of comfort and convenience in the arrangement of the rooms for this purpose. The mayor attends at his office daily from nine till two; the sittings of the court of aldermen are held twice a week, and that of the common-council-men once a week, in the evenings. Besides the authority of regulating all the business'of the city, which is vested in the municipal government; the mayor, aldermen, and common-council-men, in their joint capacity, have the power of determining annually how many representatives the city of Boston shall send to the State legislature, and this varies from year to year-having been sometimes more than 60, and at others less than 40.

The City clerk, appointed by the mayor, has a salary of 1,400 dollars a year; and beside his ordinary duties, he is bound to publish the banns of all marriages at the First Church,

in Chauncey Place, once a week, to grant certificates of such publication, and to receive and pay into the City treasury the fee for all such banns, which is 75 cents, or about three shillings sterling. The City and County treasurer has 3,000 dollars a year, but gives bonds to the amount of 60,000 for the faithful performance of his duty.

The City-marshal and his assistant receive jointly 1,500 dollars a year. It is their duty to superintend the police and the health of the town, for which purpose they are bound to go personally through every street and lane at least once a week, to see all nuisances removed, and the health regulations enforced; To assist them in the performance of this duty, a book is, kept open at the City Hall, in which any citizen may enter what he deems a nuisance, or suggest what he 369 thinks would be an improvement, which is sure to be brought before the marshal's notice.

There is, besides these, a superintendent of common sewers and drains, who attends exclusively to this department, at a salary of 1,000 dollars a year; a superintendent of streets, who has charge of every thing relating to the scavengers' department, at a salary of 1,000 dollars, a year; and a superintendent of burial-grounds, to whom everything connected with interments, and the preservation of the graves and vaults, is confided, at a salary of 1,000 dollars a year. A City physican is also appointed, whose duty it is to superintend the quarantine of vessels arriving from sickly stations abroad, and to provide against the spread of contagious diseases on shore. He attends the Health-office in the City Hall, once a week to vaccinate gratuitously all children brought to him, and grant certificates of such vaccination, without which, no child is allowed to enter any of the public schools.

Three justices of police, at salaries of 1,500 dollars each, with one clerk at 1,400 dollars, and another at 800 dollars per annum, conduct the business of the police, court; and have at their disposal a captain of the watch, at 800 dollars per anuum, who superintends a night patrol, from 10 o'clock till daylight; and 25 constables for day-duty only. The judge of the municipal court, at a salary of 1,400 dollars a year, presides over this court, in which

are tried all persons indicted by the grand jury of the county of Suffolk, in which Boston is placed, for offences not punishable with death; and one of the justices of the police court presides there over trials of civil causes 370 not involving a larger sum than 20 dollars in dispute.

There is also a probate-office for wills, in which are preserved the most perfect records of the genealogy of nearly all the families descended from the first pilgrim settlers of the country, and a register office for deeds; with all the requisite establishments of legal and financial officers, in the City solicitor, City auditor, assessors, &c., so that the municipal government may be said to be very complete, having every useful and no superfluous offices—all its members well paid, but none extravagantly rewarded; and their duties, consequently, well performed.

The annual revenue of the city for the year ending in April, 1838, was 560,000 dollars, arising chiefly from rents of lands, leases of wharfs, markets, &c. belonging to the corporation, of which one wharf alone lets at 10,000 dollars a year. The purposes to which this revenue is applied, embrace among others the following:

Dollars.

Salaries of the Teachers in the Public Schools 85,000

Repairs, fuel, and contingent expenses of ditto 10,000

Land and buildings for Primary Schools 12,500

Paving and repairs of Streets 40,000

Widening and extending Streets 50,000

Support of the City Watch 45,000

Support of the Fire Department 25,000

Internal and external Health Department 30,000

Support of the Poor and House of Industry 20,000

Courts, Jails, and House of Correction 30,000

The markets of Boston are excellent, and well provided with every requisite of animal and vegetable food, as well as fruits, in great variety in their 371 respective seasons. The most prominent of the public markets is that running from Faneuil Hall to the sea, called Quincy Market. Its length is 530 feet, and its breadth 65. The ground floor is devoted to the market; and above it are four ranges of stores, with granite fronts to each street, one of these streets being 65 feet, and the other 102 feet wide. In the centre of the entire range is a fine dome, and at either end is a portico and pediment; making in the whole one of the finest public markets in this country, and not surpassed in elegance and convenience by any that I remember elsewhere.

The public places of amusement in Boston are fewer than in most cities of the same extent of population, either in America or Europe; arising, no doubt, from the influence of the early manners and habits of the settlers, as being unfavourable to mere 372 entertainment without instruction. The first attempt to establish a theatre in Boston was made in 1750; but this failed, and was immediately succeeded by a law of the province, prohibiting theatrical performances under severe penalties. During the siege of Boston, in 1775, by the American revolutionists, the British occupants and soldiery entertained themselves with theatrical amusements in Faneuil Hall; but nothing was afterwards attempted till 1789. This also failed; and, in 1792, the performance of plays was surreptitiously introduced, under the title of “moral lectures.”

The success that attended this, led at length to the building of the first Boston theatre, which was first opened in 1794. It passed through a great variety of hands, in almost all of which it incurred a loss, and was ultimately sold to a musical association, who fitted it up for concerts, under the name of the “Odeon.” This building is now used for concerts, lectures, and public worship, all the theatrical appendages being removed, and a fine organ and well-arranged orchestra occupying the place of the stage. The interior of the house is fitted up with the greatest comfort, and the whole forms one of the most commodious and elegant of all the public rooms for music or lectures in Boston.

There are now, however, four theatres in the city, and all of them in occupation at present. The Tremont is the largest, most expensive, and most fashionable. It is little inferior in size or elegance to Drury Lane or Covent Garden in London; but, except when some prominent actor or actress is engaged, it is but thinly attended. The National 373 Theatre is as large as the Tremont; but, it is more frequented by the middle classes, and resembles in most respects the minor theatres in London. The Lion Theatre was opened for equestrian exercises, and ranked with Astley's Amphitheatre at home. It has been occasionally used for melo-dramatic performances; but, like the first theatre of Boston, converted into the Odeon, the Lion is about to be transformed into a lecture-room, for which there is a greater demand than for theatres.

It is undoubtedly true, though the fact has been questioned in England, that the taste for theatrical entertainments does not exist among the generality of Americans. It has been asked, how it is possible to reconcile this with the fact that so many actors and actresses from England have made fortunes in the country? The answer is this. There is a great desire, among all classes in this country, to hear and see everything that is new, especially if it has had any celebrity in England; for with all the jealousy that is felt of foreign superiority, and this is not a little, there is a great deference to English taste, and a desire on the part of every one to *test* this, by examining for themselves, the performances of all those who come to America with a high character for excellence

at home. Accordingly, almost every one goes to see the new actor, or hear the new singer, for *once* ; and this, repeated, in every one of the large cities of the country, will accumulate a fortune for any one; but the second visit.of the actor or singer is rarely, or ever, successful; and a *new* person of much less talent, will draw larger houses, than one already seen or heard, who might come again.

374

It is thus, that each new actor is almost sure of a good reception; for, however mediocre their talents, they are sure to be seen once; and this is enough. Few retain their success for any length of time; and even when their own native favourite actor, Mr. Forrest, plays, he is rarely engaged for more than three or four nights at a time in any one city; after which he removes to some other. The resident families, even then, are not frequenters of the theatre or the concert to any great extent. It is the strangers and visitors in the city, who furnish the audiences; and when it is remembered that there are hardly ever less than 50,000 foreigners and strangers in New York; and that 125 stage-coaches, railroad-cars, steam-boats, and other public conveyances, arrive in Boston every day; there will be found, in these, more than sufficient to form the largest audiences that the theatres contain; and these, probably, only frequent them because they are from home, and have neither the inducements of domestic comfort, nor the fears of public opinion, to keep them away.

The first Museum in Boston was opened in the year 1791. Like most of the infant museums scattered through the country towns of America at present, it consisted of a few wax figures, and some curiosities in nature and art. It was entirely destroyed by fire in 1803. Another was erected in 1806, five stories high, and soon began to fill; but in 1807, this also was destroyed by fire, with all its contents. A third was erected on the same spot, and opened in the same year; but in 1825 it was sold for 5,000 dollars to a new body of proprietors, who established the New England Museum, 375 which is the one now existing, and was opened in 1818. This, too, was extensively injured by fire in 1832; and though it has received many additions since then, and its collection of curiosities is large,

it is deficient in scientific arrangement and good taste. Like all the other Museums we had yet seen in the country, it is regarded more as a place of amusement, than a repository of specimens of the various productions of nature in her several kingdoms; and all its arrangements are made to conduce rather to entertainment, than to scientific information. It is made indeed a matter of profit, the admission of visitors being paid for, at 25 cents each; and whatever is most likely to attract the greatest number of visitors, is therefore sought out for the Museum.

Though fires seem to have so often committed their ravages on the Boston Museum, we were struck with the fact, that this was the only city in the United States in which we had been residing for so long a time without seeing or hearing of a fire. I had at first thought we were in a peculiarly fortunate quarter of the town, and that fires might have happened in other streets without our seeing or hearing of them, until I met with the following paragraph, in which this fact was announced as a wonder, in the following terms: —

“ No Fires in October! —During the month of October, which ended yesterday, our citizens have been remarkably favoured in their exemption from fires— *not one* having occurred, which was not extinguished without the aid of the Fire Department, and *but one* in which the Department was alarmed. The following is a comparison of the number of fires, alarms, &c., in the same month, in this, and the two preceding years:— 376

Oct. 1836, Fire Alarms 9—Fires in the city 3—Out of the city 2

Oct. 1837, Fire Alarms 6—Fires in the city 2—Out of the city 1

Oct. 1838, Fire Alarms 1—Fires in the city 0—Out of the city 0

There are three principal causes of this change and improvement; one is, the greater substantiality of all the new buildings, the gradual disappearance of wooden, and the substitution of stone and brick edifices; another is, the great decrease of intemperance

among servants and others, from whose carelessness many of the fires of former days arose; and a third is, the excellence of the municipal arrangements of watch and police, and the promptness of the fire departments; by all of which, a great mass of property and many lives are annually saved from destruction.

CHAP. XXI.

Commerce and manufactures—Shipping compared with New York —Bay and harbour of Boston—Navy Yard—Dry dock and ropewalk—Ships of war, the Ohio and Columbus—Statistics of the American navy—Efficiency of their ships, officers, and crews —Causes of this, as compared with the British navy—Number and classes of American naval officers—Total annual expense of the American navy.

The manufactures and commerce of Massachusetts have been spoken of, in describing the revenues of the State. The commerce of Boston is not so extensive nor so varied as that of New York; but its merchants are more substantially opulent, and its operations are on a larger and more comprehensive scale. The trade with India and China is either carried on direct from Boston and Salem, or the capital for conducting it is furnished from thence, though the ships may nominally sail from and arrive at New York. Many ships are engaged in the whale-fisheries from this port; and the Pacific Islands, and the west coast of South America, are frequently visited by Boston vessels. There are no sailing packets from hence to London;* and only an occasional ship to that port, or to Liverpool—New York possessing almost the monopoly of trade to these ports, from her great natural advantages. The ships of Boston,

* The Cunard line of steam packets has been since established.

378 though not so numerous as those of New York, are large, substantial, and handsome vessels; and, like all American merchant ships, are abundantly well fitted in every thing necessary to their safety, at anchor or at sea. Their crews are also composed of an adequate number of able seamen, at good wages; and the ships are consequently kept

in the best possible order and repair. In all these respects, as well as in that of uniting in their beautiful models, the three qualities of good stowage, fast sailing, and riding well in a gale, they are decidedly superior to the average run of British vessels of the same class; consequently they make better voyages, and return larger profits to their owners, officers, and crews.

An estimate may be formed of the comparative extent of ship-building and commerce in New York and Massachusetts, by the statement of the commerce of the two States, and the number and class of vessels built in each, in the year ending 1837, which was as follows:—

Imports and Exports of New York State 28,920,638 dollars.

Imports and Exports of Massachusetts 10,380,346

The commerce of Massachusetts is scarcely therefore more than one-third of the amount of the commerce of New York; because New York carries on the commerce of nearly all the interior States of the south and west, as well as her own. In ship-building, however, Massachusetts has the superiority over New York, though both fall short of the State of Maine. The returns for 1837 give the following results:—

Ships. Tonnage. Total of the State of Maine 30 27,022 Total of the State of Massachusetts 34 22,273 Total of the State of New York 24 19,924 379

The reason of this difference is, that in Maine and Massachusetts, ships and smaller craft are built for other ports besides their own; though these require a considerable supply, especially Portland, Portsmouth, Newburyport, Salem, Marblehead, Boston, and Plymouth, all of which have ships engaged in distant voyages, as well as in the coasting trade and fisheries, to a great extent.

The bay and harbour of Boston are among the finest in the world. The bay contains about 75 square miles of space, with upwards of 100 islands and rocks above water, to vary

the aspect of its surface, and to protect the shipping within, by acting as breakwaters against the force of the Atlantic sea. It receives into its waters four rivers; the Charles, the Neponset, the Mystic, and the Manniticut, besides other smaller streams. The harbour, which is at the extremity of this bay, is capable of containing, at anchor, and alongside the wharfs, at least 1000 ships, without inconvenience to any from want of room; and there is abundant draft of water for the largest vessels, as line-of-battle ships pass up with ease to the Navy Yard, which is beyond the portion of the harbour occupied by the merchant ships and coasting vessels.

The Navy-yard is situated at Charlestown, one of the many suburbs of Boston, though first settled in 1630 by Governor Winthrop's Company, before Boston was founded. It has at present 8,500 inhabitants, and 10 places of public worship, a spacious market, an almshouse, three banks, and many other public edificies, so that it is a large town in itself, but is only regarded as a suburb of Boston. 380 The Navy-yard here occupies about 60 acres of area; and as Charlestown is seated on a neck of land, or peninsula, like Boston itself, the Navy-yard is placed at its extremity. It is thus surrounded on three of its sides by water, and on the fourth by land, where it is enclosed with a fine granite wall, inside and abutting upon which are most of the storehouses and magazines connected with the establishment, as well as a fine mansion and gardens for the residence of the naval officer in command, as superintendent of the whole.

In our visit to the Navy-yard, we had the pleasure to be accompanied by this officer, Commodore Downes, who, with great courtesy and kindness, accompanied us personally over the whole of the works, as well as on board the ships of war then lying there to refit. One of the finest dry-docks in the world is contained in this Navy-yard. It is built entirely of hewn granite, executed in the best style of masonry. The dock is 341 feet in length, 80 in breadth, and 30 in depth, and is consequently large enough to receive the largest ship in the British or American navy. There are two sets of moving gates at the entrance, which is 60 feet across, each of which gates weighs 50 tons. Outside there is a floating gate, built like an ordinary vessel, 60 feet long, 15 feet wide, and 30 feet high, weighing

about 300 tons, and requiring 19 feet water to float it. This floating gate contains timber enough to build a ship of 400 tons burden, and from three to four thousand dollars worth of copper sheathing and bolts have been used on it. The turning gates at high-water sustain a pressure equal to 800 tons; and the dock itself is 381 emptied of its water, when required to be made dry, by means of an hydraulic apparatus, worked by a steam-engine of 60-horse power, which discharges 12 hogsheads at every stroke of the pumps, and completely exhausts the dock in a few hours.

The rope-walk of the Navy-yard is one of the finest I ever remember to have seen. It is nearly half a mile in length, two stories in height; it is built entirely of the same beautiful granite as that used in the construction of the dry-dock, and is roofed with iron and slate. The window-shutters are all eased with iron, and the whole is rendered fire-proof. Some very recent and excellent improvements have been introduced into the machinery here, by a native American engineer, Mr. Treadwell, by which a steam-engine at one end of the building is made to furnish the requisite power for performing all the operations for rope-making, with very little aid from the labour of men, from the first combing of the hemp, and spinning it into threads, to the tarring and twisting the yarn, and the winding of the whole into the hawser or the cable required.

I had seen some of the best rope-walks in England, both in the royal dock-yards, and in the private establishments of London, and other ports; but I remember nothing equal to this of Boston, either in the beauty and perfection of the building and the machinery, or the admirable uniformity of strain in every strand and every fibre in the rope produced; or the finished roundness, smoothness, and flexibility of the largest hawsers and cables, of which several were submitted to our examination, both in progress and completed.

382

The large sheds used in the dock-yards of England, to cover ships while building, are also used here; and at the present moment there were three of such buildings, covering two frigates and a line-of-battle ship now constructing beneath them. Two noble vessels, of the

latter class, lay alongside the yard, there being water enough for the largest ships to lie close to the wharves at low-water springtides, and never touch the ground. These ships were the Columbus and the Ohio, both fitting out for foreign stations; and these we were invited to inspect. The Ohio was built in New York, in 1820; the Columbus in Washington, in 1819. They are both called 74's, but, like our own ships of war of the same class, they carry more guns than they are rated at. The Ohio has 54 feet beam, and is nearly 7 feet high between decks. Both carry about 86 guns, 48-pounders on the main and lower deck, and 24-pounders on the quarter deck and forecastle. Every thing about them was on a larger scale than in our English 74's; and their crews, especially, more numerous and more efficient; 800 men and boys being the complement of either, besides the officers. The men being all obtained by voluntary enlistment, enables the commanders to choose only efficient hands; and their crews are, therefore, all picked men. The boys are, by a recent law of Congress, apprenticed for a term of years, with their own consent and that of their parents, to the navy; and are taken great care of in their training.

We were shown the school-room of the Columbus, in an enclosure on the main deck, close to the bows, and underneath the forecastle, where about 50 383 of these boys were receiving instruction, in reading and writing, from their masters. The discipline is quite as strict as in the English Navy; but as impressment is never resorted to, to procure men, there is no necessity for that restraint on their intercourse with the shore, which is imposed by the fear of their desertion; for, in general, they are so much more comfortable in the ships of war than in merchant vessels, from receiving as good pay and provisions, with less hard work, and better accommodations for sleeping, with the advantage of medical attendance when needing it—that it is rather a privilege to get a berth in a ship of the Navy, where none but the best men are received; and the discharge of a dissatisfied seaman is often sufficient punishment, as there are never wanting candidates ready to fill his place.

The American navy comprises at present, 1 three-decker of 120 guns, the Pennsylvania, built at Philadelphia, and said to be the largest ship in the world, capable of mounting 150

guns, though rated at only 120, and probably carrying no more at present; 11 two-deckers rated as 74's, though all capable of carrying from 80 to 90 guns each; 18 frigates, of 64, 44, and 36 guns respectively; 16 sloops, of 24 and 18 guns each; and 10 schooners, of 12 and 10 guns each —making altogether only 56 vessels of every class; and yet, small as it is, in the number of its ships, its efficiency is so great, and the skill of its officers and seamen so conspicuous, that it is superior in actual force to any other navy in the world, except that of Great Britain, and would not shrink, single-handed, from a contest with it, gun for gun, and man for man, with a great probability of being the victor.

384

This is easily accounted for, without supposing the American officers or seamen to be at all more brave than the British, which I do not believe they are, and which even the Americans themselves would hardly pretend to say. It is enough to admit, that in point of courage, there is no difference between the Anglo-Saxon race of England, and their descendants in the United States: but admitting them to be equal in this respect, the Americans have a great advantage over us in every other particular.

In the first place, their ships of each class are larger, more roomy for action, more airy for health, and much greater attention is paid in them to the accommodation and comfort of the seamen, than in English ships of war. In the second place, their ships are more amply fitted, and supplied, in every description of naval stores. There is no stinting, as in the British navy, of rope, canvass, spars, plank, blocks, tar, paint, and every other requisite for immediate and complete repair of every thing requiring it. In the third place, their officers are all thorough-bred seamen, rocked on the ocean from their boyhood, and attaining to their respective ranks only by hard service and distinguished merit, regulated also by seniority; while in the British navy, sons of the aristocracy mount up with rapidity from midshipmen to post captains, often without seeing any service to give them experience, while lieutenants, over whose heads they walk in promotion, remain unhonoured and neglected, whatever the length of their services or the extent of their claims as officers and seamen. In the fourth place, the crews, instead of being dragged unwillingly on board by

impressment, and there mingled with the jail-birds, as they 385 are called, the sweepings of the police-offices and prisons, with only a portion of the ship's company— are here formed of thorough-bred and efficient able seamen, which compose the entire crews of the American navy, got together by the inducements of good pay, good provisions, good treatment, and liberty to leave the service or renew their engagements at the end of the three years for which they first entered.

The American navy, efficient as it is in the excellence of its ships, is not overburdened, like the English navy, with hosts of superfluous officers. Instead of having at the rate of one admiral for every ship in commission, it has no admirals at all; and of the rank which corresponds to this in their navy, namely, commodores, there is only one to each station in which they may actually have a squadron; while the rest of the officers are just in proportion to the numbers required for their ships, and no more. The list for 1838 comprises the following:—

Captains 50

Masters Commandant 48

Lieutenants 296

Midshipmen 454

with a corresponding proportion of surgeons, pursers, sailing-masters and warrant-officers. The expense of the whole is less than one million sterling per annum; the actual cost in the last year, including the whole of the naval service, expenses of the navy-yards, ship-building, stores, repairs, buildings, and gradual improvements, being only 3,864,939 dollars. VOL. III 2c

CHAP. XXII.

Environs of Boston—Bunker Hill—Dimensions and cost of the Bunker Hill obelisk—Town of Chelsea and Richmond Hill— Brookline, Brighton, and Cambridge—Dorchester, Roxbury, Jamaica Plains, and Milton Hill—Beauty and advantage of these rural retreats —Mount Auburn, the Cemetery of Boston—Description of its grounds and prospects—Imposing ceremony at Consecration Dell—Citizen engaged in preparing his own grave —Comparison of Mount Auburn with Pere la Chaise—Tomb of Hannah Adams—Death, interment, and monument of Spurzheim.

The environs of Boston, among which Charlestown and the Navy Yard may be numbered, contain many other interesting objects well worthy of a traveller's inspection, and, consequently, of a brief description. Among these are the celebrated Bunker Hill and its monument; Chelsea, Cambridge, Brookline, Brighton, Dorchester, Roxbury, Milton Hill, and, though last not least, the beautiful cemetery of Mount Auburn.

Bunker Hill, the scene of the celebrated battle of June 17, 1775, during the American revolution, is situated not far from the Navy Yard, the eminence being 113 feet above the level of the harbour. It still retains some portion of the redoubts and entrenchments thrown up on that memorable occasion, though the traces of these are growing fainter every year. 387 To keep this battle-ground, however, constantly before the eyes of the American people, it was determined to erect on the hill a granite obelisk, of a sufficient size to be seen by all ships entering the harbour, and of sufficient solidity to last to the latest posterity. Having raised, by subscription, about 60,000 dollars, and being confident that if more were required the rest could be as easily obtained, the projectors of this undertaking first purchased the land on the hill, the area of which is about 15 acres, for 24,000 dollars. The foundation stone of the obelisk was then laid by the lamented General Lafayette, on the anniversary of the battle of Bunker Hill, June 17, 1825, just 50 years after the fight was won; and the attraction of the occasion and the person, combined, drew together, from all parts of the United States, the largest assembly ever seen in Boston.

The design of the obelisk was to make it 30 feet square at the base, 15 feet square at the summit from whence the sloping to a point was to commence, and 220 feet in height. On this scale it was begun, and of the 80 courses of Quincy granite, of two feet eight inches in thickness, of which the whole obelisk was to consist, 14 only were completed; by which time not only had all the funds subscribed been expended, but an additional 20,000 dollars raised by a mortgage of the land. There the work was suspended; and although the architect, Mr. Willand, generously subscribed 1,000 dollars to the fund, and offered the gratuitous devotion of three years of time to the completion of the monument, his appeal met with no responsive echo in the feelings of the citizens, and the work remains uncompleted still. During my stay 388 at Boston, a committee was formed, and another powerful appeal made to the patriotism and public spirit of the community, to raise only 30,000 dollars, for which the architect had offered to complete the work; but this appeal, like all former ones on the same subject, fell powerless to the ground, and nothing was effected by it.

The cause of this indifference is variously accounted for. Some attribute it to the growth of the conservative spirit, which looks with dislike and distrust to all revolutionary principles, and commemoration of revolutionary actions; others attribute it to the growing objections to all war and warlike monuments, from the influence of the Peace Societies. Some think that the prudent and economical are unwilling to spend their money on that which will yield no interest or profitable return; and others again attribute it to the fickleness of the American character, which is apt to be strongly excited by sudden impulses of feeling, and as apt to sink into the opposite state of stupor and lethargy, when the excitement is over; a state from which it is difficult to arouse them, except by producing a new excitement on an entirely new subject.*

* Since this was written, a ladies' bazaar has been held, by which a large sum was raised towards its completion; to which Mademoiselle Celeste, a celebrated public dancer, contributed 1000 dollars.

An amusing instance is given in the printed descriptions of this monument, of the national vanity of making the most of everything produced in America, by comparison with the monuments of other countries. For instance, it is said that this monument when finished “will be the highest of the kind 389 in the world, and only below the height of the Egyptian pyramids!” to which it is added, “the whole quantity of stone necessary for this work, is 6,700 tons.” Now, besides the height of at least a dozen of the spires of Gothic cathedrals in Europe exceeding 220 feet, and several above 300, to say nothing of the dome of St. Paul's in London, and of St. Peter's at Rome, both above 400; and the Egyptian pyramid above 600, or nearly three times as high as the obelisk on Bunker Hill; the difference in bulk is much more striking; for while the number of tons of stone in the Bunker Hill Monument would be only 6,700, the tons of stone in the great Pyramid of Egypt exceed 6,000,000: the comparison is therefore unfortunate, as it would take 895 Bunker Hill Monuments to make one such pyramid as that of Cheops at Memphis.

The town of Chelsea, though incorporated in 1788 as a separate town, was formerly considered to be a part of Boston; and is still regarded as one of its suburbs, the communication with it being through Charlestown already described. It is about three miles distant from the city, in a north-east direction, and is seated on a pleasant eminence, called Richmond Hill, the summit of which is about 220 feet above the level of the harbour. The river Mystic empties itself into Lynn Bay at this spot; and the Chelsea beach is a favourite place of resort in the summer.

The two Naval Hospitals are here, and are fine institutions, well conducted. There are a number of pretty villas and mansions scattered over the summit and sides of the hill; and the communication with 390 Boston by the Charlestown bridge and the Winnisimmet ferry in steam-boats crossing several times in the hour, makes it a convenient place of residence for persons engaged in business at Boston, and desiring to retire from the city at night.

Brookline and Brighton are two small but interesting towns, lying within a short distance of Boston and Cambridge; and Dorchester, Roxbury, and Jamaica Plains, in another direction, with Milton Hill beyond them all, form additional resources for the wealthy citizens of Boston to enjoy, within a convenient distance of from 3 to 8 miles, the pleasure of country residences, with good air, fine prospect, excellent gardens, and pleasant rides, in as great variety of perfection as in any city of Europe.

In visiting these neighbouring stations, indeed, it is impossible not to be struck with the same air of substantial comfort, mingled with neatness and elegance, which characterizes the town-dwellings of the merchants of Boston. There is no ostentatious display, no pretensions to anything beyond the station of the occupiers; but a quiet air of rural retirement, with just as much of elegance as harmonizes with the idea of abundance and comfort, but no more; and this we found, in all the houses we visited, to be as characteristic of their interior as their exterior.

The most interesting spot, however, in all the environs of Boston, varied and beautiful as they are, beyond that of any other city we had yet seen in the United States, is the Cemetery at Mount Auburn. We visited this spot in company with one of its proprietors, on a beautiful day towards the close of 391 September, while the rich foliage of autumn still clothed its woods, and when everything in nature was favourable to our seeing it to the greatest advantage: but highly as our expectations had been raised by all that we had heard of this Cemetery, they were fully realized.

The spot chosen for this purpose is at a distance of about five miles from Boston, and the road to it lies through the town of Cambridge, and by the Colleges of Harvard University. The area of the Cemetery is about 100 acres, extending from the main road, which passes by its front, to the banks of the Charles river, which runs along its rear. It was formerly known by the name of “Stone's Woods,” from the name of the original proprietor, and the

abundance and variety of its beautiful trees. It was next called “Sweet Auburn,” probably from the well-known line of Goldsmith:

“Sweet Auburn, loveliest village of the plain.”

It was purchased by the Massachusetts Horticultural Society, in 1831; and its beautifully undulated surface, its rich umbrageous woods, and its perfect seclusion and tranquillity, combining every requisite for a Cemetery, it was determined to devote it to this purpose. At the same time portions of the area were reserved for the use of the Horticultural Society, as an experimental garden; and the two objects were thus happily united without injury to either.

The principal eminence of this spot, called, by distinction, Mount Auburn, is 125 feet above the level of the river that washes the edge of the grounds; and from it, the view is extensive and beautiful, embracing as it does a fine prospect of the city of 392 Boston, with most of its suburbs, the winding river, the cultivated fields, and the blue ridge of the Milton hills in the distance; while the buildings of Cambridge University to the east, the fine Lake called Fresh Pond to the north, and the elevated lands of Watertown and Brighton, with the numerous country seats and villas scattered around, complete a picture of great extent and beauty. While all this prospect, however, may be enjoyed from the summit of the Mount, a few yards of descent will bring the visitor within the shadows of the deep forest and secluded glade, where he may be as much shut out from the visible world, as if he were a thousand miles from any habitation. One of these beautiful spots, forming a hollow and almost circular valley, surrounded with a steep rising amphitheatre of hills covered with thick wood, and a beautiful sheet of water in the centre, is called Consecration Dell, from its being the spot judiciously chosen for the public service of consecrating the ground on the 24th of September, 1831, just seven years ago, and in the same season of the year in which we now saw it.

Those who were present at that ceremony, of whom our friend and companion was one, describe it as most imposing and impressive; which may be readily conceived. Around this amphitheatre of wooded hills, were seated many thousands of the inhabitants of Boston and the surrounding neighbourhood; and in the arena below, around the margin of the Lake, were placed the principal personages who officiated in the services of the day. An eloquent and impressive address: was then delivered by Judge Storey, which made a deep impression on all who heard it; 393 and when this was followed by the singing of an Ode by Mr. Pierpont, to the music of the Old Hundredth psalm, the mingling of the thousands of voices, of all ages, and of both sexes, ascending from this hollow dell, to the blue vault of heaven above, as the pure homage of a delighted and grateful multitude to the great Creator of the Universe, was over-poweringly grand and sublime; and seemed to touch the hearts of all who witnessed this impressive scene, with a spirit of humility, devotion, reverence, and awe.*

* A copy of this Ode will be found in the Appendix.

The arrangement, or laying out of the grounds generally, is in good taste; uniting the simplicity of nature, with the order and preservation of art. The monuments hitherto erected, are not so varied in form and style, as it is desirable they should be; but though there is a little too much of formality and sameness in the separation of the several allotments of ground, and the monuments enclosed in them, there is nothing offensive from either of the extremes of ostentation or meanness; while many of the tombs are beautiful, and would be so regarded anywhere.

Each allotment contains 300 square feet, which is deemed sufficient for a family burial-place; and about 250 of these allotments have been sold at 60 dollars each; the purchasers holding the spot in fee for ever to them and their descendants. Nearly all of these are enclosed, as soon as purchased, with iron railings, of various patterns, and different degrees of costliness; and in a great many, the monuments are erected in anticipation, and inscribed 394 with the names of their future occupants, though the

parties are still living, and many of them in the prime of life. We met, indeed, during our visit to the Cemetery, one person who was engaged in the act of digging his own vault, and preparing the ground around it for enclosure. He was a farmer of the neighbourhood, who had purchased the requisite square for his family burial-ground; and having spare time at this season of the year, and being used to labour, he, came in, he said, for a few hours each day, to do this portion of the work; and when this was completed, the mason and the sculptor would do the rest.

However unusual this may seem, I am disposed to believe that it is wise and beneficial for men to familiarize themselves, more than they do, with the certainty of that death from which none can hope to be exempt; to contemplate, more frequently, the tomb to which they must all descend. There can be no good reason why death should be associated with sorrow and gloom, as it is the common practice of mankind to do. Regarded only as a release from the pains and anxieties, the sorrows and the cares, inseparable from ordinary existence, it would seem to present an acceptable asylum, “where the wicked cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest:” but regarded in the still higher and more ennobling light of a passage from mortality to immortality —from the darkness, doubt, and ignorance of mere humanity, to the light, the confidence, and the full meridian of intelligence and happiness, to which this immortality will lead the spirit, or the soul, when disencumbered of its earthly tenement— 395 it is altogether unworthy of those who regard death in this endearing and inviting point of view, to speak of its approach with regret, to associate its occurrence with mourning, or to refer to it in terms of sorrow or repining. Every thing that can wean mankind from this too general habit, should be hailed as an important improvement. I should rejoice, therefore, to see the day, when the conviction of death being a blessing rather than a curse, should become so general, as that all mention of it as an evil should be avoided—all associations of sorrow and mourning with it, be discontinued. Its arrival ought to be so calmly and placidly anticipated, that man's chief care should be, not how he could best protract the period of its coming, so as to lengthen out his days upon the earth; but how he could best prepare himself to meet his

end with resignation and joy, in the confidence that his past life would not dishonour his name, when it came to be inscribed on the mansion of death; and that the immortality which awaited him beyond the tomb, would be such as it would be worthy of a wise and beneficent Deity to bestow, and of an intellectual and never-dying being to receive at his hands — an immortality, as full of unclouded happiness to the receiver, as of honour and glory to the great Giver of all good things, from whom alone it could proceed.

A comparison has been often made between the Père la Chaise of Paris, and the Mount Auburn of Boston; and the similarity of their situation and their purpose naturally forces this comparison on the mind. Having seen both, I may venture to offer an opinion on this subject; with great deference, however, to 396 those who may think otherwise. In many respects, then, I think Mount Auburn superior to Père la Chaise. Its natural scenery, of hill and dale, of river, lake, and forest-trees, with other surrounding objects, presents a combination which is not to be found in the cemetery of Paris: and which is far more in harmony with the repose of the dead, than the most sumptuous monuments, without these combinations, can be. In this last respect, Père la Chaise is, perhaps, unrivalled. The splendid sepulchral trophies raised within its area to the illustrious men of France, have no parallel, that I remember, in modern nations. But even this is in excess. The multiplicity of the Monuments occasions the ground to be cut up into small plots; the tombs are too crowded; and there is often a painful contrast between the overwhelming magnificence of some, and the poverty and neglect of others; to say nothing of the perpetual offences to good taste, which is offered by the little pictures, crosses, beads, and other extraneous ornaments, with which many of the smaller tombs are decorated.

In Père la Chaise, you feel that you are in the immediate vicinity of a crowded and populous city, and that all around you is intended to catch the eye, and elicit the praise of the living; every thing being strained to the utmost, to produce an effect. In Mount Auburn, you feel that you are in the depths of the most rural solitude, where nature still reigns triumphant, and where art is but subordinate; where the tranquil repose of the dead is as yet undisturbed by the intrusion of crowded throngs; or the simplicity of innocence, and

the gravity of death, 397 obscured by the admixture of the vainglorious, the trifling, or the bombastic. And if the good taste of the American people shall continue to preserve this beautiful Cemetery in the same state of purity, by causing all their future additions to be in subordination to the natural grandeur of the place, and make the “beauty of simplicity” their general aim, it will long continue to enjoy its present superiority, and be as instructive and profitable to the minds of those who may hereafter visit it in a becoming spirit of reflection and meditation, as it is at present agreeable to those who frequent it as a mere place of innocent and pleasurable recreation.

There is one defect, however, which candour obliges me to mention, but happily it is one which may be easily remedied. I allude to the Egyptian gateway at the entrance. The great and distinguishing characteristics of Egyptian architecture are, first, colossal size —and next, massiveness and durability of material. In the present instance, three small gateways, connected by a slender wall, and the whole sustained by an iron railing, (a thing never seen in Egyptian buildings,) crowd the place of entrance; while the very loftiest of the gates is only 25 feet in height, a scale which everywhere in Egypt would be thought most diminutive. The effect of the whole is to produce a strange combination of heaviness and littleness, quite unworthy the place, and to leave a most unfavourable impression on the visitor. It is to be hoped that it will speedily be removed, to be replaced by a Grecian or Roman entrance, after the manner of a triumphal gateway, with a fine open colonnade of the Ionic order, extending such length 398 as may be thought necessary, and making a light and graceful open front, instead of the cumbrous and inappropriate gates and railings which now form the entrance.

Among the tombs within the grounds there are some of beautiful design, and many are executed from the finest Italian marble, having indeed being made in Italy, and sent out and erected here. Others have been executed in Boston, and with great taste and skill; though this is a branch of art but recently cultivated in the city. The tomb of the first person interred within the grounds, is that of Hannah Adams, a lady of Boston, who was authoress of a History of the Jews, and a Review of the Christian Sects. She died at the age of 76,

within three months after the public celebration in Consecration Dell, September 1831; and her interment being the first within the consecrated ground, a monument was erected to her memory by her female friends.

In the following year, October 1832, the celebrated John Gaspar Spurzheim was added to the literary tenants of Mount Auburn. This distinguished teacher of phrenology had visited the United States from England, and had delivered a course of lectures on his favourite science in the Athenæum of Boston, during the month of September, 1832. These were so enthusiastically received, that he was induced to repeat them; and from over-exertion in their delivery to very crowded audiences, and some want of care in protecting himself from the sudden changes of temperature, occasioned by the transition from heated rooms to the sharp and penetrating atmosphere of an American evening in autumn, he 399 caught a severe cold, which brought on a fever; and after an illness of a few days only, this terminated in his death.

His loss was very generally felt and deplored; his interment at Mount Auburn was largely attended; and a beautiful marble tomb, after the fashion of a Roman sarcophagus, with the single word SPURZHEIM engraved on it, was erected within the Cemetery, over his grave, by his friends and admirers in Boston.*

* An Ode sung at the funeral of Spurzheim, will be found in the Appendix.

CHAP. XXIII.

Visit to the Massachusetts State Prison—System of management— Statistics of this prison—Chief causes of crime—Memorial of the Convicts against dram-shops—Food and general health of the prisoners—Dress—Discipline, and punishments—Efforts for their moral and religious improvement—Comparison with the prison system of Pennsylvania.

One of the last of the public establishments that we visited in the neighbourhood of Boston, was the Massachusetts State Prison, where the warden accompanied us over

every part of the building, and anwered all our inquiries with the greatest readiness and attention.

This prison is situated at Charlestown, and is almost surrounded by the ordinary dwellings of the inhabitants in that suburb of Boston, so that in this respect it is not so advantageously placed as either Auburn or Sing-Sing, the State Prisons of New York, or the Penitentiary of Philadelphia. The whole area covered by the prison, is about 500 feet long by 240 feet wide. This is enclosed by a strong wall, built of granite, 5 feet thick at the base, and from 15 to 18 feet in height, surmounted by a wooden palisade, and the ramparts are guarded by a vigilant watch, day and night. On two of its sides, the north and west, the prison walls are washed by 401 the tide-water; and in the neighbourhood of the prison is a large wharf, for shipping off the work executed within it, and for landing the materials and supplies it receives, with a canal and lock, to admit boats to come within the prison enclosure, under an arch that is perfectly secure.

The interior arrangement of the prison consists of an open court or yard, around which are various workshops, especially a large shed for stone-cutters, another for cabinet makers, shops for smiths, carpenters, brush-makers, shoemakers, and tailors, in which the convicts are employed during the day; and in another part of the yard is the large and lofty building, containing the solitary cells, to which the prisoners are marched every evening, and where they pass the night. Added to this, is a chapel for public worship, storehouse, a kitchen, and other offices of various descriptions. The first cost of the prison, before the separate cells were built, was 170,000 dollars. The subsequent addition of these cells, of which there are 300 in number, cost 86,000 dollars; so that the whole cost upwards of a quarter of a million of dollars, or more than 50,0001. sterling; but it is as commodious perhaps as it is ever desirable that a place of punishment should be, and appears to be everywhere perfectly secure.

The system on which the Massachusetts State Prison is governed, is the same as that which is in use at Auburn and Sing-Sing, in the State of New York, and is called “the Silent

System," in contradistinction to the system in use at Philadelphia, which is called "the Solitary System." The routine of occupation is the following:—The convicts all sleep 402 in separate cells, which are about 9 feet long by 3 feet 6 inches broad; in each of these is a flat cot bottom, which turns up against the wall by a hinge, and lets down flat when needed to sleep on, with a small shelf, a stool, and a bible; this is the only furniture of each cell. The prisoners are all summoned to work at daylight, throughout the year, so that in summer they are up before 4 o'clock, and in winter not till nearly 8 o'clock. They are first assembled in the chapel to morning prayer, and then marched in single file to their respective workshops, where, with the intervals for meals only, they are kept at work till sunset, throughout the year, their summer's day therefore being at least 15 hours long, and their winter's day not more than 9. The convicts entering the prison, who know any art or trade, are put to work in the department most nearly resembling it; but they who are not acquainted with any, are usually emoployed as stone-cutters, this being more easily learnt than any other.

In each workshop there is a superintendent acquainted with the nature of the work done in it, who inspects, corrects, and instructs the convicts employed; and in addition to this, there is one or more inspectors, whose sole business it is to watch the convicts narrowly, to mark any who are guilty of any misconduct, and report them to the warden. The rule of the prison is, that no convict is to speak to another, on any pretence whatever; and if in the course of their labour it may be necessary for one of the workmen to communicate with the person working with him, it can only be done through the inspector. The person wishing to 403 speak, therefore, holds up his hand, and the inspector comes to him, when, ascertaining what is required to be done, he gives the order himself; but even this kind of intercourse must be as seldom as possible, and if unnecessarily brought on, it is punished as if the convicts conversed together. It is freely admitted, however, by the officers themselves, that communications between the prisoners cannot be entirely prevented; and by looks, signs, and whispers, audible enough for two or three near each other to hear distinctly, they can hold intercourse in a way that baffles all detection.

It was formerly the case that each convict, or a party working together, had a certain task allotted them; and all the produce of their labour beyond this was put into a savings' bank, to each man's account; but in the opinion of the wardens, this was thought to be productive of evil, and has been discontinued. At present no emolument is received by any of the convicts, and the profits of their labour forms the revenue out of which the expenses of the prison are defrayed. In the stone shed, the men were at work on some large granite blocks intended for a public building at Mobile, in the Gulf of Mexico. In the cabinet department, the men were working under contract for upholsterers of Boston, who engage the labour of the men at 40 cents a day, and find them tools and materials; while in the town the ordinary wages of workmen exceeds a dollar a day, or more than double the prison rate; a competition of which the honest workmen very naturally complain.

Up to the period of the late commercial embarrassment, 404 the prison not only maintained itself, but produced a surplus revenue. Within the last two years, however, there has been a deficiency: the double cause, of decreased demand for their labour, and increased cost of provisions, having operated most unfavourably; this deficiency, the funds of the State will of course have to supply.

The statistics of the Massachusetts State Prison, as drawn from the latest report laid before the State legislature is as follows:

Whole number of convicts in prison 302

Received during the past year 99

Natives of Massachusetts among these 40

Natives of other States in the Union 36

Foreigners of all nations 23

Natives of Ireland exclusively 13

Convicted for violations of property 97

Convicted for crimes of violence 2

Recommitments during the year 13

Deaths during the year 5

The principal classes of offences for which the prisoners are confined are out of the 302, for

Larceny 174

Forgery 19

Burglary 17

Counterfeiting money 10

Attempt at rape 8

Manslaughter 7

The ages of the prisoners vary from 15 to 65; and their term of sentence from 1 year to 20 years, and some for life. One instance is that of an Irish boy of 14, who was convicted of having deliberately set fire to an almshouse, and burnt several persons in it; he was sentenced to be hung; but, from his extreme youth, this was commuted to confinement in the State Prison for life. His sentence appeared to 405 have made little impression on him, and he had shown no symptoms of remorse or regret.

Of the whole number in prison, namely 302, there are 17 negroes and 7 mulattoes; the rest are all whites; and the proportion of coloured people to whites fluctuates between 6 and 8 per cent.

There are no females at present confined in the State Prison; as it was found, by experience, disadvantageous to both sexes, that they should be kept in sight of each other; and they have since been separated, the females being now confined in the House of Correction. But it is not many weeks since four young females were convicted of robbery on the highway, and sentenced to a long imprisonment: they were natives of Ireland, and were urged most probably by intemperance to the act.

On the subject of the chief causes of crime, the experience furnished by the State Prison of Massachusetts corresponds with that of all other similar establishments in this and in every other country yet examined. Ignorance, idleness, and intemperance, are the three prominent and most productive causes that bring the unhappy convicts there in the first instance; and these, after their first confinement, often bring them again back a second, and sometimes even a third time. On this subject, the report has the following striking and instructive observations, grounded on the experience of years:

“We know how very difficult it must be, and is, for a convict to take and maintain a decent rank in society, when he quits a prison. The mere fact that he has been confined in it will generally render it very difficult for him to obtain honest employment, 406 and idleness will be followed by bad company. Among the first persons seen by a discharged convict who has no employment, are the very beings who were instrumental in consigning him to this place, or persons of as bad character. In such company, all the inducements to crime are again spread before him, when he has no virtuous friends whose advice or example may shield him from temptation; and it is not matter of surprise if he yields to it. When we reflect that this is probably the situation of a majority of those discharged every year, we must consider it a remarkable fact that the number of recommitments is so small—and that it affords a strong proof of the good state of moral discipline in this institution. Still it is a

subject deserving the most serious attention of the friends of humanity, to ascertain what can be done for the convict when he quits the penitentiary."

On this subject, something has been done by private benevolence; and many, it is believed, have been rescued from destruction, by being taken by the hand, and provided with new clothes and a few dollars to pay the expense of their journey to the regions of the West. The good effect produced by this, has led the directors of the prison, since, to adopt the practice of giving to each convict, when discharged, the means of presenting a decent appearance in apparel, and a few dollars to get them beyond the limits of the State; for if they linger about Boston after their discharge, they are almost sure to fall into bad company, and get to the grog-shop, and then their relapse into crime, and recommitment, is almost certain.

A most striking instance was lately afforded of the convicts themselves being fully aware of the dangers to which they are subject on leaving the prison; as they communicated their wishes to the warden that a memorial should be sent up from the inmates of the 407 prison to the State legislature, praying them not to repeal the law recently passed, and just about to be put into operation, which forbids the retail sale of ardent spirits in any smaller quantities than 15 gallons, by which all dram-shops would be annihilated, and the chief and most powerful of all the temptations to commit crime be removed from their path.

The food of the prisoners is coarse, but wholesome and abundant—two pounds of bread and one pound of meat being allowed to each man per day, besides occasional supplies of coffee, molasses, &c. On this simple diet, with water only for their drink, they generally improve in health and strength; though the cost per man in food and clothing is only 11 cents, or less than sixpence sterling, daily.

The notion, that increase of education and exercise of intelligence lead to the increase of crime—which some few, even in America, and many more in England, have strangely entertained—receives no countenance from the experience of those who have the best

opportunities of forming a judgment on this subject. The report of the superintendent of this prison says:—

“A well-educated person is seldom seen here. There is not a graduate of any college, among the convicts, excepting one from England. Good education, self-respect, deference to public opinion, and regard for the feelings of friends, are as close companions as ignorance, bad company, and intemperance. And the first as certainly secure obedience to the laws, as the last lead on to crime and ignominious punishment. This lesson is taught here by daily experience. It is undoubtedly so in all other prisons, and the fact shows the importance of our public schools, as the best defences against the vices and habits which load so many to crime and the penitentiary.”

408

The following selection from the Chaplain's Report for 1837, speaks volumes as to the combination of ignorance and intemperance in the production of crime:—

Could not read 34

Could not write 84

Ignorant of arithmetic 96

Habitual drinkers 104

Habitually intemperate 190

Intoxicated at the time 156

The prison-dress is a jacket, trousers, and cap of coarse cloth, which has the right half of each garment red, and the left half blue; and is so marked, to cause those who may escape in it to be instantly recognized as convicts, and thus lead to their recapture. Great attention is nevertheless paid to the cleanliness of their apparel.

Punishments, of some kind or other, are deemed indispensable; and there appeared, from all the conversation I enjoyed with the warden and officers, an evidently strong desire among them all to have recourse to this as seldom as possible, and never but in cases of extreme necessity.

Perhaps the most interesting portion of all the information connected with this painful subject, is that which narrates the efforts made for the reformation of the criminals, and the degree of success which is believed to have attended it. On this, the Report of the Chaplain is of course the highest authority; and from the personal intercourse which I had with this officer of the prison, I have every reason to believe that it is as correct in point of fact, as it is honourable to himself and his co-labourers in this work of humanity. He says:—

409

“The Sunday-school of this prison is under the immediate superintendence of the chaplain, although either the warden or his deputy, and one subordinate officer of the prison, are always present, to see that perfect order is maintained, and that nothing takes place inconsistent with the sacredness of the day or of the occasion. The school is instructed by from twenty to thirty suitably qualified individuals, who from Sabbath to Sabbath, according to previous arrangement, attend for that purpose. These teachers uniformly seem to feel a very deep interest in this school, and there is no service in which they engage with more apparent delight; although many of them travel the distance of several miles, and not unfrequently when the weather is unpleasant and severe. The convicts, also, who compose this school, with very few exceptions, seem to value it highly, and to feel a lively interest in the instructions they there receive; and no doubt can be rationally cherished, but this school is constantly exerting an influence to enlighten, to improve, and to bless those who receive its instructions.”

It is impossible to appreciate too highly the disinterested benevolence of those teachers, who, without fee or reward, and without hope of worldly fame or gain, but animated solely

by compassion for the unfortunate, undertake the weekly task of giving instruction to those who have chiefly fallen into crime because they were not sufficiently fortified by education and religion to resist its temptations; and accordingly, the Report speaks of their pure and holy labours in terms that will find a response in every just and humane heart.

We quitted the prison, after devoting several hours to its examination, with heavy hearts and depressed spirits, at the scenes we had witnessed there; though not without a feeling of satisfaction at the assurance that everything which reason and humanity could dictate, so as to unite the requisite protection of society 410 with the necessary restraint and ultimate improvement of the prisoner, was here adopted.

Of the superiority of this system of prison-discipline over that which prevailed in England up to a very recent period, and over that which is in practice throughout the greatest portion of Europe now, there can be no doubt; and all benevolent minds must hail this improvement, as a great triumph of reason and morality over passion and vindictiveness, which held almost supreme sway in the treatment of condemned criminals heretofore. At the same time, while admitting this improvement over the old systems of treatment to the fullest extent, my convictions were unchanged by anything I saw or heard here, as to the decided superiority of the Solitary System of Pennsylvania over the Silent System of New York and Massachusetts. The reasons of this preference are stated so much at large in my descriptions of the Penitentiary at Philadelphia, and the State Prison at Auburn, that they need not be repeated here. They have gathered strength by deliberation and comparison; and I cannot but indulge the hope that their force will soon become sufficiently apparent to lead to the general adoption of the Pennsylvania system in all the prisons of America, of England, and of Europe at large.

CHAP. XXIV.

State elections—Specimens of partisan exultation—Local and general election at Boston —Statistics of intemperance—Silent progress of the abolition question—Denunciations of

the Whig newspapers —Letter of an invited candidate—Address of the ex-president, John Quincy Adams—Speech on slavery by Dr Duncan, of Ohio.

During our stay at Boston, the second general election, since we had been in the country, took place; and I felt great interest in watching its progress. The election commenced first in New York, where it was held on the 6th, 7th, and 8th of November; it was followed up in Boston on the 13th of November; occupying three days in the former, and only one day in the latter city. In New York the contest was extremely severe, each party, the Conservative and the Democratic, using their utmost exertions, and devoting all their time and energies to the polls. Everything, however, went off quietly, and not a single breach of the peace appears to have occurred in any quarter. The Conservatives, or Whigs, as they call themselves, though they correspond in general principles with our Tories in England, were victorious over the Democrats, their opponents, whom 412 they often call Tories, though these correspond with the Radicals of Great Britain; and their joy was excessive. The language of the New York papers on this occasion gives so accurate a picture of the bombastic and extravagant manner in which such matters are viewed and described by political partisans, that a few specimens of them may be given, as they were repeated in the Boston papers of the same week:—

“ From the New York Courier and Enquirer—Great and glorious victory!—New York Triumphant!—The Country Saved! —‘We have met the enemy, and they are ours.’—New York was called upon to save the country—and promptly, fearlessly, and nobly has she done her duty! Her sister States invoked her to come to the rescue—she heard, and she obeyed! Van-Burenism lies prostrate in the dust—Toryism stands rebuked—Loco-Focoism, Agrarianism, and the Sub-Treasury, together with all experiments upon the currency—are prostrated, never again to raise their hideous heads, and threaten the subversion of our free institutions! Against the entire monied force of the Government—against fraud and corruption in every form they could assume—and against the people's

money, employed to enslave the people, have the Whigs of New York contended and triumphed.

“For three days have we met the enemy at the polls; and the three days in Paris in 1830 were not more signally destructive to the white flag of the Bourbons, than has been our three days to the piratical flag of the Custom House—the black insignia under which the enemies of free institutions rallied in this city! Our enemies have met with a Waterloo defeat; and with the disappearance of the lights at Tammany Hall, which were struck at an early hour last night, the miserable minions of power skulked into their hiding-places, and are now repenting in sackcloth and ashes their folly, in supposing that a free people could be made to surrender their birthright without a struggle.

“The sceptre has departed from them—the people have spoken in a voice of thunder to their oppressors; and when that voice 413 reaches the recesses of the palace where Van Buren, ‘solitary and alone’ will receive it, his coward soul will shrink within itself; and conscience, if he has any, will whisper in her still small voice—‘Thus are demagogues and tyrants ever rebuked when they aim to subvert the liberties of the people.’”

The language here used would induce any stranger to suppose that the party in power were absolute tyrants, ruling by virtue of divine right, and in no way responsible to the people; and that the rebuking parties were democrats, and friends of liberty and free institutions. But the fact is just the reverse of this. Mr. Van Buren is President of the United States, by no other title than his election to that office, by a large majority of the citizens, whose votes alone elevated him to the dignity; and the only manner in which he has attempted “to subvert the liberties of the people,” as is alleged, has been to oppose himself to what he deemed the monopoly of chartered banks, to lending out the surplus revenue of the country as deposits for these banks to use as capital in trade; he preferring a National Treasury for the safe-custody of the people's money. If it be thus that men are tyrants, and aim to subvert the liberties of the people, the same words must have such opposite

meanings for different persons, that language ceases to be a safe medium for conveying accurate ideas. But once more for a specimen of exultation:

“ From the Evening Star—Battle of Waterloo—Rout of the Locofocos—The Country saved! —We have fought the great fight, and have conquered. For the last six months the administration has been gathering its clans, and preparing for the onslaught, and never were preparations more formidable. Every aid that money could procure, that office could control, were brought to bear on this election, but all to no purpose. The Whigs, animated 414 by a just sense of the wrongs under which our country has suffered, came forth to the rescue in all their force and power, and succeeded. We cannot at this time go into details: some of the wards have not yet been canvassed—some are estimated; there are an immense number of split tickets, and tickets of all colours and complexions, which will require several days to count. Let us come to results. The whole Whig ticket, Governor, Lieutenant Governor, Congress and Assembly, is elected by at least 1,500 majority, as we predicted yesterday. ‘Glory enough for one day!’”

“ From the New York Commercial Advertizer.—The Victory. —‘We have met the enemy, and they are ours.’—‘Let the kettle to the trumpet speak!’ By the subjoined table and statements, our friends at home and abroad will perceive that we have not deceived them in the flattering accounts we have given of the progress of the election during the last three days.—The Whigs of this city went into the contest under every possible disadvantage, save only that their cause was just, and that in the character, activity, and energy of an excellent mayor, they had a strong guarantee that the peace of the city would be preserved, and that the electors would be enabled to visit the polls without jeopardy life or limb.”

Here is a distinct admission that the freedom of election is so perfect, that though 40,000 votes were polled in three days, not the least interruption had taken place, and no jeopardy of life or limb had been incurred by those visiting the polls. This is enough to satisfy any impartial stranger that the government of the country took no more pains to interfere with

the elections of New York, than with those of Liverpool or Manchester; and that all the rhodomontade of “of money being poured out like water,” and “armies of office-holders” and “bands of foreign mercenaries” being employed to obstruct the freedom of election—which was asserted by the New York Express—is, like the allusions to “the battle of 415 Waterloo,” the “glorious three days of Paris,” and other images of this description, mere fustian and bombast. A Boston editor, however, of the Centinel and Gazette, taking up the strain, gravely insisted in his paper, that though the battles of Cressy and Agincourt were important in early days, and that of Waterloo important in modern, they were all as nothing, compared to the victory of the three glorious days of New York, which, according to all the Whig writers, had saved the country from inevitable and irretrievable ruin, which must have buried the people in one general grave of beggary and starvation, if the elections had terminated in favour of the existing administration!

It is agreeable to witness the silent but rapid progress which is making in the cause of freedom for the Negroes, notwithstanding the powerful pecuniary interests involved in this question, and the stand made by the great body of the wealthy merchants and traders of the North, who profit by their commerce with the South, against all agitation of the subject. It has been shown that Massachusetts, even before the revolution of 1776, had passed acts for the abolition of slavery in her own State, which were shamefully disallowed by the British government. It is equally well known, that from the construction put by the supreme court of Massachusetts, since the revolution, on that clause of their charter, which declares that “all men are born free and equal,” Negro slavery has long since ceased to exist here.

But it deserves also to be as extensively known, which probably it is not, that in this State the Negroes 416 are not only free, but enjoy the electoral suffrage, and take their part, and give their votes, in local and general elections, with all the freedom and independence of their white fellow-citizens. I made inquiry in every quarter as to the use made of this privilege; and I did not hear a single complaint of it, or a single expression of regret, at their enjoyment of this distinction, or of a desire to deprive them of it. On the contrary, all parties

bore testimony to the quiet, orderly, and discreet use which the Negroes and coloured people of various shades made of this privilege whenever called upon to exercise it.

It is hardly to be wondered at, therefore, that in this State, the public sentiment in favour of abolition should increase, both in intensity and in extent. But this change is working chiefly among the religious and the reflecting classes. The newspapers, to their shame be it spoken, are among the foremost to denounce abolition and the abolitionists, especially if any effort is intended to be made upon the principles they profess. So long as these true friends of liberty for the whole human race, content themselves with holding their opinions in silence, or praying for the slaves in their churches, they are deemed innocent, or at least harmless fanatics; but if they send forth an agent to lecture, he is mobbed and lynched by the infuriated populace, excited by those who dread the loss of their profits by any rupture between the North and the South; and if any public meeting is held, or resolutions are made public, they are denounced as incendiary and revolutionary, from their tendency to bring about a dissolution of the Union. It was thus that because the friends of the 417 Negro, exerted themselves to procure, for as many of those who thought and felt with them, the support of the electors as candidates for seats in Congress, (though in so doing they did no more than persons of all classes of opinion do in similar cases,) they were denounced as “traitors,” as will be seen by the following paragraph from the New York Star, which was transferred to the columns of the Boston Centinel, of November 20.

“Hitherto we have regarded the leading abolitionists as a body of men acting together to give weight and influence to a peculiar religious sect, and also to advance their own fortunes in a business-monopoly, from their great exertions in the cause of humanity. All this, however, was innocent, compared to the bold profligacy of unfurling the banner of party. Formerly, they used arguments, printed tracts, preached and talked abolition; now they seek to taint the ballot-box, and threaten candidates with losing their election unless they acknowledge themselves abolitionists, and immediate abolitionists. It is thus they avow their treason, for if the abolition of slavery is to be effected by destroying the constitutional compact, as well as the Union of the States, treason is the mildest name we

can give to it. Some of our Whigfriends—very few, we are pleased to say—plead in their behalf, because they have votes which we want, forgetful that when we obtain abolition votes here, we lose whole States elsewhere; others affect to despise their numbers, but if they are to be coaxed, and entreated, and sustained, and purchased, instead of being at once put down, we shall soon place the balance of power in their hands. The Whigs must not permit themselves to be mixed up with abolition; they must cast it off at once, or the Whig party will be broken down. Already have the arts of the abolitionists given to this State a Whig-abolition Lieutenant-Governor: if further impositions are to be practised upon us, we shall be deservedly abandoned by the Whig States of the South, such noble Whig States as North Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, &c. and our business-intercourse, our prosperous trade or internal commerce, and all the ties which should bind citizen to citizen, will VOL. III. 2E 418 at once be dissevered. The danger is but too evident—'the bow is bent, let us make firm the shaft.'"

In the Boston Courier, of the same date, Nov. 20, was published a noble and high-spirited letter of one of the candidates for election, in reply to those of the Whigs who had invited him to occupy this position. But such is the lurking dislike to abolition on the part of the newspaper conductors generally, that even this editor, who admits that "the letter contains some striking truths," and thinks that "the doctrines are, *in the main* , such as every son of New England will approve," feels compelled to qualify his commendation, by the expression of his regret, that some of the writer's co-labourers in the field should have defeated an election, by a *too strict application of their principles.*

I found, generally, among the middle and industrious classes, and among the more benevolent and reflecting portion of the higher orders, a gradual approaching towards such sentiments and such resolutions as those expressed by the writer of the letter adverted to; so that my conviction daily gathered strength, in the face of many surrounding impediments, that the cause of abolition, or equal freedom for all classes of men, without distinction of colour or caste, is making a steady progress in the hearts and minds of the most intelligent, most virtuous, and consequently the most silently influential, classes of

America, and that the period of emancipation for the slaves of the South is, therefore, not so remote as many would fain have mankind to believe.

I should have added, that another striking and beautiful example of attachment to principle and love 419 of truth, was about the same period evinced by the venerable ex-president, John Quincy Adams, one of the descendants of the pilgrim fathers, and son of the first president, John Adams, one of the signers of the Declaration of American Independence. After a firm and fearless discharge of his duty, as the friend of man, without distinction of colour or race, in the Congress of the United States, Mr. Adams was again elected to fill the honourable office of representative, for the 12th electoral district of Massachusetts, in which the rock of Plymouth, the landing-place of the pilgrim fathers, is situated, and in whose waters the pilgrim ship, the May-flower, first cast anchor. In his address to his constituents on this occasion are found the following striking passages:—

“I regret that I am not enabled to indulge, with equal confidence, the hope, that the right of petition, and the freedom of debate, smothered as they have been for nearly three years in the legislative halls of the nation, will be restored in all their plenitude and in all their purity. Slavery shrinks, and will shrink, from the eye of the day. Northern subserviency to Southern dictation, is the price paid by a Northern administration for Southern support. The people at the North still support by their suffrages the men who have truckled to Southern domination—and their representatives have not been shamed out of the distinction between refusing to receive and refusing to read and petition. I believe it is impossible that this total subversion of every principle of liberty should be much longer submitted to by the people of the free States of this Union.

“Should the people of the twelfth Congressional district of Massachusetts again see fit to station me as their sentinel on the watch-tower of the nation, they will not expect from me, consent, acquiescence, or compromise with the system or any of its parts. Unyielding hostility against it is interwoven with every pulsation of my heart. Resistance against it, feeble and inefficient as the last 2 E 2 420 accents of a failing voice may be, shall be

heard, while the power of utterance still remains, and shall never cease, till the pitcher shall be broken at the fountain, the dust return to the earth as it was, and the spirit unto God who gave it."

Mr. Adams' whole career is consistent with his latest as well as with his earliest professions; and while there are such men as his constituents and himself, to be found taking an active and vigilant part in public affairs, American Slavery must be every day drawing nearer to its end.

While such men as these exist, and such sentitiments as these are published, in the United States, it is certainly neither just nor honourable to charge the entire American nation with the guilt of maintaining Slavery, in opposition to the Declaration of American Independence, which proclaims that "all men are born free and equal." Those who uphold and defend this bondage of their fellow-men should alone be held responsible for that guilt; but they who do their utmost to wipe away the stain from others, ought not to have any portion of the defilement imputed to themselves: and it would be well if public writers and public speakers in England would keep this just distinction in view.

CHAP. XXV.

Population of Boston and its Suburbs—Fewness of foreigners— Jews and Quakers—Commercial and other occupations—Opinions of a native writer on the traders—Political parties— Whigs and Democrats—Aristocratical and democratical whigs— Spirit of fashion—New York Review on the state of society— Observations on social parties from the pulpit—Extreme sensitiveness to English censure—Newspaper editors—Scriptural and classical names of New Englanders—Personal appearance of both sexes—Boys of Boston—Custom respecting mourning— Morning visits.

The population of Boston is estimated in round numbers at 80,000; and including its surrounding suburbs, 120,000. It is characterized by two marked features of difference from that of most other of the large cities of the United States; namely, its freedom from

the usual admixture of foreigners, and the fewness of the African race. At New York and Philadelphia are to be seen men of nearly all the nations of Europe, and large numbers of the children of Africa, but here there are few of either the one or the other. In New York, Jews are abundant, and in Philadelphia Quakers are still more numerous; but here there are neither of these two classes among the permanent residents; and even the occasional visitors of either race are “few and far between.”

The New Englanders, and the Bostonians in particular, pride themselves upon the purity of 422 their descent from English blood, and trace up their origin to English families with all the pride of ancestry that characterizes our nobility and gentry at home. And yet, as a singular contrast to this, there is perhaps no city in the Union, where the jealousy of the English is greater, or where the people feel more reluctance to admit the superiority of the English to themselves, in any matter of art, science, literature, skill, language, character, or manners; accompanied with a sensitiveness to English censure, which borders upon the ridiculous, and makes them keenly alive to what almost any other people would either disregard entirely, or look upon with comparative indifference.

The great mass of the population in Boston are engaged in commerce and trade, with a full proportion of the professional classes in law, medicine, and divinity; a larger proportion than usual of literary men; and a still greater number of opulent families, retired, and living at their ease.

Among the merchants there is a greater extent and solidity of capital than in the other large cities of America; among the traders there is greater keenness and activity in business, so that the popular reason jocosely assigned for there being neither Jews nor Quakers here, is, that neither of them could make a profit while dealing with a New Englander. The medical men are considered to be better instructed and more experienced; the clergy are less theological, and study more the graces of elocution and oratory than elsewhere; and the ladies are regarded as more learned and critical than in the other American cities.

On all these points, the stranger who visits Boston, and especially if he remain in it for some weeks, and exercises his powers of observation on what is passing around him, will form his own opinions; though it may not be safe for him to express them freely or openly, if they are not so favourable as he could wish. And yet, if the opinions of the inhabitants of Boston themselves, who have of course the best means of judging, were to be written down, as the stranger hears them expressed, and subsequently repeated as his own, his testimony would be impugned as “libellous” and “ungrateful,” by the very parties from whom he first received them; as they would not tolerate in another, what they would freely promulgate themselves. In such a case, it is safer to take the published views of persons competent to judge, addressed to the society itself, and challenging contradiction; and for this purpose, I select the following passage from a recent volume of an American writer, of deservedly high reputation, Mr. Orville Dewey, entitled “Moral Views of Commerce, Society, and Politics in America.” In this work, when giving his admonitions on trading practices, he uses the following language:—

“I ask if there is not good ground for the admonitions on this point, of every moral and holy teacher of every age? What means, if there is not, that eternal disingenuousness of trade, which is ever putting on fair appearances and false pretences—of the buyer that says, ‘It is naught, it is naught,’ but when he has gone his way, then boasteth—of the seller, who is always exhibiting the best samples, not fair but false samples, of what he has to sell; of the seller, I say, who, to use the language of another, ‘If he is tying up a bundle of quills, will place several in the centre, of not half the value of the rest, and thus sends forth a hundred liars, with a 424 fair outside, to proclaim as many falsehoods to the world?’ These practices, alas! have fallen into the regular course of the business of many. All men expect them; and therefore, you may say, that nobody is deceived. But deception is intended; else why are these things done? What if nobody is deceived? The seller himself is corrupted. He may stand acquitted of dishonesty in the moral code of worldly traffic; no man may charge him with dishonesty; and yet to himself he is a dishonest man.”

It is not, however, against persons in this rank of life alone that the American author directs his denunciations. He sometimes takes a higher flight, and addresses the rich merchants, many of whom it is known, had, during the recent commercial embarrassments, become bankrupt in fact, but as there is yet no bankrupt law in the United States, much was left to their own individual honour in the settlement of their affairs. Many of these, without doubt, administered their effects as fairly as the most fastidious creditors could expect. Others, it is well known, acted differently, and of those he speaks thus:—

“But there are bankrupts of a different character, as you well know. I do not know that any such are in this presence; but if there were a congregation of such before me, I should speak no otherwise than I shall now speak. I say that there are men of a different character; men who intend permanently to keep back a part of the price which they have sworn to pay; and I tell you, that God's altar, at which I minister, shall hear no word from me, concerning them, but a word of denunciation. It is dishonesty, and it ought to be infamy. It is robbery, though it live in splendour and ride in state; robbery, as truly as if, instead of inhabiting a palace, it were consigned to the dungeons of Sing-Sing.”

There was perhaps less of this in Boston than in New York, from three causes: first, that the operations of commerce in this city were not so wildly speculative; secondly, that the parties who suffered 425 loss had capital to sustain it; and thirdly, that the smaller circle of the community, and the higher tone of morality, made public opinion more influential in the conduct of those who stood before its tribunal. Yet even here, it must be evident to any one who hears such conduct spoken of, and commented on, that pecuniary laxity, approaching very nearly to dishonourable conduct, and sometimes to what a strict moralist would call fraud, is visited with greater lenity, and treated with greater indulgence, than it would be in any city of England by the same classes of persons engaged in commerce or trade.

In politics, the people of Boston are divided, as elsewhere in the Union, into Whigs and Democrats; and here, as everywhere else, each party misrepresents the opinions and

defames the characters of its opponents in unmeasured terms. But besides these two great divisions, as of the Tory and Whig with us, there is a division in the Whig party here, between the Aristocratic and Democratic Whigs, just as in England between the Conservative Whigs and the Radical Whigs; and here, as well as there, the distinction is chiefly regulated by the station of the individuals in society, or their relative degrees of wealth or poverty. A faithful picture of these two classes is given in the Boston Atlas of November 21, 1838.

The same spirit of distinction is actively engaged in marshalling society into classes as to fashion and standing; and nothing is more common than to hear observations as to certain people being “among the oldest and the first families in the city,” and certain others as “people of whom no one knows anything.” 426 This is made of quite as much importance as the wealth of the individuals, though to this also considerable homage is paid, and the style in which a family lives is generally of more importance in securing for it the estimation of society, than the merits of the individuals composing it. That this, however, may not be thought a prejudiced view of the case on my own part, and attributed to my English partialities, I will venture to transcribe, from a high American authority, and a Conservative organ of public opinion, the New York Review, for October, 1838, the opinions of its conductors in their examination of Mr. Dewey's work. They say—

“To the spirit of ‘fashion,’ its frivolity, inanity, and the essentially vulgar struggles engendered by it, the author administers some caustic and merited rebukes. Some of its special absurdities, as they are displayed in a country like this, are well exposed. The essential vulgarity of the fashion of mere wealth, of ostentatious equipage, &c. is a point which it is extremely salutary to insist on. But there is another aspect in which fashion often exhibits itself to the sarcastic observer in a light sufficiently amusing. How edifying to see the auctioneer asserting his superior gentility to the grocer, and the wife and daughters of the man who sells by the bale in Pearl-street, refusing to associate with the wife and daughters of the man who sells by the yard in Broadway! Why, the London man of fashion would include them all alike in the grand category of ‘vulgar people.’ If it be said

that the London distinctions of genteel and ungenteel are equally fantastic and absurd; admit it—and what then? Why, it follows that a man's claims to social consideration should depend on personal attributes, and not on adventitious circumstances. It is the principles, the sentiments, and the habits, that form the gentleman. If a person possesses the honourable principles, the refinement and courtesy of feeling and manners, which are essentially implied in the old genuine sense of the word *gentleman* , he is entitled to be received everywhere on a footing of social equality; and if, in addition to this, he is distinguished 427 by superior ability, intelligence, cultivation, or other intrinsic accomplishments, he is the *superior* man, and society is *honoured* by his entering it, whatever be his external circumstances. And if you cannot always be certain of finding the *real* gentleman in the circles of the London aristocracy, notwithstanding the habits of education and other advantages of culture usually enjoyed there, surely as little can you be certain of finding it in the New York mansion of ostentatious ‘style,’ built up by yearly toils among molasses hogsheads and cotton bags.”

If it be said that these observations apply chiefly to the state of society in New York, it may be added, that they are still more applicable to the state of society in Boston, where the spirit of aristocracy in station, and of exclusiveness in associates, is much stronger than in any city of the Union; and where, consequently, the manners of the “best circles,” as they are called, are colder than in New York, more reserved than in Philadelphia, and more ostentatious than in Baltimore. Indeed, however much in advance Boston may be of the three great cities named, in its literary and scientific reputation, for which it is justly denominated “The Athens of the West,” and however much higher may be its commercial credit, from the solidity of its capitalists and merchants, who are here called “princes,” and her “traffickers” enumerated among the “honourable of the earth;” it cannot be denied that each of the other cities are far in advance of it, in the liberality of their feelings towards foreigners, in the hospitality of their intercourse with strangers, and in the cordial interchange of those social courtesies, which throw so great a charm over life, and kindle such pleasurable emotions by the reciprocal interchange of friendly greetings.

In New York, in Philadelphia, and in Baltimore, while they are no strangers to large parties and costly entertainments, yet these are agreeably intermingled with social evening circles; and in the latter city especially, they are accompanied with a warm-hearted cordiality of friendship, which makes the foreigner and the stranger feel as if he were at home. But in Boston, though every thing in its exterior, or material substance, more resembles England, than any other city of America; though the streets, the houses, the public buildings, the language, are all less marked by peculiarities, and therefore seem more like those of an English city than any other in the Union; yet English hospitality, in its genuine warmth and cordiality, is not nearly so general as in the other cities named; and their large and ostentatious parties but imperfectly supply its place.

That there is a keen perception of this striking defect in the society of Boston, in the minds of those who reside in the city itself, we had ample proof of, in the fact that it was made the subject of public animadversion and reproof, in a sermon preached by the Rev. Mr. Gannet, the colleague of the celebrated Dr. Channing, in the Federal-street church, on Sunday, the 10th of November, 1838, Dr. Channing himself being present in the pulpit, while his colleague pronounced the discourse. The main purport of it was to advert to the return of that season of the year when opulent families came in from the country, to take up their winter residence in town; and to point out to them the folly of many of their prevailing habits and customs; among 429 which these formal, frigid, and ostentatious parties, were especially condemned; and to show how they might increase their own pleasures as well as those of their friends, by a more simple yet cordial hospitality, which few or none now exercise.

The reason assigned for this inhospitality to strangers, especially from England, the country of which they seem most jealous, at the same time of their descent from which they seem most proud, is, that persons who have shared their hospitality while here, have, on their return home, spoken or written ill-naturedly of them.

It is indeed this extreme sensitiveness to the opinions of others, which constitutes the principal moral or social disease of the country. The Americans cannot endure the idea that any nation should be regarded as their superior, and least of all England. They cannot consent that any stranger should receive more honour than a native citizen, and least of all an Englishman; and though they will receive with complacency all the incense of praise that can be offered, they can endure no reproof. I have already, in a former chapter, quoted the opinion of Mr. Biddle on this defect of his countrymen; I now subjoin the opinion of Mr. Latrobe.

“As long as the national temper maintains this morbid tone, I have become more and more convinced that it will allow the justice of no criticism; and that no individual, however honest and striving against prejudice, however sincerely regarding the people and their institutions with respect, however convinced that he who foments the ill-will and prejudice that may exist between the two countries, ill serves his own, or the cause of humanity, or the nobler ends of travel or observation,—I say, no one will write a book depicting the 430 state of things in the United States as they are, with all their unavoidable crudities and anomalies, and give the public mind in that country satisfaction.”

I firmly believe this to be true, and therefore expect my full share of censure for many of the truths which I have had the hardihood to utter; but it is because they *are* truths that I state them, and not because I have more pleasure in giving censure than in bestowing praise. The commendations which I have heartily and cheerfully expressed, of the country, its institutions, its cities, its philanthropic societies, and its noble undertakings, will sufficiently prove this; but as America, like every other country on the globe, has its weak parts and its blemishes, as well as its merits and its beauties, it is right that they who perceive them (and a stranger can often see more clearly than a native in this respect) should express themselves as freely, as to their nature and extent, as on every other topic; for by such impartial statements alone, can a right estimate of any country be formed. But this freedom of opinion cannot be exercised in America, by stranger or native, without

more risk of persecution than most men are willing to incur. On this subject I must again quote the New York Reviewer. He says—

“This last exposure of the national character refers to ‘pusillanimity,’ or moral cowardice; and this he justly thinks is one of the greatest dangers and evils to which we are exposed. ‘Public opinion’ is here a greater tyrant than anywhere else in the world; and the majority of the people are abject slaves to it. ‘If a man edits a newspaper, his choice is between bondage and beggary.’ In politics, he must go with his party, right or wrong. In religion, ‘he knows that there are errors in his adopted creed, faults in his sect, fanaticism and extravagance in some of its measures. See if 431 you can get him to speak of them! See if you can get him to breathe a whisper of doubt!”

These are American gentlemen, scholars and divines, speaking of their own countrymen; for Mr. Dewey is a Unitarian minister, of high reputation, and the editor of the Review; and Dr. Hawkes is an Episcopalian clergyman, of ultra-conservative politics, great learning, and high character. Their testimony is, therefore, unexceptionable; and I can bear witness to its perfect accuracy.

On the subject of newspaper editors, whose “choice” is said to be “between bondage and beggary,” a word requires to be added. With few exceptions, the universal opinion of the American people themselves, is, that the praise or censure of any thing may be procured in the newspapers by interested parties for a few dollars, and that there is no influence more open to bribery and corruption than that of the newspaper press. The greater number of the editors are persons who embrace the occupation temporarily, and escape from it when any thing better offers; and both with them and the proprietors, the “advertising interests” of the paper are of far more importance than its sale or its character. These interests are therefore carefully studied, and sedulously cultivated, by submission to the wishes and feelings of the advertisers; so that there is scarcely any one who advertises largely, and patronizes a particular paper, that may not get almost any communication inserted in it.

Another custom prevails, which is worthy of remark. From time to time some subscriber to the paper, or some contributor to its columns, sends the 432 editor a barrel of oysters, or a basket of champagne, or a haunch of venison, or a fine turkey; and the present is not only acknowledged in editorial type, but the donor is complimented for his liberality, and others are invited to follow his example. The constant repetition of such things makes them now too familiar to produce much effect; but their singularity must strike every stranger; as well as the frequent paragraphs, in which the habit of lending newspapers to others who ought to buy a copy for themselves, is reprehended as a grievous fault, and paying a newspaper bill with punctuality, is lauded as the highest virtue. But that I may not speak of this practice without offering an example of it, I transcribe the following exquisite morceau from the column of “deaths,” in the Boston Centinel, of Nov. 5, 1838. If the newspapers of any country on earth can furnish a parallel to it, I have not seen it. Here it is, *verbatim et literatim.*

“ Deaths. — On Friday evening, at Watertown, Deacon Moses Coolidge, aged eighty-five. Funeral this afternoon at half-past two o'clock, from his late residence. [Deacon C. has been a subscriber to the *Centinel* about half a century, and has always paid his bill punctually. Such a man deserves a crown of glory.]”

If this were meant as a joke, one would have thought that the solemn occasion of the death of a venerable friend, full of years and of honourable reputation, would have stayed such heartless witticism. If it were meant in earnest, it is still in worse taste and feeling; but in either case it shows, what indeed the whole course of the newspaper-press in this country, with a few honourable exceptions, 433 establishes beyond doubt, that with them, profit is above principle, and gain the exclusive end and aim of all their labours.*

* I expect to get my full share of condemnation for uttering this truth; but I shall not shrink from this, nor restrain its expression.

The remarkable predominance of scriptural, and especially of Hebrew names, in the designation of individuals, as seen in the public documents inserted in the newspapers, such as lists of candidates nominated for offices, records of births, marriages, and deaths, and advertisements of goods for sale, can hardly fail to strike a stranger as a peculiarity of New England.

In personal appearance, the men of Boston have the same characteristics as those of New York and Philadelphia. They are in general rather above than below the middle stature, with fewer fat or corpulent men than in England, pale complexions, generally straight hair, and a seriousness or gravity of countenance which in England would be called puritanical, but which here excites no observation, from its being so general. Every one is well-dressed, and remarkably clean, but with an absence of foppery or dandyism, which, though now and then seen in the young, is never witnessed in any man of middle age. They are not so hurried in their movements as in New York, where every body seems as if walking for a wager, or running a race with time; but their whole air is that of careful thoughtfulness and gravity.

There are not so many handsome women in Boston as there are in New York, Philadelphia, or VOL. III. 2 F 434 Baltimore; nor are the ladies of the north so gracefully elegant in their dress and manners, as those of the southern cities. Yet even here, there are more handsome and pretty female faces than could be seen in the same amount of population in any town in England; though there are no such examples of striking and impressive beauty, or of “fine women,” as we understand the term, as are occasionally found in Europe. The same deficiency in the roundness and plumpness of figure, is observable here as elsewhere in America; the female forms, though slender, are never finely developed into shapes that would produce the beautiful rotundity and swelling outlines fit for statuary; while their complexions are almost uniformly pale, and their health extremely delicate. There is less effort at display in the dress of the ladies here, than in

the other large cities of the Union; but it is always of the best and latest fashions and materials, though more “quiet,” and less obtrusive.

The causes of the pale complexions and ill health of both males and females, for it is far more general with both than with us, are no doubt many; but among the most prominent, I think, may be classed —first, the climate, in its sudden transitions from heat to cold, and cold to heat; secondly, the too great frequency of meals, and the too great variety of foods and sauces used to each; thirdly, the excessive use of tobacco among the men; and fourthly, a deficient quantity of sleep, and of robust and vigorous exercise in the open air. There are four substantial meals in almost every house 435 daily; breakfast at eight, dinner at two, tea at six, and supper at nine; and at each of these, fleshmeat or poultry is taken, grossly cooked, with greasy sauces, and a large admixture of sweetmeats and preserved fruits, as well as a great variety of nuts, of which both children and adults eat profusely.

In general, persons retire before midnight; but whenever they sit up later at parties, they are still rung out of bed by the preparatory breakfast bell at seven; and their appearance then, as well as at other periods of the day, afford evidence that they have not slept sufficiently. As to exercise, although there are some few who ride, and many more who walk at stated periods every day, yet the vigorous exercise required for the young, in cricket, hoop, foot-ball, running, leaping, wrestling, &c. is almost unknown; and neither archery, nor any other exercise, except walking, is practised by females; so that their bodies are never so fully developed, their health so robust, their figures so beautiful, or their complexion so rosy, as would be the case, if more exercise and more sleep were taken, and less food and less sweetmeats were eaten.

The same degree of paleness and languor is observable in the boys at the public schools, and this was adverted to in the proceedings of a public meeting held in Boston during my stay there, in the month of October, 1838, from the report of which the following extract

may be given from the papers of the day. The chairman, after alluding to one or 2 F 2 436 two other topics connected with the meeting, passed to the following.

“The other topic was that of over mental excitement.—The children were stimulated too highly. Too much was required of the pupils. Their intellectual labour began at too early an age, and it was enforced upon them too many hours in a day. Hence our children looked pale and feeble. They lacked robust frames and firm constitutions. This fault was not attributable to the committee nor to teachers, but to parents, who insisted upon the performance of tasks too arduous for the young mind. The physical education of the pupils had been altogether neglected. Germany paid judicious regard to this point. The result was seen in the health and long life and protracted labours of her scholars.— How different it was with us! Our students were *thin* and *pale* , to a proverb.”

The boys of Boston are, notwithstanding, among the rudest and most turbulent that I ever remember to have seen; and among other instances of their rudeness I may mention the following. My youngest son, who accompanied us on our travels, being about thirteen years of age, had to go from our residence daily, at different hours, to take lessons from his various masters, who lived in different parts of the city; but scarcely a day passed without his being beset by some of the Boston boys—called after, and occasionally assailed with stones, as well as with coarse epithets—and for no other reason that could ever be conceived or discovered, than that he was an “English boy,” and was therefore regarded by them as an “interloper.” Their conduct became at last so bad, that we were obliged to send a manservant with him in going and coming; and even then, they were often both assailed, especially when they met, as they did occasionally, a school just dispersed, 437 where the number of the boys gave them additional courage for the onset.

Among the customs which prevail with the ladies, is that of wearing mourning for a much longer period than in England, and of not receiving visits or going out to parties, during all the time that their mourning is worn. Between persons not in mourning, visits are interchanged occasionally; but even here, the morning calls are among the heaviest

taxes on time that strangers are called upon to pay; and many valuable hours are literally wasted every week, by persons taking a long walk to call on those who have left their cards on some previous day: when, in nine cases out of ten, the answer is, “Not at home,” or “Particularly engaged.” As these answers are given to every one indiscriminately, without knowing who may call, no one can reasonably take offence: but it would be a great gain to all, if these morning calls, which end in nothing but a waste of time, were abolished altogether, and cards of interchange or inquiry sent by the penny-post, or by a messenger, who might go the rounds for the visitor, and save him the inconvenience and disappointment.

Notwithstanding these peculiarities, and, as they seemed to me in many instances, defects of society in Boston—and there are none which are not easily capable of reform and improvement—my sincere conviction is, that there is no city in the world, of the same extent of population, in which there exist more substantial wealth, honourably and industriously acquired, more mercantile integrity, more useful intelligence, more general comfort, more purity 438 of morals, more benevolent efforts for the promotion of humane and charitable institutions, or more general knowledge, virtue, and happiness, than in Boston. There is no blemish within its precincts—whether of fraud, intemperance, profligacy, rudeness, or inhospitality —of which there are not similar examples, and often on a much larger scale, in the old and populous cities of Europe: and if the question could be reduced to figures, and set forth in accurate arithmetical proportions, I have no doubt it would be found, that, in the proportion of crime, vice, or folly, to the whole population, Boston would have less of each, than any other city with which it could be compared.

But as it is *not* perfect—and as its own inhabitants by their very desire to have it so considered by foreigners, must evidently wish that it *should* be so—they ought to regard those as their best friends, who, seeing what, perhaps from their position, they are themselves not so likely to perceive, should have the courage and the frankness to point out the defects which are capable of emendation, and thus become the pioneers

of improvement; since the very first step towards reform, in everything, is, to be made conscious that there is really something that requires it.

CHAP. XXVI.

Last Sunday passed in Boston—Morning service at the King's chapel —Singular union of Royalty, Episcopacy, and Unitarianism— History of the rise and progress of King's chapel—Gift of plate from the king and queen of England—Selection of organ for the chapel by Handel—Church-rates levied by Dissenters on Episcopalians —Anecdote of Capt. Coram, founder of the Foundling— Alteration of the Church liturgy by Unitarians —Examples of the changes made in the service—Prayer against sedition and rebellion retained—Grounds alleged for revising the liturgy—Summary of the service as at present used—Description of the edifice, the Vassall monument—Choir led by the present mayor of Boston —Unitarianism in the ascendant and increasing—Affecting sermon of the Rev. Father Taylor—Affectionate exchanges of farewell—Last evening passed in Boston—Cordial regrets and anxieties of friends.

The last Sunday that we passed in Boston was agreeably and instructively occupied. Having heard, on the preceding Sabbaths, nearly all the principal preachers of the city, in their respective churches, we attended on the morning of this day at the King's chapel, to hear Dr. Greenwood; in the afternoon we went to the Mariner's church to hear Father Taylor; and both were striking and impressive services.

The sermon preached by Dr. Greenwood was a beautiful and convincing discourse, on the propriety of maintaining such of the external forms and duties of religion, as are in accordance with scriptural authority, and the danger of omitting to keep up the continued observance of religious ordinances. It had, too, so remarkable a connexion with the history of the church in which it was delivered, and with all its surrounding associations, that some of its peculiarities will be worth detailing. This church is, perhaps, the only one in

the world which recognizes Royalty in its name, Episcopacy in its ritual, and Unitarianism in its doctrine; being called, at the present moment, King's chapel; using in its service most of the Book of Common Prayer and Liturgy of the Church of England; but introducing such modifications as to make it correspond with the belief and worship of Unitarians. The history of this church is as follows.

It was in 1689 that the first episcopal church in New England was built, on the spot where the King's chapel now stands; and in July of that year an entry appears in the records to this effect, " *Laus Deo.* A memorandum of such honest and well-disposed persons, as contributed their assistance for and towards erecting a church for God's worship in Boston, according to the constitution of the Church of England as by law established." The names amount to 96 in number, and the sum subscribed by them was 256 *l.* 9 *s.* ; but the cost of the church is subsequently said to have been 284 *l.* 16 *s.* It was built of wood, was very small, and wholly without pews, and it was not until 1694 that these were added to the 441 church at a cost of 85 *l.* , which was raised by a subscription of 53 persons, to cover the expense. As the chief part of the community in Boston then consisted of dissenters from the Church of England, this building received no favour from them, but was built principally by the contributions of the governor, Sir Edmond Andros, and the officials and dependents of the government.

In 1696, some presents were made to the church from England, which are thus entered in the records: "The Decalogue, the Lord's Prayer, and the Creed, which were drawne in England, (that is, painted and gilded on tablets for placing over the altar,) and brought over by Mr. Samuel Myles, in July, 1696;" and another entry stands thus, "Boston, 1697, then received of Mr. Myles, two great silver flagons, and one sallver, and one bowl, and one civer, (cover) all of silver, which was given to the church by the King and Queen (William and Mary), and brought over by Capt. John Foye. Received by me, Giles Dyer, churchwarden." The Bishop of London also sent a library of books, which was deemed at

the time the best theological library in New England, and has since been deposited in the Boston Athenæum.

Up to the period of King William's death, the church was called “King's Chapel;” but on the accession of Queen Anne in 1702 its name was changed to that of Queen's Chapel. In 1710, a new subscription was raised, to rebuild the church, which was then enlarged to twice its original size, but was still constructed of wood only; a clock was given by the “gentlemen of the British Society;” and an 442 organ was presented by Mr. Thomas Brattle in 1713, and an organist sent for from London at a salary of 30l. per annum, with an allowance of 20 *l.* for the passage of himself and his wife; and liberty to teach music and dancing! to help out his maintenance.

In 1714, when Queen Anne died, and was succeeded by George the First, the name of the church was again changed to King's Chapel, which it has retained ever since. In 1730, a curious condition of things arose, the Episcopalians of New England being included in the taxation levied to build and support the churches of the dissenters. This appeared to them so great a grievance, that they sent home a memorial to the Bishop of London, and a petition to the King, complaining of “the sufferings of the churchmen in this province,” in being thus compelled to pay rates for the support of the dissenters; and some of those who refused so to do, were imprisoned, and had their goods sold to raise the amount. The dissenters, being the majority, insisted on their point, and carried it; just as now, in England, the churchmen being the majority, act on the same principle, and apply the same means: but in both cases, those who are compelled to pay, feel it to be oppression, though those who exercise the compelling power, call resistance to the impost, rebellion.

In 1741, the wooden building being found to be greatly decayed, it was resolved to build a church of stone, which it was estimated would require 2,500 *l.* sterling; but it was not until 1749, that the foundation stone of the new edifice was laid; and it may give some idea of the imperfect notions then prevailing as 443 to the liberty of the press, to state, that a Boston newspaper, called “The Independent Advertiser,” for describing the somewhat

pompous ceremony observed on this occasion with wit and sarcasm, was afterwards “suppressed;” especially, says the record, “as it had long been made use of for a vehicle of scandal and disaffection to the government.” A curious anecdote is mentioned as illustrative of the temper and character of some of the best friends of their race. As the expenses of this new stone church were found to be much greater than was anticipated, wealthy men, favourable to the Episcopal religion, were applied to for aid by letter, and among the number of these was the celebrated Captain Coram, the founder of the Foundling Hospital in London; “Mr. Barlow Trecothick, who was then in England, waited on him, and, though graciously received, had no sooner mentioned the purpose of his visit, than he was obliged to listen to a burst of the most passionate reproaches against the vestry of King's Chapel, for slighting a present which Captain Coram had formerly made them of a piece of land. All the explanations of Mr. Trecothick seemed not to cool the old gentleman's rage, who at last flatly told his visitor with an oath, “that he knew it was in his power to serve the church very much; but that if the twelve apostles were to apply to him in behalf of it, he would persist in refusing to do it.” This, says Mr. Trecothick, in his communication to the committee, I thought a *definitive* answer, and so I took my leave. The aid required was, however, obtained from other sources; and the whole expense of the 444 church, which amounted in the end to nearly 10,000 *l.* sterling, was defrayed.

In 1756 a new organ was obtained from England, at a first cost of 500 *l.* ; and 137 *l.* expenses. It is the one that is now used in the church, and is viewed and heard with great interest, as there is good reason to believe that it was selected for the church by the great master, Handel, who, though then blind—for he died in 1758, and was blind eight years before his death—tried it by his own hands before its purchase. After the death of George the Second, and accession of George the Third, an additional service of plate was sent out in 1772, with a complete new set of pulpit furniture, as a present from the king; the whole amount of the silver thus presented to the church being 2800 ounces, and the gift of three separate sovereigns; so that from the beginning to the end of its history, this church, built chiefly by the contributions of governor Andros and his officials, used always as the

church of the government, with a special state-pew for the governor and his family, and patronized and assisted by bishops and kings, may be regarded as the peculiar favourite of Episcopacy and Royalty combined.

It is the more remarkable on this account, that this very church should be the first in which the doctrine of the Trinity should be abjured; and that, while retaining the Liturgy of the Episcopal or Church of England service, it should make open profession of Unitarianism. At the revolution in 1776, the gilded crown that stood on the centre of the organ, and the two gilded mitres that stood on 445 either side, were removed by the populace, and all signs of homage to royalty were abolished. The name of King Street was changed to State Street, Queen Street to Court Street, and King's Chapel to Stone Chapel, by which it was for a long time called; but the anti-royal fever has so far subsided, that for many years past the church has resumed its ancient name, and is called King's Chapel by its own minister and congregation, as well as by others.

The next step was the alteration of the Liturgy, which was undertaken in 1788, by Dr. Parker, and completed in 1785, according to the alterations made in the same by the celebrated English divine, Dr. Clarke; these changes being chiefly the rejection of the Athanasian creed, and the omission of all the passages that either recognized or adverted to the doctrine of the Trinity: this amended Liturgy was adopted by the vote of the congregation, and has ever since formed the Book of Common Prayer used by them in their worship. “Thus,” says the present pastor of this church, Dr. Greenwood, who is also its historian, “the first Episcopal church in New England, became the first Unitarian church in America.”

The principal alterations mode in the service are these: Instead of “Gloria Patti,” at the end of each of the Psalms, “Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost,” the sentence used is this “Now unto the King eternal, immortal, invisible, the only wise God; be honour, and glory, through Jesus Christ, for ever and ever. Amen.” In the “Te Deum,” after the words, “the Father of an infinite majesty,” the subsequent passages are 446 expunged,

and these substituted, “The Creator and Preserver of the Universe, the God and Father of Jesus Christ our Saviour; the enlightener and sanctifier of men; all happiness proceedeth from thee, and to thee all gratitude and adoration are due. We bless thee for sending into the world thy beloved Son. When thou gavest him to deliver man, it pleased thee that he should be born of a virgin:” and the rest to the end is as in the old version. The Litany is much abridged, and many of the expressions modernized. Instead of the prayer, “O God the Son, Redeemer of the world,” &c., the language used is, “O God, who by thy Son hast redeemed the world;” and instead of “O God the Holy Ghost, proceeding from the Father and the Son,” the language used is, “O God, who by thy Holy Spirit dost govern, direct, and sanctify the hearts of thy faithful servants.” Instead of “all the sinful lusts of the flesh, the world, and the devil,” the words used are “all inordinate and sinful affections, and all the secret allurements of this sinful world;” but what seems remarkable is, that these words are permitted to stand unaltered as in the original: “From all sedition, privy conspiracy, and rebellion, from all false doctrine, heresy, and schism, from hardness of heart, and contempt of thy word and commandment, Good Lord, deliver us.”

In the preface to this amended Liturgy, the very persons who pray thus fervently to be delivered “from all sedition, privy conspiracy, and rebellion,” say, “The late *happy* revolution here hath for ever separated all the Episcopal societies in the United States of America, from the Church of England, of which 447 the king of that country is the supreme head:” and on this ground they think themselves justified in “making such alterations in their service as the exigency of the times and occasions hath rendered expedient.” Of the whole work, when these changes were made, they thus express themselves. “The Liturgy contained in this volume is such, that it is supposed no Christian can take offence at it, or find his conscience at all wounded in repeating it. The Trinitarian, the Unitarian, the Calvinist, the Arminian, will read nothing in it which can give him any reasonable umbrage. God is the sole object of worship in these prayers; and as no man can come to God but by the one mediator, Jesus Christ, every petition is here offered in his name, in obedience to his commands.”

The present pastor, Dr. Greenwood, at the close of his interesting History of King's Chapel, from which most of the facts here selected have been gathered, thus acknowledges the present views of his church. “With regard to our religious opinions,” he says, “we indeed differ widely in some respects, from those who once met for worship in this temple. Of these it is sufficient to say, that we believe them to be true and scriptural; and hold them to be precious. Though we have no objection to the name or office of bishop, when used in a scriptural sense, and exercised in a scriptural manner, yet we claim to be interpreters of the meaning of Scripture, on that as well as on other topics, for ourselves. And though we refuse not to be designated by the term Episcopal, yet so long as Episcopalians deem the doctrine of the Trinity to be essential, and an assent to it indispensable, we, as Unitarians, cannot join with them, nor 448 can they receive us; and our communion with our Unitarian brethren of the Congregational order, must be much more intimate than with them. But we retain and prefer the ancient Liturgy, simplified, and altered in conformity with our opinions; and in this respect differ from Congregationalists and others, who use no regular form of public worship. In unity of spirit, and the bond of peace, we desire to join our brethren, and in righteousness of life to be reconciled unto God, through his Son, Jesus Christ.”

The interior of the church resembles those built in London about the time of Queen Anne and George the First. The order of architecture is Corinthian, and the finely-carved capitals of the fluted pillars that support the aisles and gallery, the lofty pulpit with its crimson-damask draperies and velvet cushion, the railed-in altar and communion table, with the tablets of the Decalogue, Creed, and Lord's Prayer, the high and roomy pews all lined with green baize, the old-fashioned organ chosen by Handel, the marble monuments and tablets around the walls, and indeed everything connected with the aspect of the interior, reminded us more of home than anything we had seen in any place of worship since we left England. The lady who accompanied us was most anxious to complete this illusion by having “God save the king” played by the organist—who was himself an Englishman, and “nothing loth”— after the congregation had dispersed, and while we were walking round

with the minister to see the monuments of the chapel: but we satisfied ourselves with her kind intentions.

449

Among the monuments is one to Samuel Vassal, a merchant of London, finely executed in marble, and containing an inscription which, for its historical interest, is worth being copied at length, and it will accordingly be found in the Appendix.* It will be sufficient to say here, that he was the first person in England who refused to pay the unconstitutional tax on tonnage and poundage in the year 1628, for which his goods were seized and his person imprisoned by order of the Court of Star Chamber. He was chosen as member of parliament for the city of London in 1640; and in 1641, the parliament voted him 10,000l. as compensation for his injuries; but, like others who have had their claims acknowledged but not redressed, his family never received anything beyond the honour of this vote and resolution; though his father was one of the gallant patriots who fitted out at his own cost two ships of war, one of which he commanded in person, and joined the royal fleet to oppose the Spanish armada.

* See Appendix.

Among the many interesting peculiarities of King's Chapel and its Episcopalian service by a Unitarian minister and congregation, the choir deserves to be mentioned as one of the most perfect, though by no means the most extensive in Boston; and the organ chosen by Handel, is well sustained by exquisite voices admirably attuned. This choir is led by the mayor of Boston, Mr. Elliott, who is a good musician, with an excellent voice, and who takes a pleasure in conducting this part of the service; so that instead of finding him in what was formerly the governor's pew, where, according to the old custom of colonia VOL. III. l2 G 450 times, and of very recent date in England, the mayor might be found, surrounded by the aldermen in furred robes, and protected by the gilded mace as the emblem of his authority, he is to be seen in Boston in front of the choir, in the organ

gallery, leading the singers, and performing his duty ably and efficiently; and this, too, without losing in the slightest degree, the respect or esteem of his fellow-citizens.

No one can be long in Boston without perceiving that Unitarianism, if not the religion of the numerical majority, is that of the opulent and official classes who compose the aristocracy of the city. Mr. Webster the senator, and several of the members of Congress, as well as of the local legislature, are Unitarians. The president and professors at Harvard University are nearly all Unitarians. The bench and the bar contain a majority of Unitarians; and the medical profession adds largely to their numbers. The mayor and many of the municipal officers are Unitarians; and the great bulk of the more wealthy merchants. It is said here, indeed, that with whatever religion men begin life, when they get very rich, and withdraw from active business, they become Unitarians. The reason assigned for this is: First, that they feel themselves relieved from a great deal of the troublesome duty of frequent prayer-meetings, private conferences, confessions of experience, and other searching and disagreeable inquisitions, to which, as communicants of other sects, they would be occasionally subject; but from which, the moment they become Unitarians, they are free: Secondly, that whatever may be their peculiar views of religion as to its mysteries and doctrines, they are unrestrained in the fullest indulgence of them, without being chargeable 451 with heresy; as independence of judgment is allowed to all, without inquiry or responsibility: and, Thirdly, that Unitarianism being the fashionable or aristocratical religion of Boston, all those who feel that their wealth and station give them a claim of admission to this circle, and many who are ambitious of so doing before their claims can be well established, find the profession of Unitarianism a safe and easy passport to circles to which they would otherwise find admission more difficult.

From all these causes combined, and others perhaps operating unseen, it is beyond a doubt that the Unitarians here have the greatest number of churches, the most learned and eloquent preachers, of whom the justly celebrated Dr. Channing is at the head, and the most fashionable congregations. They are likely to increase, because the reasons already enumerated are sure to be in constant operation, to bring additions to their

numbers; while few or no conversions are made from their ranks to other sects; and the rising generation of Unitarians appear, from all that is seen and known of them, to wear the restraint of religious opinions and observances even more lightly than their parents; and to get more and more “liberal,” as it is termed, in both.

In the afternoon, we went for the third time to hear Father Taylor, at the Mariner's church, and were more deeply affected by his peculiar and touching eloquence than before. There were some recent circumstances which made the occasion one of deeper importance than usual; and these gave him more than his accustomed share of energy and feeling. On the Friday preceding I had gone with Father Taylor, 2 G 2 452 at his request, to visit, with his family and my own, the “Mariner's Home;” to see the accommodation there provided for the comfortable boarding and lodging of seamen, with a view to take them from the temptations by which they are surrounded on all hands, when landing from their voyages; and to inspect the store of clothing, prepared of the best materials, put together by the excellent workmanship of seamen's wives and daughters, and furnished at the cheapest rates; and nothing could be more complete than the whole.

On this very day, however, it happened that 500 men had been paid off from the United States frigate and some sloops of war, forming the Mediterranean squadron, which had returned from a three-years' absence. Large as the number was, however, thus thrown upon the stream at once, there were enough of grog-shop keepers and other interested harpies to decoy them nearly all into their dens; and, except the few that were rescued from their fangs by the Mariner's Home and the Seaman's Home, they were nearly all intoxicated before night. Some were robbed while thus unconscious, by those who made them so for this purpose; and on the following day many were without a dollar, though on the average they had come on shore with from 100 to 200 dollars each; Being thus stripped of all their money, and reduced to a state of stupid insensibility by drunkenness, they were, on the following night, seen choking up the streets and lanes by the wharfs, so as actually to impede the passage; and the night being intensely cold, the thermometer at 6°, the watchmen were all employed in taking them up from the ground, many 453 of

them stiff with cold, and piling them up one on the other in heaps in the watch-houses, to prevent their being frozen to death! This was the fate that befell the brave defenders of their country, when they returned to the land of their nativity; and this was the treatment they received at the hands of their fellow-citizens!

On the following day, Monday, the second election was to take place for the representatives of Boston, and the question at issue between the two sections into which the Whigs had split, was, Whether the regular Whig ticket, as it was called, which contained in it no less than 7 dealers in intoxicating liquor, out of 36 candidates, and nearly the whole of the remain. der were for an unrestricted trade in ardent spirits, should be elected; or whether the Amony Hall ticket, as it was called, on which were 36 men all in favour of upholding the recent license law, which prohibits the sale of spirits in a less quantity than 15 gallons, should be elected in their stead.

Father Taylor, bearing in mind these two circumstances, took for his text the 6th commandment of the Decalogue, from the 20th chapter of Exodus, “Thou shalt not kill,” and made a most powerful and thrilling discourse. He walked up and down the platform just as a sea-captain walks the quarter-deck; behind him were seated half a dozen fine-looking seamen; and the winding stairs ascending to this pulpit on each side, as well as the altar-place beneath it, was filled with seamen also.

In the centre, or body of the church, the whole space was filled by seamen only, and the side-seats below and in the gallery were occupied by the public 454 generally; the whole number exceeding 1,000 persons. He addressed the seamen chiefly as his brethren, and told them, that in the face of this commandment, “Thou shalt not kill,” many of their shipmates and messmates had been murdered, cruelly and in cool blood murdered, some of them body and soul, by the poisonous drink administered to them by guilty and avaricious hands; and after first poisoning, and then plundering them, they had left their victims to perish in the streets! He asked whether they would look on with indifference, while these scenes were passing around them; and he urged them to rally round the polls

to-morrow, and defeat the dealers in the death-inflicting liquid, by preventing their return as members of the legislature, and electing the friends of temperance, who are the friends of humanity, in their stead.

His discourse was one of the most thrilling and heart-piercing that it was ever my lot to hear. The big tear rolled down his furrowed cheeks when he spoke of the sufferings of his brother mariners as though they were his own children; while the robust and manly frames of the seamen to whom he addressed his discourse, alternately swelled with sobs and melted with tears, as they heard his touching tones, and looked upon his beaming and benignant face. The land part of his congregation were as deeply affected as the seamen; and at times there was not a dry eye to be seen in the whole assembly.

If the 500 victims of the avarice and cruelty of the spirit-sellers could have been present, they would have fallen down and worshipped him; for he seemed like an Angel of Light sent to save them from sinking 455 in the gulf that yawned open its frightful abyss to receive them; and if the voters of Boston who were indifferent to temperance, or legislators of the world who scoff at all attempts to promote it by legislative means, could have heard this powerful and searching appeal, they would have been overwhelmed with shame at their past indifference, and never have rested afterwards till they had done all within their power to atone for past neglect.

At the close of the service, though it lasted till it was quite dark, every one seemed reluctant to leave; and after many friendly greetings, warm prayers, cordial benedictions, and mutual interchanges of tears and good-wishes on either side—for the two families, Father Taylor's and my own, seemed knit by this bond of common sympathy for the Sons of the Ocean into one—we bade a difficult and painful yet affectionate farewell, and hoped we might meet again.

I felt so much exhausted by the excitement of the day, that I was disposed to pass the evening alone; but this was not permitted. The fellow-boarders, with whom we had been

living for the past eight weeks—our first week in Boston having been passed at the Tremont Hotel—were unwilling that we should separate without passing the evening together in social intercourse; and as their acquaintance had grown up to friendship in several, and to great cordiality in all, we were unable as well as unwilling to refuse it. Mrs. Putnam, the lady at whose house we lived in Pearl Street, had made her dwelling so much more like a home to us than any boarding-house in which we had lived, since we had been in America, and every thing around us indeed had 456 been made so agreeable by the kindness of all under the same roof, that, though we had seen but little of Boston hospitality to bind us to its general society, we really found ourselves more strongly attached to our home-circle than we had thought of till we came to part.

From some three or four of the families of Boston— whom I should be proud to name, were not the feeling of repugnance to all public mention so strong among persons in private life in this country—we had received very kind and friendly attentions, and particularly from one family whom we had the pleasure to know, and to receive in England. But, with these few exceptions, nothing could be more distant, cold, and frigid than the general intercourse we maintained with the mass. This, however, was not from want of respect or indifference; for few persons had ever before enjoyed so large a share of public favour, public attention, and public commendation and compliment, as I had the honour of receiving from the thousands who attended my lectures, and who at their close often came to express individually their high respect and sincere admiration, mingled with expressions of deep gratitude for pleasure received, and warm congratulations on the amount of good likely to be effected, by the diffusion of the information and opinions which these lectures conveyed.

But of the private hospitalities of Boston we neither saw much ourselves, nor could learn of its exercise towards others; and as we heard on all hands that it was not the general custom to invite guests, except at crowded and ostentatious parties, where 400 or 500 persons are sometimes asked to 457 houses not large enough to accommodate agreeably half the number, we had seen sufficient of the discomfort and irrationality of such thronged

masses as these, fatal as they are to any continuous enjoyment of intellectual intercourse, to make us very reluctant to join them.

As we sat around the family fireside, for the last evening of our stay, amidst the many expressions of regret at our being about to leave, and anticipations of the blank that the loss of our party of three would create for a time, all hoped, that we should return again to a community, which they admitted was cold of temperament, and slow of approach, but steady in attachment when once known.

All this was more agreeable to us than it would have been to leave no regret behind; and after sitting up later than usual, our circle separated for retirement with a cordial interchange of best wishes for our mutual welfare, and hopes of a speedy reunion in the same spot.

CHAP. XXVII.

Journey from Boston to Providence—Lectures delivered here— Churches and pulpits occupied—Animated public discussions, on the question, “Is it right, expedient, and necessary, to use legislative influence for the promotion of the Temperance Reformation?”—Absence of any written constitution—Still governed by the royal charter of Charles II.—Area, Statistics, and population of the State—Manufactures, commerce and shipping —Legislature—Governor, senators, and public officers— Judiciary—Proportion of representatives—Rotten-borough system of unequal representation.

On Monday, the 26th of November, we left Boston for Providence, and were about two hours performing the journey by the rail-road. The cars were commodious, and well warmed by stoves; but the company were more than usually variegated, and among them there were many under the influence of strong drink. These, probably, had been occupied in the second election for Boston, which was held to-day; and the anti-temperance party having been again beaten, many of their disappointed voters may have sought to drown their mortification in drink. The weather was cold—the thermometer in the open air

being at 10°—and as the ground was covered with snow, the road appeared dreary and monotonous. We reached Providence about four o'clock, having left Boston at two, and repaired to the City Hotel, where we took up our abode.

459

We remained in Providence a fortnight, and passed a more than usually agreeable time there, from the pleasant acquaintances we had the happiness to form, and the cordial and friendly hospitalities that we enjoyed during our stay. I was chiefly occupied in the delivery of my lectures on Egypt; but as there is no public room or hall in Providence capable of accommodating more than 400 persons, we were obliged to seek the use of such places of worship as were to be had. We obtained for this purpose the grant of six separate churches in succession, in different parts of the city, and these were filled with audiences, varying from 500 at the first, to about 800 at the last, increasing regularly every night. A seventh lecture was given gratuitously for the benefit of the funds of a chapel, called, after the founder of Providence, Roger Williams's Chapel, and this was still more fully attended than any of the preceding, and added a handsome sum to their treasury.

The fullest and most animated meetings that I attended in Providence were, however, two held for the purpose of public debate on the following question —“Is it right, expedient, and necessary, to seek legislative aid to promote the temperance reform?” These meetings were held in two other churches, one on each side of the river; making, therefore, nine churches in all, from the pulpits of which I gave my lectures on Egypt and Palestine, and delivered temperance addresses, during my short stay in Providence. The audiences at the public discussions on the temperance question being admitted free, were very large — 2000 at least, and some thought 2500 and 3000—but the two churches in which they were held were the 460 largest in the city, and they were completely filled. The result of the discussion was in favour of the position, that it was the duty of the legislature to put every practicable restriction on the sale of intoxicating drinks; and this was carried by a large majority.

My evenings were, therefore, all fully occupied in Providence, and during the mornings of every day I was busily engaged in seeing all the various institutions, manufactories, and other objects of public importance in the town, and interchanging visits with the inhabitants, who took the greatest interest in my inquiries, and assisted them in every way.

The most remarkable feature in the history of Rhode Island is, that it possesses no written constitution for its local government, and in this respect it differs from every other State in the Union. It is still governed by the charter of Charles the Second, which was granted in 1663, the provisions of which are so liberal, that little inconvenience, it is asserted, has been hitherto experienced from the want of such a constitution as is possessed by the other States; nor does there appear the slightest desire on the part of any of the population to annul the royal charter, or substitute a written constitution in its stead.

Rhode Island is the smallest of all the States in the Union; its length from north to south being only 48 miles, and its breadth 42; its area therefore is about 1,500 square miles, or 960,000 acres in the whole. It is bounded on the north and east by Massachusetts, on the west by Connecticut, and on the south by the Atlantic. Its surface is agreeably 461 diversified, being hilly and rocky in the north-west or interior, and generally level in the south-east, or towards the sea. The soil is better adapted to grazing than tillage, and while the quantity of grain raised is but just sufficient for the consumption of its own population, its chief agricultural wealth is in its cattle, sheep, butter, cheese, and the produce of its abundant gardens. Its bays and rivers furnish a great variety of excellent fish; and iron, copper, and limestone are produced by its mountains; its climate is deemed so mild in winter, and cool in summer, that valetudinarians from all parts of the Union visit its sea-coast in the warm season, and its interior in the cold, in order to avoid the extremes of both, which are felt particularly in Maine, New Hampshire, and Massachusetts.

The present population of Rhode Island is estimated to be only about 100,000; but, like every other part of the Union, this State has steadily increased in its numbers. The following tabular view will make this apparent.

In 1730 17,935

1748 34,128

1755 46,636

1774 59,678

1790 68,825

In 1800 69,122

1810 76,931

1820 83,059

1830 97,399

1840 100,000

As the census is decennial, the present number can only be matter of estimate; but that it considerably exceeds 100,000 no one doubts. By the first enumeration, when, according to Callender, “there was, by the king's order, an exact account taken of the number of souls in the colony,” the proportions 462 were as follow—Whites, 15,302; Negroes, 1,648; Indians, 985; total, 17,935. In 1830, the proportions were the following—Whites, 93,621; Negroes and coloured persons, 3,678; Indians, 0; total, 97,399.

It is chiefly for the extent of its manufactures, in proportion to its area and population, that Rhode Island is distinguished as a State. There are at present about 130 cotton

manufactories, eight bleacheries, and four calico printing establishments, employing an aggregate capital of nearly 10,000,000 dollars, engaged in the manufacture of cotton only; besides cloth manufactories, iron works, and other branches of internal industry. The commerce of the State is also considerable, and its shipping exceeds 50,000 tons. In no part of the United States has banking been carried to such an extent as here, there being in this little State upwards of 50 banks, with an aggregate capital of nearly 10,000,000 dollars. One of the oldest mercantile establishments in the United States, Messrs. Brown and Ives, still carry on business at Providence; and the firm has been one of the most prosperous, as it is now one of the most opulent, in the Union.

The legislature of Rhode Island is composed of a House of Representatives, containing 72 members; a Senate, containing 10 members; a lieutenant-governor, and a governor, who are each members of the senate, the governor presiding. This legislature is chosen by freeholders and residents only; the qualification of the voters being the *bona fide* possession of freehold property, or real estate, to the value of 130 dollars capital, or producing an income of 463 seven dollars per annum. No higher qualification than this is required for the members of either branch of the legislature. Rhode Island is the only State in the Union in which the qualification by freehold estate exists. The House of Representatives is chosen semi-annually; so that there are two elections for members in each year, one being in April, the other in August. The advocates for annual parliaments will be glad to learn, perhaps, that no inconvenience whatever is felt by this still more frequent choice. The governor and senators are chosen annually, so that their term of office is of double the length of the former. The same qualification enables an elector to vote for each branch of the legislature; the only difference being this, that the representatives are sent from particular towns, and are voted for only by the resident freeholders of such towns; while the governor, lieutenant-governor, and senators, are voted for by the whole of the freeholders throughout the State, as these represent no particular town, but the general interests collectively. The voting is in the usual manner of putting a printed ticket, containing the names of the candidates for whom the vote is

given, into a ballot-box at the poll; but the law requires that the name of each voter should be written at full length on the back of his vote-paper, for identification; so that, though it is vote by ballot, it is not secret voting; yet from this, no inconvenience is felt, as the independent condition of the voters make them perfectly regardless of the good or ill-will of those opposed to them in politics.

The Governor and Senators are elected every April, and the representatives every April and August; 464 The legislature meets four times in the year, the first Wednesday in May and June; and the first Wednesday in October and January; when they assemble at Providence, Newport, Kingston, and Greenwich, by turns; thus realizing Mr. Cressett Pelham's idea of a perambulating parliament, which he once made a motion to introduce into England.

The Governor does not possess the power of the veto; but sits merely as the President of the Senate, and never votes there, except when the numbers are equal, and he is then called upon to give a casting vote. All laws, therefore, that are agreed to by both houses pass, as matter of course; and the Governor is bound to ratify and act upon them. Without the agreement of the majority of both Houses, no act can become law; but sometimes both Houses meet in Grand Committee, as it is called—that is, they unite their numbers, and sit together as one assembly—when the majority of the whole united number decides the questions in debate.

The salary of the Governor is the lowest in the United States, being only 400 dollars, or about 80l. sterling, per annum. The Lieutenant-Governor has only 200 dollars. The Secretary of State has 750 dollars, and fees; the Treasurer 450 dollars; and the Attorney-General his fees only. The members of both Houses are paid only I dollar, 50 cents, or about six shillings sterling, per day; while skilful mechanics and manufacturers readily earn two dollars per day.

The Judiciary power is vested in a Supreme Court and Court of Common Pleas, for each of the five counties of which the State is composed, namely, 465 Bristol, Kent, Newport, Providence, and Washington. The Chief Justice of the Supreme Court has a salary of 650 dollars; the two Associate Justices 550 dollars each; and the five Judges who preside over the Courts of Common Pleas, in each of the five counties, have no salaries, but are paid by fees.

The proportion of representatives which each city or town should send to the House of Representatives was first fixed by the royal charter of Charles the Second in 1663. This was subsequently modified by an act of the Colonial Legislature not long afterwards; but since that time, no change has been made; and accordingly there is a sort of “rotten-borough system,” which has necessarily sprung out of this state of things. For instance, Newport, which was formerly the largest town of the State, sent 12 representatives, and Providence, which was then a small town, sent only 4. At present, Newport contains about 8,000 inhabitants, and still sends 12 members, while Providence, with its 20,000 inhabitants, sends only 4; no more, indeed, than Portsmouth in the same State, which has only 1500; and many new towns that have sprung up since this act was passed, now more than a century ago, have no representatives at all.

The unrepresented parties cry out of course for “parliamentary reform;” but, as it was in the mother-country, and as it still is, and probably ever will be there and everywhere else, those who *have* the privileges from which others are excluded, are not willing to admit their fellow-citizens to a participation. They contend, as the anti-Reformers of England do, that these anomalies and inconsistencies “work well,” and need no reform; and, therefore, they set VOL. III. 2 H 466 their faces against any innovation. As this party comprises most of the wealthy persons in the State, it is highly probable that there will be no alteration in the charter, no written constitution, and no change in the representative or elective system, for many years to come.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Description of the city of Providence—Division of aristocracy and fashion, east and west end—Private dwellings, shops, hotels, and boarding-houses—Public buildings, State-house, the colleges— The Arcade, churches, structures, and sects—Literary institutions Brown University—Munificence of Mr. Brown a merchant— Government and discipline of the colleges—Attendance at an exhibition of the students—Comparison with the exhibition at Cambridge—Library of the University—Manning Hall—Athenæum —Franklin and historical societies—Great French work on Egypt—Musée Française—Encouragement of literature and art, —Admission of ladies—Opening address—Quaker college— State or public schools—Private schools—The drama.

The city of Providence is very advantageously and agreeably situated, at the head of the tide-waters of Narraganset bay, an arm of the sea coming up from Newport and Rhode Island, and forming a deep inlet from the ocean, about thirty miles inward from the general line of the coast. At the spot where the town of Providence stands, this inlet of the water is so narrow as to look like a river; and it is generally called indeed Providence River; but this is incorrect, as it is an arm of the sea. It extends, however, on the north and east of the town, till it meets the river Seekonk, having two bridges, one called India bridge and the other Central Bridge passing over its narrowest parts. On the north and west of the town it goes on till it meets the Woonasquatucket river, and the Mooshasuck rivers, 2 H 2 468 whose united waters run by or through the centre of the city. The bridge uniting the opposite banks is not more than 100 feet in length, and nearly of equal breadth; it is constructed of wood, with a central way for carts and horses, and two broad side-paths railed off for foot-passengers. Like all the maritime cities of America, therefore, Providence presents an extensive line of frontage to the water: surrounded as it is, on three of its sides, with these two arms of the sea, so that its accommodation in wharfage is ample for the greatest number of ships it can employ; and vessels of all classes, from 50 to 500 tons, come up opposite the town, and find excellent room and complete shelter.

The plan of the city is as regular as the uneven surface of the area, over which it is spread, would admit. The eastern half of the town, taking the division at the bridge across the stream in the centre, is extremely hilly, the lateral streets ascending from the wharfs to the summit of the hill, being steeper than any in Boston, and steeper even than Holborn hill in London. On the more elevated portions of this hill, and throughout its whole extent, are built the spacious mansions of the older and more opulent families. The governor's official residence is in this quarter, as well as the College or University, and the Athenæum. Most of the banks and insurance offices are on this side the water; and the greater number of the “aristocracy of the city,” as they are called, live here. The western half of Providence is on a more level area, and, owing to greater facility in obtaining building sites on moderate terms, this has been the portion in which the increase of 469 dwellings has chiefly taken place of late years. The streets are here more regular in their laying out, are generally broader and better paved: but there are not so many large and substantial dwellings as on the other side; though there are a few, and those greatly on the increase. An “aristocracy” is said to be growing up here also: and it is alleged that something like a spirit of rivalry exists between the inhabitants of the old town and the new—or the up-town and the down-town—or the dwellers on the hill, and the dwellers in the plain—just as in England, in the town of Lincoln especially, there is as marked a line of division between the families above hill, and the families below hill, as there is between the city residents, and the west-end dwellers in London.

The greater number of the buildings in Providence are of wood, painted white, which gives the town a very bright appearance when seen from an eminence, or from a distant point of view: and as there are several lofty white spires, a square brown gothic tower with pinnacles, and a bluish lead-covered dome rising from the churches on both sides, with an agreeable admixture of ships' masts and flags in the central stream, it presents an animated and striking appearance. Here, however, as in most of the large cities of America, the more recent structures are built of stone or brick; and wooden dwellings are gradually becoming superseded, by buildings of more substantial materials. The shops are

inferior in their general appearance to what might be expected in so old and so opulent a city as this undoubtedly is, for its size; and no attention appears to be paid to decoration or alteration. Of hotels there are four 470 or five, but among them, the latest built, the City Hotel, in the western division of the town, is the only one possessing spacious or well-furnished rooms; while even there, the table is what in England would be called wretchedly ill-furnished; and of the boarding houses, the half dozen of the highest repute that I went to see, were dirty and disorderly in the extreme.

Of the public buildings of Providence there are not many that are either large or beautiful. The State-House, in which the legislature assembles, is like an old country mansion in England, with a short avenue of old poplars leading up to it from the lower part of the town, and a common entrance to its other front from the street above: its interior is as plain as its exterior; it is built of brick, washed over with a whitish colouring. The University consists of two piles of building, not uniform with each other, and of a plain style, with a fine Doric hall and portico between them; but the projection of this latter edifice too much in front, and the contrast of its brown stone with the bluish wash that covers the college-fronts on either side, give to the whole an incongruous appearance. The Athenæum, a small building below it on the side of the hill, is in better taste, being a simple Doric hall, with portico, built of granite, and in excellent proportions.

The Providence Arcade is not only the finest of its kind in New England, but in all the United States; and, I think I may add, in England—for neither the Lowther nor the Burlington Arcade, in London, are so handsome, or so commodious as this. It is built of granite, with three separate 471 stories, containing 82 shops or ware-rooms in the interior, forming a ground-floor and two tiers of galleries above; the passages around which are by balconies, railed in with iron fence work, and the ascent to this is by geometrical staircases of granite, the whole being lighted by a glass roof from above. The length of this Arcade is 225 feet, the breadth 80 feet, and the height 72 feet; and it stretches from Wybossett-street on the one front, to Westminster-street on the other; each front having a portico

of six granite columns, of the Ionic order, each column in one entire stone of three feet diameter, and 25 feet in height; the whole costing about 130,000 dollars.

There are 20 churches in Providence, of which six are Baptists, three Congregational or Independent Calvinists, two Methodists, two Unitarian, (one 472 called the Westminster church,) two Episcopal, one Quaker, one Universalist, one Catholic, one Swedenborgian, and two African for coloured people, one called the Zion Methodists, and the other the Abyssinians; the five last-named worship in very humble buildings. As structures, the principal churches are fine buildings, with lofty spires, especially the First Baptist, the two Unitarian, one of the Episcopalian, one of the Congregationalist with its chaste portico and dome, and one of the Episcopalian with its square gothic tower and pinnacles, all of which add much to the beauty of the town. In their interior arrangement, the same features of simple elegance and great comfort are united—cushioned pews, carpeted floors, warm stoves, and commodious and handsome pulpits or platforms, with good organs and 473 excellent choirs, and the greatest order and propriety prevails during the whole service.

Of Literary Institutions, the Brown University takes the lead. This was originally founded at Warren, a small town about eight miles distant from Providence, in 1764; but in 1770, it was removed to this city. It is now called “Brown University,” from its principal patron, Nicholas Brown, the head of the firm of Brown and Ives, merchants of this city, and the oldest firm now existing in the United States. When originally transferred, and established here, it was called the Rhode Island College; and Mr. Manning, its original founder, erected the one pile of buildings called University Hall, which is constructed of brick, is four stories high, 150 feet long, and 46 feet wide, containing 51 rooms for officers and students, with a chapel, library, and museum.

In 1822, Mr. Brown built the second pile, called Hope College, which, instead of being made uniform with the former, as it might so easily have been, was only 120 feet long, and 40 feet wide, though it is four stories high, and contains 48 rooms for officers and students. A space was left between these two piles, for some future central building, of

which these two might form the wings; and this too has been filled up by the munificence of Mr. Brown, who is still alive, though beyond his eightieth year; but instead of making a bold and appropriate centre, which might have united these wings, and, with a little more expense, have brought the disjointed parts into one harmonious whole, the space is occupied by an oblong Doric edifice, after the model of an ancient temple, with its portico projecting considerably beyond 474 the line of the general façade, and open spaces left between it and each of the other piles.

The incongruity of style and order in these three parts of the same Institution, is still further increased by the central building being of a fine brown stone, and the two side ones being of brick, covered with a bluish wash. Still, the lofty eminence on which the whole are placed, the open space of ground by which they are surrounded, their size, utility, and the munificence of their patron, whose name they bear, make them conspicuous and popular among the public buildings of the city.

Mr. Brown not only built the pile called Hope College, and the Doric Temple called Manning Hall, but he devoted 100,000 dollars to the endowment of professors; and he still continues to make occasional grants of large sums for the improvement 475 of the Institution, and has communicated his intention to bestow still more upon it at his death. In this, however, he has not followed the usual example of wealthy men in such cases, by leaving all to be done till he is in his grave; on the contrary, he has done much, and continues to do more, while living; so that he has large returns of interest for his outlay, in the pleasure it must afford him to witness the rise, progress, and perpetual growth of the Institution he has so honourably and munificently befriended.

The government of the University is vested in a Board of Fellows, consisting of 12 members, of whom 8, including the President, must be Baptist; and a Board of Trustees, of 36 members, of whom 22 must be Baptist, 5 Quakers, 5 Episcopalians, and 4 Congregationalists. This mingling of persons of different sects is found to work admirably well, by preserving unlimited toleration and unterrupted liberality and harmony between

all parties. This, indeed, has been the chief characteristic of Providence ever since Roger Williams first planted it, and raised the standard of religious freedom for all sects. On this subject, the following striking passage from the Historical Discourse of John Callendar, published a hundred years ago, is so remarkable as to deserve to be transcribed: He says,

“Our fathers established a mutual liberty of conscience, when they first incorporated themselves; this they confirmed under their first patent, and at the restoration, they petitioned King Charles the Second, ‘that they might be permitted to hold forth a lively experiment, that a most flourishing civil State may stand, and best be maintained, and that amongst English subjects, with a full liberty in religious concernments; and that true piety, rightly grounded on gospel principles, will give the best and the greatest 476 security to sovereignty, and will lay in the hearts of men the strongest obligation to true loyalty.’ And the king was pleased to make them a grant, by which every person may freely and fully have and enjoy his own judgment or conscience in matters of religious concernment, behaving himself peaceably and quietly, and not using this liberty for licentiousness and profaneness, nor to the civil injury on outward disturbance of others. This is the language of the royal charter granted to Rhode Island, by Charles the Second—and Callendar proceeds to say, as one knowing well the state and condition of the society in which he lived, ‘This happy privilege we enjoy to this day, through the Divine goodness; and the experiment has fully answered, even beyond what might have been expected from the first attempt. The civil State has flourished as well as if secured by ever so many penal laws, and an inquisition to put them in execution. Our civil officers have been chosen out of every religious society, and the public peace has been as well preserved, and the public councils as well conducted, as we could have expected had we been assisted by ever so many religious tests. It has been no uncommon sight to see gentlemen of almost every religious persuasion among us, sitting on the same bench of magistrates together. And we may always expect to see it, while that principle prevails, that the surest way to preserve and enjoy our charter privileges, is so to divide the posts of honour, trust, and profit, among all persuasions indifferently; and in general to prefer those gentlemen, of

whatever religious opinions they are, that are otherwise best qualified to serve the public and adorn their stations, and to suffer no one religious sect to monopolize the places of power and authority."*

* Coll. of the Rhode Island Hist. Society, vol. iv. p. 161.

The acting officers of instruction, in Brown's University, at present, are, the president, Dr. Wayland, three professors, and two tutors; the number of students are about 200; and the whole number educated in it since its foundation exceeds 2,000. The annual commencement is on the first Wednesday in September; and there are three vacations in the 477 year: one in September, of four weeks; one in January, of six weeks; and one in May, of three weeks. The average expense of each student is about 120 dollars per annum. I was present at an exhibition of the senior class, of which the following was the programme—

Music. —1. Horatio Latina.—2. A life of action most favourable to virtue.—3. The influence of the moral feelings on the intellect. —4. Originality. Music.—5. The literature of the Spanish Arabs.—6. The tendency of social revolutions.—7. Character of William Wilberforce. Music.—8. Ultimate triumph of free principles. —9. Political aspect of Great Britain.—10. Singleness of pursuit.—11. Action of genius.— Music.

The exhibition was held in the upper floor of Manning Hall, a well-proportioned and well-lighted room, (the lower floor of which is devoted to a library,) before an auditory of about 300 persons, 200 of whom, at least, were ladies, from families resident in the town. Mr. Brown, the benefactor of the University, was present, and having, notwithstanding his extreme age, attended all my lectures, he recognized me on entering, gave me a cordial reception, placed me in one of the chairs laid out for the professors, and introduced me to most of the officers of the institution as they entered. The president took his seat in a sort of pulpit or enclosed desk, on an elevated stage, as at Cambridge near Boston, but did not wear the University cap, as President Quincy did at Harvard. The music was performed by

an excellent band of wind instruments, belonging to the town, the performers occupying an orchestra in a gallery, over the vestibule or entrance. The students wore black silk gowns, but no caps; they 478 were a handsome and gentlemanly body of young men. Their orations were, in general, well conceived and well delivered, especially the Latin oration, and the discourse on the literature of the Spanish Arabs.

The most remarkable composition, however, was that in which “the political aspect of Great Britain” was attempted to be depicted. It would have been highly relished at Oxford, in England; as it was the most conservative speech that I had yet heard in America, though conservatism is so generally spread among all the mercantile and wealthy portions of the community. In this address, the Conservatives of England were lauded to the skies, and the Radicals denounced as the ruthless destroyers of the most ancient and venerable institutions, seeking to destroy, in a single hour, what it had taken ages to construct. “Queen Victoria, in her virgin innocence, (said the speaker,) is supposed to be in imminent danger of suffering the fate of the lamented Marie Antoinette; and Sir Robert Peel and Lord Stanley may be regarded as the great champions of the British constitution; while Lord Brougham and Mr. O'Connell are but agitators, and leaders of a faction, against the peace and stability of the State.” All this appeared to afford great pleasure to the audience, to whom it seemed to me to be the most acceptable piece of the day; and it was evident that professors, students, and auditors, sympathized deeply in the sentiments it conveyed; so much is Conservatism, or anti-democratic principles, in favour with the great majority of the upper classes, or more fashionable circles, in America.

479

The library of the College contains about 10,000 volumes, and is every year increasing; three other libraries, belonging to other literary institutions, are all kept within the walls of the University, and amount to about 8,000 volumes more; while the philosophical apparatus for experiments and illustrations in scientific lectures is very ample and complete. Among the books, which I was permitted to inspect, having been taken through the library by the classical professor, there appeared to be a very fair proportion of the

more solid and learned in each department of study, and at the same time a full supply of the more popular works, with an excellent variety of the best of the scientific publications of Europe. In the library on the ground-floor of Manning Hall is a well executed full-length portrait of Mr. Brown, after whom the University is named, and it is a faithful likeness.

Among the peculiarities of pronunciation which I remarked among the professors and students, was that of pronouncing the first a in the word Arab, as it is pronounced in *Aaron;* and the first a in drama, as it is in *Draco;* but while they made the *a* narrow in these two words, in which the English use it broad, they reversed this sound in two other words, pronouncing the word patron as if it were written *pat-tron;* and fabric as if it were written *fab-bric.* The word “only” was pronounced as if written *unly* , and the word “been” as if written *ben;* this I observed also at the Harvard Exhibition, and indeed it is common among the best educated persons in America. Among the less educated or refined, it was common to hear the expression “he *shew* me a letter,” instead of “he 480 *shewed* me a letter;” and “the sailor *dove* to the bottom” instead of “ *dived* to the bottom” of the sea. The phrase “as lief,” is constantly substituted for “as soon,” or “rather;” as “I would *as lief* see you in the morning as in the evening,” and “I would *as lief* not go out at all.” “He warn't there,” is commonly used for “he was not there;” “it warn't the custom,” for “it was not the custom.” “A rugged man,” is a term used for “a robust man;” and sometimes the phrase “rugged health” is used for “robust health.” When a question is asked of another, and *after* the answer is given, it is common to hear the exclamation, “O! *do* tell—I want to know,” *after* the information has all been given. Though it has so very opposite a meaning, it seemed to me to be as often used, as another phrase in England, when people are surprised by any piece of news, or affect to be so, just as ridiculously exclaim, “You *don't* say so!” All countries, indeed, have their peculiar modes of expression, which will not bear a critical analysis; but this ought to make them all more charitable towards each other in judging of these peculiarities —for no nation, and no class, are entirely free from them.

Next to the Brown University, the Athenæum of Providence deserves especial mention as a literary institution. In the erection of this, the munificence of Messrs. Brown and Ives

was again apparent. They made an offer of a suitable piece of land for the edifice, and the sum of 6,000 dollars towards the building, and 4,000 dollars for the purchase of books, provided an equal sum of 10,000 dollars should be raised by subscription among the inhabitants in the 481 space of three months. This was accepted, and the sum of 20,000 dollars was soon procured, being double the amount stipulated. The work was immediately commenced. The plot of land given was 140 feet in length, and 120 in breadth; and, in 1837, the building was begun, and was completed in 1838.

The building is a Grecian Doric edifice, after the model of a temple, of 48 feet front, and 78 feet in depth, with fluted columns of 14, feet each, in one piece; the height of the walls is 31 feet, and the roof is covered with zinc. In the interior, the arrangements are simple and commodious. The basement story is occupied by the Franklin and Historical Societies. The first has an extensive collection of models and philosophical instruments, as well as an interesting collection of curiosities. The latter has an excellent collection of books, papers, and records. The upper and principal story is occupied by the Athenæum Society. On each side the entrance, is a square room, one of which is the reading-room for periodicals and journals, the other for the librarian's office, and committee-room. The library, or principal room beyond this, extends the whole length of the building, in two subdivisions, and is fitted up in the purest taste. The whole cost of the building, including the furniture, fencing, &c., was about 20,000 dollars, and the books about 20,000 dollars more.

The property is now divided among about 400 shareholders: the price of a share is fixed at 15 dollars, to enable persons of the humblest class to become purchasers; and the annual subscription, VOL. III. 2 I 482 after the purchase of the share, is fixed at five dollars each. The library contains at present upwards of 10,000 volumes, selected with great care and good taste, by an agent employed in England to purchase them. In addition to these, there is a splendid copy of the great French work on Egypt, which belonged to the unfortunate Prince Polignac, and was sold in Paris with his effects, subsequent to his banishment to the fortress of Ham. It was purchased at the sale by an American gentleman then in Paris,

and repurchased by Messrs. Brown and Ives, and eight other residents of Providence, and presented as a donation to the Athenæum.

Another splendid work, “The Museé Francaise,” was purchased by six other residents of Providence, and presented also as a donation to the Athenæum. There are no towns in England, of similar population to that of Providence, (20,000,) where such an Institution could be so rapidly got up and organized, and be so munificently endowed by its citizens, as this. It is well worthy therefore of being held out as an example for imitation in Europe: for this is one of the departments in which the old country may with advantage learn the lessons taught, and the examples set her, by the people of the new.

To show that such acts on the part of the more opulent citizens are duly acknowledged by those for whose benefit they are performed; and that there is not only a full appreciation of the importance of such gifts, and a becoming gratitude for their bestowal, but also a clear perception of the future benefits they are to achieve for their posterity—I subjoin the following extract from the last report of the directors, 483 for the present year 1888, when adverting to the splendid works already named:—

“In recording these liberal donations to the Athenæum, all of them in the department of antiquities and the fine arts, the board cannot but notice with pleasure the evidence thus given of an increasing desire among us to foster a taste for the grand and the beautiful; for studies and pursuits whose effect is to polish and humanize society; to liberalize and elevate the general mind of the community; to abridge the limits of a dull utilitarianism; to weaken the hold of that base passion for accumulation which so deadens the loftiest impulses of the spiritual being; and to waken up and call forth genius in some of its loveliest and sublimest forms. May it not be hoped, that within these walls will yet be collected a gallery of painting and sculpture; and that our alcoves and cabinets will yet contain constantly-growing contributions in all which can lift the soul from the grave of this world's materialism into the fairy domains of the ideal and the poetic—where men of the divinest gifts have always delighted to revel, that they might not only be rapt themselves,

but embody, for the admiration and culture of others, in the speaking page, the canvass, or the marble, their noblest conceptions. Here let there be gathered, largely and liberally, for the successive generations who are to inhabit our city, whatever hath been chaunted or sung by the great ‘choir of everenduring men.’ While we treasure up, as they are produced, the best fruits of the mind and genius of our own day, here too should be garnered the past; remembering that,

‘Stores of the truly great Have all one age, and from one visible space Shed influence! They both in power and *act* , Are permanent, and time is not with them, Save as it worketh for them, they in it.’

It may be mentioned, as another good feature of this institution, that ladies are admitted as shareholders, subscribers, and visitors, as well as gentlemen; and that besides having the accommodation of books at their own homes, for the library is a circulating 2 I 2 484 one, they frequently honour the reading-room with their presence; several very beautiful women were engaged there at the time of my visit.

An excellent institution for education is provided by the Quakers of this State and neighbourhood. It is within a mile of the Brown University, and is called “The Friends' Boarding School.” It belongs to the body composing the yearly meeting of the “Friends” in New England, and is devoted to the education of their children. It has at present nearly 200 pupils, of whom about 130 are male and 70 female. These are boarded and educated under the general care of a superintendent, and the particular and special attention of five male and four female teachers.

Public schools were not begun on the plan of State assistance till the year 1800; there are now in the town seven primary schools and five grammar schools, with one for the children of Africans. In the whole State there are 350 public schools, towards the support of which the State pays the amount of 10,000 dollars a year; and the rest of the expenses are borne by the community. Besides these, there is in Providence an excellent private

establishment, called “The Green Street School,” at which there is a competent body of teachers in the useful, the classical, and the ornamental departments; and at this, too, boys and girls are educated together without inconvenience. I ought, perhaps to have said “masters and misses,” for this is the phraseology of the country, of which every day furnishes instances in the newspapers and in ordinary conversation; but the following will be an example:—

485

Dancing Academy. —Mons. P. Guigon, from Boston, has the honour to inform his friends and other ladies and gentlemen of Providence, that his dancing academy is open at the City Hotel. Days of reception and instruction for young ladies, *misses and masters* , every Wednesday and Saturday afternoon, from 3 to 6 o'clock.

The places of public amusement in Providence are few in number; the grave taste of its inhabitants not encouraging such undertakings. The theatre is but rarely opened, and is then but very little frequented. During our stay at Providence, Miss Shirreff from England performed for three or four nights; but though sustained by several attractive American performers, and by Mr. Wilson an English singer, the audiences were very thin, and composed mostly of strangers passing through the city in their way to and from New York and Boston. The public taste of the country is certainly not favourable to dramatic entertainments, nor even to music, unless it be the choral sacred pieces performed at the Sunday evening concerts in Boston: and it is doubtful whether these would be so well attended on any other evening of the week: but being the only entertainment available on the evening of that day, and offering an agreeable substitute for the church and the chapel to the great number who wish to go somewhere, and have nothing else to do, they have of course a monopoly of the night, and are, therefore, more fully attended than they would otherwise be.

CHAP. XXIX.

Municipal government—Benevolent institutions—Commerce and manufactures of Providence—Statistics of manufactures—Shipping —State prison—Population of Providence, white and coloured—Classes, professions, trades, and pursuits—Anniversary of “Thanksgiving Day” in New England—Religious services, festivity—Public amusements, theatre, balls.

The municipal government of Providence is vested in a mayor, a board of six aldermen, and a common-council of twenty-four members elected from six wards. The town was not incorporated as a city until October 1831, only seven years ago; though it has long been the second town for size, population, and wealth, in New England, having no superior in these respects, except Boston.

The aged and infirm, with the few poor that are found in the State, are comfortably taken care of in an establishment called “The Dexter Asylum,” a large brick building of 170 feet long, 45 feet wide, and three stories in height, which was erected in 1828.

The commerce and manufactures of Providence are considerable, and continually on the increase, the city having local advantages for both which are duly appreciated and adequately sustained, and on these subjects the following statistics were obtained.

There are 4 cotton factories, 3 worked by steam, and 1 by water power; and these employ a capital of about 500,000 dollars. They contain 16,272 spindles and 322 looms. They give employment to about 500 persons in the factories, and about 1000 in 487 various ways out of the establishment, and expend about 250,000 dollars annually in wages. They consume about 700,000 lbs. of cotton, spin about 500,000 lbs. of yarn, and weave about 2,000,000 yards of cotton cloth in the year, mostly of the finest qualities, to the estimated value of about 500,000 dollars.

There are also three extensive bleacheries, one of which alone employs a capital of 250,000 dollars, and gives occupation to about 300 persons, at the annual wages of

75,000 dollars; and the cloth bleached and finished at these establishments, from various parts of the States, sent here from the neighbourhood for that purpose, amounts to about 5,000,000 lbs. or nearly 20,000,000 of yards.

There are eight iron foundries, and ten machine manufactories, employed chiefly in making machinery for the cotton mills. These employ a capital of about 400,000 dollars, and give occupation to between 6 and 700 persons. They work up annually about 1500 tons of iron and steel, and construct machinery to the value of about 500,000 dollars in the year.

In addition to these, there is an establishment for the manufacture of steam-engines, one for steam-steam-boilers and brass founderies, with others for working in tin, sheet-iron, copper, and brass. There is also a manufactory of stoves, stove pipes, and grates for the anthracite or hard coal, which is the produce of this State, and used exclusively here, and which requires stoves of a peculiar construction to burn it in. Added to these there is a manufactory of files, which are made here quite as well as in England, though not so cheap.

488

An extensive manufactory of combs is carried on here; one house alone making combs to the value of 12,000 dollars a year. There are thirty goldsmiths' and jewellers' shops, employing a capital of more than 200,000 dollars, occupying, about 500 persons, and making articles in their departments to the value of nearly 400,000 a year.

A factory has recently been established for making hats, out of wool, by an invention that has received a patent, and its operations are rapidly and extensively increasing; there is another for making candle and lamp wicks, and cotton webbing, a manufactory of sperm oil, another of linseed oil, a mill for grinding dye stuffs, and four large dyeing houses.

A glass manufactory has also been recently established, both for the making and cutting of flint glass; and this, which has now been in operation about seven years, already employs

a capital of 100,000 dollars, gives occupation to nearly 200 persons, and sends out goods to the amount of at least 200,000 dollars per annum.

It is said that in addition to these, and many other smaller manufactories of leather, boots, and shoes, soap, candles, hats, &c., carried on within the city of Providence, the capitalists of the town have upwards of 3,000,000 dollars invested in cotton, woollen, and other manufactories scattered over different parts of this small State, for which agencies exist in the town itself.

The registered shipping of Providence amount to 25,000 tons; there are eight insurance companies, with an aggregate capital of 800,000 dollars; and 20 banks, with an aggregate capital of 5,000,000; while 489 the canals, rail-roads, and steam boats passing from this city to other parts, are believed to have invested in them a capital of 20,000,000 dollars more.

The State-prison, for the criminals of Rhode Island is seated on a point of land projecting into the cove opposite the northern part of the city of Providence. It had only been completed within the last month, and cost 75,000 dollars. Previous to the erection of this prison, the criminals were confined in the county jails, without work, in separate apartments, or several together, according to the accommodations of the prison, or the convenience of the jailor, the only separation constantly maintained being that of the criminals from the debtors.

Fortunately, the criminals are very few, there being only five at present in confinement, one of whom is for murder, and the others for aggravated stealing. They are all males, four being white and one coloured person. The murderer, who is a white man, is confined for life, and the others for periods of one to three years. The murderer was an intemperate drinker, and two of the others were also in the habit of being intoxicated; but all of them could read and write.

The discipline of the prison is after the Pennsylvania system of solitary confinement, as practised in the Penitentiary of Philadelphia. The prisoners have not yet been furnished with regular and constant occupation, owing to the illness of the warden, as it requires a special examination of each man's capacities, to ascertain the kind of labour best suited to his case; but though they have only been a month in confinement in this new prison, they express a strong desire for employment, and evince great gratification 490 at the assurance that it shall soon be furnished them regularly, as they have been within the last ten days occasionally; some of them having made up the sheets used in the prison, and evinced the sincerity of their wishes, by the pains which they took about the work, and the neatness of its execution.

They are treated with great kindness, and are found to be perfectly docile and tractable, as far as can be known from their expressions and deportment yet exhibited. Free intercourse under the license of the inspector, (who interposes no restrictions not necessary to safe custody) is directed by law, for moral and religious instruction; and public religious exercises are allowed on Sundays, in the corridor of the prison, care being taken that the prisoners do not communicate with or see each other. The law also requires that each cell shall be furnished with a bible, at the expense of the State, and that one hour in each day shall be allowed to the prisoners to read it. They have also been furnished with tracts, and it is the wish and intention of the warden and inspectors to adopt all suitable means for promoting the moral reformation and improvement of the prisoners under their charge.

The population of Providence is estimated at present at 20,000 persons. Of these there are 1000 coloured people, a much larger proportion than is found in Boston; but these are here, as everywhere else in the United States, a subordinate, and, to some extent, a secluded or proscribed race; as even in the city of Roger Williams, founded on the principle of “entire religious freedom in religious concernments,” the coloured people are obliged to sit in a 491 certain part of the gallery separated from the whites, in every place of worship.

Of the white population, the great majority are engaged in trade; but from the extensive operations of the commercial and manufacturing establishments of Providence, there are perhaps more wealthy men here, in proportion to the whole number of the community, than in any other city of the Union. There are also many opulent individuals who have retired altogether from any active participation in business, though they employ their capital in the various establishments of banks, insurance offices, and manufactures in the State; but their families live like the leisure class in the older countries, who have withdrawn altogether from trade.

Besides these, there is a happy admixture of learned and professional men, in the heads of the University, the judges, senators, representatives, and members of the legal and medical professions, which, from its being the seat of learning and of legislation, reside in or near Providence, and, from their numbers and influence, give an elevated tone to society, and a right direction to the public taste.

The result of this is, that while there are an abundance of spacious and elegant mansions, richly and tastefully furnished, their occupiers are not, as in many cities, engaged in an ostentatious display of their wealth by costly and crowded entertainments; but there is a sobriety and rationality in their social parties, which makes them peculiarly agreeable. The hours are early, the refreshments simple, and the topics of conversation intellectual; and while their hospitality is on the most generous scale, it is 492 deemed no favour, but merely the performance of a duty, to make strangers feel among them as if they were at home. We passed some of our afternoons and evenings during our short stay here, in circles of the most intelligent and agreeable description; and had more hospitality shown towards us in the twelve days we passed in Providence, than during all the many weeks we were in Boston; such is the difference between places so near each other, though both are large cities, and each the capital of a State.

The annual Thanksgiving Day, which was fixed for the 29th of November in most of the New England States, was observed during our stay in Providence. It has been the custom,

ever since the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers, to set apart a day for the expression of public thanks to the Almighty, for the blessings enjoyed by the country, and the period chosen is usually during the season of autumn. When the exact date is fixed by the governor of the State, he issues his proclamation, recommending the general observance of the day, as one of religious expression of gratitude, and of festive meeting with kindred and friends; and custom has now so long sanctioned this observance that its return is looked for by all classses but especially by the two extremes of society, the very old, and the very young, who enjoy most the festive character of the day, with considerable expectation and anxiety. During the whole of the day all the shops were closed, and business was universally suspended. In the forenoon, public worship was held in all the churches, and a sermon appropriate to the occasion preached in each, At dinner, all the members of the several families met at the festive board, 493 and the tables were loaded with more than their usual weight: turkeys of the largest size, hams of the greatest weight, and pumpkin pies of the most ample dimensions, were to be seen on the tables of the poorest; and even the rich, who fared sumptuously every day, had an extra dish or two on this. The evening was, variously occupied; and as the places of public amusement are generally thronged at the close of this day, there was a benefit at the theatre, where Miss Shirreff and Mr. Wilson from England performed, with several stars of lesser magnitude from the United States: and a “Thanksgiving Ball,” was held at the City Hotel, where we resided, the announcement of which is sufficiently curious to be given entire.

“ Thanksgiving Ball. —Messrs. Seamans and Wyman respectfully inform the ladies and gentlemen of Providence, that they will give a ball at the City Hotel, on the 29th inst. Dancing to commence at half-past six o'clock. Tickets 1 dollar, to be had at bar, Carriages furnished. *Gallants' List at the Bar.* ”

The “Gallants' List” here referred to, was that of the gentlemen by whom the ball was to be attended, the inspection of which might probably lead persons to determine whether they

would go to it or not. The ball was very full and very animated, and dancing was kept up to a late hour.

It was on this evening of Thanksgiving Day, that the friends of Temperance in Providence thought fit to hold their first meeting in Dr. Tucker's church, to discuss the question, “Is it right, expedient, and necessary, that legislative aid should be sought for, to promote the Temperance Reform;” at which meeting I was especially invited and announced to take a 494 prominent part, to maintain the affirmative of this question in the debate. The meeting was crowded to excess, 2,000 being the estimate of some, and 2,500 of others; and many were unable to obtain admission for want of room. This discussion was attended by many of the first families in Providence, as well as by many persons from the country, who took advantage of this day of leisure to come in, several miles from the surrounding neighbourhood. The whole was animated and agreeable, from the orderly manner in which the debate was conducted; and many additional friends were secured by it for the Temperance cause.

CHAP. XXX.

Last visits made in Providence—Green Street school—Chartcter— Address—Bleaching establishment—Steam company's cotton mill—Average wages of males and females employed—Absence of married women from factories—Superior condition and appearance of all engaged—Causes of this suggested and explained—Lotteries for aiding the funds of the public schools —Fewness of dram-shops, and pawnbrokers.

The last visits I made in Providence, were to the Green Street School—the Bleaching establishment —and the Steam Company's Cotton Mills;—with all of which I was highly gratified.

At the Green Street School we found a beautifully classic and perfectly commodious building, in the form of a small Doric temple, exclusively devoted to the business of education, and in which no one slept or resided. The surbasement, or ground floor, was

appropriated to the Primary School, where children of both sexes, from 4 to 7 years of age, were taught by an English lady, perfectly well qualified for the task. On the upper and principal floor were seated about 100 young ladies and gentlemen, from 7 to 16 years of age, occupying separate ranges of desks on each side of the room. The hall was spacious, lofty, well warmed, and yet sufficiently ventilated, beautifully carpeted, and resembling a drawing-room, 496 rather than a school. At the head of the hall was a handsome elevated platform, with the superintendent's desk, behind which was a small but well selected library of useful and entertaining books, for the perusal of the pupils in the intervals between their lessons. Leading off from the upper end of the hall were two private parlours, used as recitation rooms; to which the several classes retired when they were ready to go through their exercises or recitations before their respective teachers; which they were thus enabled to do, without being interrupted themselves, or without their interrupting any of the other pupils of the school.

I had an opportunity of inspecting the books used, seeing the exercises of some of the pupils, and reading their school journals, and they all left on my mind a very favourable impression of the system of education pursued, and of their proficiency under it. The hours of attendance were from nine to twelve, and from three to five; and the healthy appearance of the pupils bore evidence to their not being overtasked. The boys were, in general, more ruddy than we had observed them to be in Boston; and the girls, though all of them more delicate in their figures, and generally of softer and more beautiful features, than would be seen among the same number of English young ladies of the same age, had yet a greater glow of healthiness on their cheeks, and less of languor in their eyes, than we had remarked at the other institutions for female education which we had visited elsewhere. At the urgent request of the principal, or headmaster of the school, Mr. Fuller, I delivered a short address to the pupils, congratulating them on the 497 privileges they enjoyed, and urging them by every consideration of regard for their own happiness, and the general improvement of mankind, of which it might be hoped some of them were destined to become the future instruments, to avail themselves of these privileges while they were yet

in their possession; and before the period of youth should have passed away, never again to be redeemed.

In our visit to the bleaching establishment, I was accompanied by one of the principal proprietors, and shown, unreservedly, every part. The building, in which the works are carried on, is of great extent, standing on the edge of the open piece of water called the Cove, which lies opposite to the upper or north end of Providence. The capital invested in it is about 250,000 dollars; and the number of men employed exceeds 200. Unbleached cotton-cloths from all parts of the State are sent here to be bleached. The process commences with putting the cloths into large vats filled with boiling water, and the proper admixture of alkali to produce the whiteness required. The cloths are afterwards washed and rinsed in several successive waters till made perfectly pure and bright; they are then dried on racks exposed to currents of air, and are then mangled or callendered on hot metallic rollers, under great pressure. The next process is to submit them to an operation called “beetling,” under which, by the stamping of perpendicular pillars on the surface of the cloth, it is made to appear like Irish linen. The piece is then folded into its proper width, and the whole placed in a hydrostatic press; after which, it is done up with the greatest neatness and elegance for VOL. III. 2 K 498 the packages in which the finished work is returned to the original manufacturer.

The reputation in which the domestic manufactures of America are held all along the coasts of South America, and in the islands of the Pacific, for their great strength and durability, as compared with English goods of the same class, is just like the estimation in which India muslins, calicoes, and chintzes were held in England about twenty years ago, as compared with Glasgow and Manchester goods; and both were well founded, because greater labour and care were bestowed on their fabrication, and they were consequently stronger and more lasting. The knowledge of this fact has induced some British manufacturers to have their calicoes and printed cottons done up with all the

external appearance of American goods, and sold as such in the ports of South America, and the islands of the Pacific.

It is now about ten years since this bleachery was established, and previous to its erection the expense of bleaching cottons used to be 12 cents per lb. which, by the improved processes used, is now reduced to one and a half cent; and the profit is greater upon the smaller rate than it used to be on the larger. The power of the steam-engine, by which the works are carried on, is 270 horses; the wages of the men employed range from one to two dollars per day, and the boys about half that sum. Their whole number exceeds 300; but no females are employed on the establishment. The appearance of order, cleanliness, and comfort, which reigned throughout the whole was very striking, and greater, I think, than would be found in any similar establishment in England.

499

We next visited the steam cotton mills recently erected by a company of capitalists here, and now in full and profitable operation. I had seen most of the large cotton mills in Manchester, Stockport, Ashton, Oldham, and Preston, as well as in Glasgow, and was familiar with all the processes used in them; and I had expected to find everything in the American mills inferior to the same things in the English ones, merely from the consideration that the latter had enjoyed all the advantages of long establishment and great experience, while the former were of comparatively recent origin. I was surprised, however, to find this in all things equal, and in many superior, to any similar establishment that I had ever visited at home.

The edifice itself is a massive red-brick structure, 260 feet in length by 40 in breadth; of four stories high above the ground-floor; and exclusive of the attic, the whole height of the building is about 60 feet—with two square towers projecting in front, of about 100 feet in height. The just proportions and good taste observed in the architecture, the decorations of the cornice and mouldings at the roof, the lightness and finish of the towers, and the general aspect of the whole, made it look more like some public building for

government-offices than a cotton mill, and caused it to be an ornament to the city, instead of a deformity, as most of the large mills are in England.

In the interior we were conducted over every floor, from the base to the attic, and saw all the operations, from the hoisting in the bales of raw cotton, to the last finish of the finest threads; as well as the department 2 K 2 500 in which all the machinery used in the mill was made and repaired; everything appeared to us to be in the highest possible order, and the operations to be conducted with the greatest skill and attention. In the several rooms in which the people were at work more attention seemed to be paid to cleanliness, neatness, and ornament, than in English mills; while the persons employed were all better dressed, and evidently in a condition of greater comfort than the same class of factory operatives in England. There are employed in the whole about 300 persons, of whom are men, and 100 women, with very few boys.

The wages of the smiths employed in making and repairing the machinery, averaged a dollar and a half per day, though many received two dollars, and some more. The spinners averaged a dollar per day, and the overseers a dollar and a half. The women, whose ages ranged from 16 to 25, earned half a dollar and three-quarters of a dollar per day, and the more skilful a dollar. There were very few married women at work; as it is thought discreditable to the husband that his wife should do anything but look after his domestic arrangements, and attend to her children and her home; so that unless a husband is improvident, or unfortunate through sickness or any other cause, the wife, though married from the mill, never returns to it. As it is undoubtedly very desirable that all wives should be left free from any other labour, to attend to the affairs of their own homes, and render them comfortable for their husbands and children, I should like to see the same state of things introduced into England, where the sight of father, mother, and children, of the same family, all working in the same. 501 mill, and all earning scarcely more than a father and a single son will earn here, is a sad and melancholy sight, since it seems to preclude all

hope of their intellectual improvement, or their future elevation, even a single step, beyond their present condition.

The hours of work, exclusive of meals, are ten in the winter, and eleven in the summer; and as there are no very young children employed, the hours are uniformly the same for all engaged. Among the young girls of the factory, the greater number were extremely pretty, some were really beautiful; and all were as well dressed as young milliners and mantuamakers in England. The greatest respect appeared to be shown to them by their employers, as well as by the overseers and others with whom they had occasion to communicate; and this respect was the better secured by the females all working together in certain rooms, and the males in certain others, so as to ensure a general separation of the two sexes during their labours.

I have reason to believe that the condition and character of this class of operatives in America is greatly superior to that of the same class in Britain. For this, there are a number of causes; one is, that the tariff of protecting duties enables the manufacturer to give better wages, and yet realize larger profits than are made in England, out of which he can afford to bestow many ornaments and comforts, which a more limited profit would oblige him to curtail. Another cause is, that the men and women employed in the works are better educated while children, have more self-respect, are more temperate, more moral, and consequently more prudent.

502

One of the principal manufacturers told me, that it was customary to keep an open running account with each individual working in the mill, some being paid by the day, and others by the piece; and that they never drew any wages in advance, but always left a balance to accumulate, so that at the end of each half year, when they came to a settlement, they had frequently 100 dollars each to pay to the males, and 60 and 70 dollars to pay to the females, as the arrears of wages not drawn by them. This they invariably invested in savings' banks, or stocks of some description, to yield them interest; and the accumulation

of two or three years became sufficient to buy them a house; another year's surplus would furnish it, and then they were in a condition to marry. After this the husband would continue in the factory, while the wife would attend to her household affairs at home, and help out her husband's wages by economy in the purchase and making of his apparel, and occasional needlework for others as well as for himself; so that they would continue to advance in respectability and comfort, until the workman should become a master on a small scale himself. Many, who are now rich capitalists in Rhode Island, have risen from such a beginning as this.

Among the very few things that I saw in Providence, which I could wish not to have seen, was a lottery office; so fatal a snare for the passion for speculation and gambling; and by the temptations of which so many prudent men are rendered reckless and profligate. The object to which the profits of the lottery were to be devoted was a good one, being to increase the funds for supporting the public schools; 503 but even the excellence of the end for which the funds were to be raised, could not reconcile me to such objectionable means as that of tempting men to adventure in so uncertain and gambling a transaction as purchasing a ticket in a lottery.

On the other hand, I was much pleased at the fewness of spirit-shops, of which I did not see half a dozen during the course of all my walks through the city, and not a single drunken person through all the time of our stay. We saw only one pawnbroker's shop, another excellent symptom, for their abundance is a sure indication of the improvidence and intemperance of the population by which they are required.

The people of Providence generally appeared to us more robust, ruddy, and healthy, than those of Boston or New York; the dryness of the sandy and gravelly soil, the excellence of the water for drinking, and the sheltered state of the town from bleak easterly winds, may all contribute to this; for the climate is more soft and more mild than it is in New England generally, and neither the heats of summer nor the colds of winter are felt in such extremes at Providence, as they are in the other, cities of the North. The temperate habits

of the people generally, may be inferred from the fact that at the City Hotel, where we resided, there were not more than two persons out of fifty at the dinner-table who took wine, and these were strangers passing through the city, and stopping at the hotel for a day: while at the Tremont House in Boston, where about the same number of persons dined at what is called the ladies' table, and where gentlemen, (but only those who are accompanied by ladies) sit, as 504 gentlemen who are unaccompanied by ladies dine in a separate room, there were often from 20 to 30 decanters of wine seen on the table; and those who did not partake, always formed a small minority. Even in the boarding-house at Boston, to which we removed from the Tremont, the majority of the gentlemen, and several of the ladies, drank wine regularly at dinner; but in the hotel at Providence it was a rare occurrence to see this done by any, and these were generally passengers.

Among the few peculiarities that I noticed was that of knockers being used at the doors, as well as bells; whereas at Boston the latter only are used; at least, I do not remember to have seen many at the dwelling-houses of that city, while at Providence they are seen as abundantly as in England, being affixed to almost every door.

In the carts and waggons used for heavy burdens, oxen were much more frequently used than horses, and economy was assigned as the reason of this: the number of oxen thus employed was considerable; but in the stage coaches, and other public conveyances for passengers, horses alone are employed.

505

CHAP. XXXI.

Departure from Providence—Touch at Bristol—Land at Fall River—Journey to New Bedford—Religious services at New Bedford—during our stay—Rev. Mr. Holmes's account of the regions of the west—Rev. Mr. Bent's farewell address to his congregation—Public meeting at New Bedford, for a sailor's home—Visit to the Bethel church—Clothing

store for seamen— Reading-room and museum of curiosities—Tablet to an English seaman raised by Americans.

On the morning of Saturday, the 8th of December, we left Providence by the steam-boat, called “The King Philip,” for New Bedford, to which I had been invited to deliver my lectures. We met at the wharf a number of our Providence friends, assembled to take a last parting shake of the hand, and to wish us an agreeable trip and safe and speedy return; which we promised to make, if possible, in the ensuing summer; and at ten o—clock we left the City wharf.

Our passage down the Narraganset bay to the southward, was agreeable, though there was nothing of particular interest to engage our attention till we rounded the point which opened the bay and town of Bristol, where we landed some passengers, and took in others for New Bedford. The appearance of Bristol from the sea is pleasing, and the active bustle on its wharfs indicated considerable traffic and communication 506 Several fine ships of between 300 and 400 tons burden, were taking in and discharging cargoes; many warehouses and manufactories were spread along the edge of the town, and several handsome churches—among others, one of Gothic structure, which is called “The English Church,” being Episcopalian —shot up their square towers and taller spires from among the ordinary dwellings; the number of which is about 500, and the population from 1,500 to 2,000. The great depth of water, and easy access for ships of the largest burden, offer peculiar advantages to Bristol; and these are still further increased by the recent discovery of a large bed of anthracite coal, which is extensively used in all the dwellings, as well as manufactories of the State.

From Bristol, which we reached in about two hours after leaving Providence, we proceeded on by water for another hour, when we arrived near the head of another small inlet or creek, at the much larger town called Fall River, from a stream in the vicinity which has several falls, and thereby furnishes an extensive water-power for the various manufactories established here. The appearance of this town is not so prepossessing

as that of Bristol, though it contains from 8,000 to 10,000 inhabitants. It is, however, of comparatively recent origin, is built with much less regularity than American towns in general, and is almost wholly occupied by a manufacturing population. Several large ships were lying here also, and one, a Boston ship of 400 tons, was beating out of the bay as we entered, having just landed a cargo of iron, direct from Russia, for the use of the manufactories here.

507

We landed at Fall River, and there took an extracoach to New Bedford, the distance to which was only 12 miles. The road was rocky and sandy, generally level, and not fertile at any time, but, seen in its winter dress, with snow on the ground, was more than usually dreary. We reached New Bedford in about two hours and a half, and found agreeable quarters provided for us at the Mansion House, by the friends who had invited us here.

We remained in New Bedford about a fortnight, and passed our time most agreeably. My course of lectures on Egypt was delivered on the evenings of each week in the old Congregational church, and attended by audiences increasing from about 400 at the commencement, to more than 600 at the close. This occupation, as usual, brought us speedily acquainted with the most intelligent and influential families of the town, from whom we received so much attention, that every evening, not occupied by the lecture, was passed in a large party; and frequently on the days the lectures were delivered, we dined with one family, drank tea with a second, and took some light refreshment with a third, after the lecture was over.

Among the religious services that we attended while in New Bedford, were two that interested us very deeply. The first was a sermon preached by the Rev. Mr. Holmes, who had recently returned from a tour through the western regions of the United States, made in connexion with the promotion of religious objects; and as he had acquired considerable information as to the state of society in the great valley of the Mississippi and in the bordering states of Ohio, Kentucky, Missouri, Indiana, and Tennessee, 508

he made this information the subject of an address in the afternoon of the Sabbath to his own congregation, and such other persons as chose to attend. The account which he gave, in this discourse, of the capacity, fertility, and abundance of these vast and teeming regions was strikingly impressive, and full of grandeur; but the picture which he presented of the state of society there was painful in the extreme; and the cupidity, recklessness, intemperance, and profligacy of the mass, as he portrayed them, excited the deepest sorrow and regret that such beautiful regions should be peopled by so unpromising a class.

The other service that interested us deeply, but in another way, was the farewell sermon of a young Episcopalian clergyman, the Rev. Mr. Bent, who took leave of his congregation previous to his departing for Philadelphia, where he had received a call to a larger church, and more extensive charge. Of the sects here, the Baptists are the most numerous, the Unitarians the most wealthy, and the Episcopalians the fewest of all. The number who began the first congregation of Episcopalians within the town was only five, about five years ago, and they then met in a small room. Having augmented their number to about thirty, they thought that the building a suitable church, and engaging a popular clergyman, might still further augment their numbers, and this they resolved to do. The church was erected, and, though built of wood, so far exceeded their means, as to involve them in debt. The clergyman was procured; and if learning, eloquence, and zeal in the discharge of his public duties, and humility, gentleness, and courtesy in his private relations, could 509 have attracted a congregation, the gentleman they had been so fortunate as to obtain, Mr. Bent, would have accomplished it. At the end of five years, during which he had endeared himself, not only to his own flock, but to the whole town, by the readiness with which he took a part in almost every benevolent work, his communicants did not exceed fifty, with very little prospect of increase; and his talents and character having obtained for him a reputation that had passed beyond the limits of his own immediate sphere, he had received an invitation to take charge of an Episcopal church in Philadelphia, which his sense of duty had induced him to accept.

We attended his farewell discourse on the afternoon of Sunday the 16th of December, having heard Mr. Holmes on the preceding Sabbath; and though on the forenoon of the 9th, when we attended Mr. Bent for the first time, there were not more than 60 persons present—the congregation attracted by his farewell discourse amounted to nearly 400. The sermon was appropriate and beautiful. The text was from the First General Epistle of Peter. “For all flesh is as grass, and all the glory of man as the flower of grass. The grass withereth, and the flower thereof fadeth away; but the word of the Lord endureth for ever. And this is the word which by the Gospel is preached unto you.” The discourse on this text aimed to show that everything was in a state of change and decay: brute matter and animal life, passing from one stage into another, and all around us in perpetual mutation; but that amidst all this change, the gospel remained permanent and enduring to the end. Though, in the course of events, 510 the minister was now called from his flock, and possibly might be gathered to his fathers, and they to theirs, before they should meet again, yet he left behind him that gospel which he had preached, and which others would come to preach after him, untouched by any of those changes which affect all other things.

The matter and the manner of all this was so beautiful, so devout, so tender, and so affectionate, that out of the 400 persons present, there was scarcely a countenance which was not marked by the expression of the deepest sympathy and concern; while many eyes were suffused with tears, and some of his more attached communicants shed them freely and copiously. The services closed by a farewell hymn, written by himself, copies of which were placed in the pews; and every voice, though many were in a state of tremulation through excess of feeling, appeared to join in the solemn strain in which it was sung. It was altogether the most affecting religious service that I had yet attended in the country, and made me share the common regret that such a pastor and such a flock should be separated.*

* A copy of the parting hymn will be found in the Appendix.

On the evening of the same Sabbath, a large public meeting was held at the Baptist church, the largest edifice in New Bedford, for the purpose of making an appeal to its inhabitants, in favour of establishing a “Sailors' Home,” as at New York, Boston, and elsewhere: in which the seamen arriving at this port might find all the advantages of a quiet and comfortable boarding-house, without the temptations to which 511 they are hourly subject in their usual haunts, from being constantly plied by interested parties with intoxicating drinks. As the interest which I had ever taken in the cause of elevating the condition, improving the character, and adding to the comforts and enjoyments of seamen, as a class, both in England and America, was well known here, the meeting, which had been some time contemplated, was purposely deferred till my arrival, and I was specially invited to attend and take a part in its proceedings, which I cheerfully did.

The meeting began to assemble about six o'clock, and the church was soon crowded in every part, about 1500 persons finding admittance, and many being obliged to go away for want of room: the galleries were filled with a large body of seamen, all clean and in their nearest trim, which, as they were almost all uniformly dressed in blue jackets, waistcoats, and trousers, with white shirts and black silk cravats, and behaved with the greatest decorum, had a fine and characteristic effect, in its mere aspect, and undoubtedly assisted to enlist the sympathies of the meeting on behalf of their race.

The proceedings of the evening were opened by the Rev. Mr. Moggridge, the pastor of the church, with prayer. The chairman, Samuel Rodman, Esq., a Quaker of opulence in the town, and President of the New Bedford Port Society, then explained the object of the meeting, and invited general attention to the statements which would follow. After this the report of the last year's proceedings was read, and the first resolutions were moved by the Rev. Mr. Holmes, and the Rev. Mr. Bent, each of whom made 512 very feeling and appropriate addresses in support of them.

I was next introduced to the audience, and occupied the remainder of the evening, speaking for about two hours, and embracing a general view of the whole subject, setting

forth the grounds on which seamen, as a class, had powerful claims on the rest of the community, who were all more or less benefited by their toils and labours, in the extension of geographical discovery, the spread of commerce, and the promotion of civilization; and whose peculiar disadvantages and privations, and the special dangers by which they were surrounded, in the shape of every conceivable temptation that assailed them when they came on shore, strengthened those claims on the other portions of the community for aid and protection—to save them from the dangers which the land rather than the sea presented to them.

I recommended the establishment at New Bedford of a “Sailors' Home,” on the plan of an improved boarding-house, with every domestic comfort, at a cheap rate, and with auxiliary amusements of an innocent and instructive kind, but free from the contamination of intoxicating drinks. The mode by which this could easily be accomplished, by a very light tonnage-duty on the ships, devoted specially to this end, was clearly shown; the success of similar undertakings in other places proved; and the benefits that would result from all this, in a pecuniary and economical point of view, as well as in the higher objects of humanity, morality, and religion, were enlarged upon at length. The result of the whole was the unanimous adoption of a resolution to 513 set about building and establishing the “Sailor's Home” proposed, without delay, and procuring the funds for it after the manner suggested.

The meeting was altogether interesting and impressive, and the feeling awakened was strong and enthusiastic; so that a liberal collection was made on the spot, to assist the funds required for carrying forward the proposed object; and many names were collected also as friends to the undertaking, who thus pledged themselves to future exertions on its behalf.

During our stay in New Bedford, I went to visit the Bethel Chapel, which has been already erected for the religious services of the seamen; and in company with Mr. Francis Alden, at whose invitation I had come to New Bedford to deliver my lectures, and Mr. Enoch

Mudge, the chaplain of the Bethel, we inspected the clothing-store, reading-room, and museum, attached to the establishment. The first of these originated with the ladies of New Bedford, who wished to provide apparel for sick seamen and their families when in need. This led to its enlargement, for the purpose of supplying sailors, generally, with outfits; and the wives, daughters, and widows of seamen are employed in making them, receiving good wages for their labour, and constant employment; while the seamen are furnished with better clothing, and at cheaper prices, than from the common stores.

In the reading-room are books, papers, and journals of various kinds; and here is kept a register, in which the name of every seaman of the port, as far as it can be obtained, is entered, with his place of VOL. III 2L 514 birth, age, and other particulars, and an entry made in a separate column, of the name and address of the person or persons to whom, in the event of his death, he wishes a communication to be made, and to whom he desires any property he may leave to be transmitted; an arrangement that is attended with the best effects, and worthy of general adoption.

In the museum are a great variety of natural productions and curiosities, gathered chiefly in the whaling voyages, from the various continents and islands visited in their track, including many of the dresses, warlike weapons, and even idols, of the islanders of the South Sea, with shells, minerals, birds, fishes, reptiles, and other curiosities of nature and art.

I was much pleased to find in the Bethel Chapel, many tablets of marble set up by the seamen, in token of their affection for shipmates lost at sea; and I was still more pleased to find that the first instance of this kind was one in which a young Englishman, John Glover, of London, who was the only one of his nation among the whole crew, had been lost overboard at the age of 22, from the ship China, on the 27th of January, 1835. On the return of the ship to port, after an interval of many months, his American shipmates subscribed to procure a marble tablet, to be set up in the Bethel Church to his memory, and had a funeral discourse pronounced on the occasion of its being placed there, at

which all the sailors then in port, as well as the ladies of the Port Society, and many of the principal families of the town, attended. In a subsequent instance, when a young English seaman 515 belonging to the Revenue schooner of the port died, the American commander and crew had a handsome marble tablet set up in the Bethel Church to his memory; and these examples have now become of general adoption. Such acts as these are agreeable to record, and worthy of recommendation for general imitation.*

* Copies of two tablets of this description, one to an English, and one to an American seaman, are given in the Appendix.

Our stay at New Bedford, though short, was full of pleasure; and we experienced more friendly attentions, and found ourselves more completely at home, in the agreeable and hospitable society of its inhabitants, than we had yet done since landing in America, much as we had before experienced of all this in many of the cities and towns of the Union. 2 L 2

CHAP. XXXII.

Plan and appearance of the town—Public and private buildings— Population and classes —Maritime character and connections of the inhabitants—Anecdote of New Bedford sailor-boys in the Persian gulf—Domestic manners, characteristics, and causes— Kindness and hospitality experienced—Skill in removing houses from their original positions—Visit to the village and port of Matapoissett—Extensive ship-building carried on there—Manufacture of salt from the sea-water—Visit to the Rev. Dr. Robbins —Description of his curious and valuable library—Township of Rochester—Use of the word “town”—Americanisms generally old English phrases—Journey from New Bedford for Plymouth.

The town of New Bedford is one of the prettiest that we had yet seen in the United States. Its beautiful and advantageous position, the regularity of its plan, the good taste of its public buildings, and the ample size and substantiality of its private mansions, all combine to give it an air of opulence and comfort, which must strike every stranger who visits it.

New Bedford lies on the western bank of the river Acushnett, which first flows into the inlet or arm of the sea that here receives its waters, and then discharges itself into Buzzard's bay. The town of Fairhaven, occupies the eastern bank of the same 517 river, the two places being connected by a long bridge resting on piles, and crossing two or three small islands in its course. The breadth of the stream from town to town is little short of a mile. New Bedford rises gradually from the river's bank, over the side of the eastern hill, at an easy angle of ascent, till its houses reach the upper edge or ridge, which is about 100 feet above the level of the sea, and is distant from the water's edge about half a mile. This constitutes the breadth of the town, while its length along the sea-border, from its northern to its southern extreme, is little short of two miles. The streets are laid out with great regularity, the longitudinal streets running north and south, parallel with the line of the river, and the lateral streets running east and west, from the upper ridge to the stream; so that on riding along this ridge, and looking downward to the east, every new street passed by, presents a new and unobstructed opening to the water.

The streets are in general from 60 to 80 feet in breadth, and many of them are lined on each side with trees. The business part of the town, near the water and the wharfs, is the least beautiful, as might be expected, from the counting-houses, stores, shops, and warehouses that abound there; but the upper part of the town contains many noble mansions, as large, as elegant, and constructed in as good taste, as any in the country. They reminded us very forcibly of some of the beautiful buildings of Canandaigua, in the State of New York, being, like them, of the purest style of architecture, and, like them 518 too, surrounded with beautiful grounds, shrubberies, and gardens; while, instead of the lake, they have the more varied and more extended prospect of the river that flows before the town in the east, and the wide expanse of the blue sea to the south.

Among the public buildings is an excellent Custom House and Post Office in one, built of Massachusetts granite, with a fine Doric portico; a new Market House and Town Hall, now erecting, of granite also, with Doric portico, 100 feet by 70; a commodious Court

House, of brick, with an Ionic portico. There are no less than 14 churches, though the population is not more than 12,000, many of which are elegant structures, particularly a new Unitarian church, built of granite, in the Saxon-gothic style, with massive square tower and turrets; and a new Baptist church, with a fine Ionic portico, and tower of the most graceful proportions. Besides these, there are several banks, and an academy; while many of the private dwellings are so highly ornamental, and some of them even so imposing, as works of art, that they would do honour to any city of the old world as well as of the new.

The population of New Bedford is estimated at 12,000 persons, and it is believed that there are among them a greater number of wealthy families than in any town of the same population in the country, their wealth having been wholly accumulated by trade. A considerable portion of the opulent class here are Quakers; but, with the exception of these, nearly every other person of wealth began his career as a ship-boy at sea, and passed up, through the various 519 gradations of seaman, officer, and commander, and then retired, to place his capital out to profitable use, and live comparatively at ease.

New Bedford has furnished more captains to the regular lines of packet-ships between New York and London, and New York and Liverpool, than any other town on the coast. One of the oldest veterans of this service, Captain Crocker, is now living at New Bedford, a fine robust and healthy old sailor, active and vigorous at 85; and, after having crossed the Atlantic between England and America more than 200 times, and occupied the post of commodore, or oldest commander in the service, for many years, he is now the president of an insurance office, and universally beloved and respected.

Among the many minor circumstances which rendered my visit to New Bedford particularly agreeable, was a fact of which I had wholly lost the recollection, but which others had kindly remembered to my advantage. Of the captains furnished by New Bedford to the New York packets, there were four, who, as long ago as the year 1817, sailed from this port as boys, in a ship called the Leonidas, commanded by Captain Job Stevens,

to the Persian Gulf. At that period I was myself sailing in that sea, in command of the "Humayoon Shah," or the "Magnificent Monarch," a fine frigate in the service of the Arab prince, the Imaum of Muscat; and these four youths rowed their commander alongside the frigate, in a visit which he paid to me in the Persian Gulf. Being much struck with their interesting appearance, —for they were all sons of captains, and destined to become captains themselves, though they pulled the 520 oars of the jolly-boat, as is usual with all the boys who are intended to be made thorough seamen of, in this country, — I invited them on board, and bade the steward give them refreshments,—a favour which was so well remembered as to be talked of on their return home, and to be made the subject of universal comment and praise in New Bedford, as soon as my intended visit to it was made known. I regreted to learn that all these four captains, whose names were Huddlestone, Stevens, Swift, and Stoddart, were now at sea; but their relatives and friends here, to whom they had told this anecdote, had treasured it up for my arrival; and before I was in New Bedford a week, I heard it repeated to me by twenty different persons. If so slight an incident as this could elicit gratitude and kind remembrance from those who were the subjects of it, and praise from those who heard of it, at a distance of so many years, who can doubt but that an interchange of hospitality and friendly services would bind nations together, as it binds individuals, more strongly than treaties however skilfully drawn up or elaborately composed? —and that England and America could be so united by reciprocal kindness is beyond a doubt; though unhappily there is still too strong a tendency in England to undervalue every thing American: and too strong a jealousy in America, generally, to admit readily the superiority of any thing English; though the exceptions to these instances of mutual prejudice are happily growing more and more abundant every year.

I may add, that the pleasure of our visit to New Bedford was greatly increased, by our meeting here 521 an English lady, Mrs. Lumbard, whom we had the pleasure to know, and to rank amongst the warmest of our friends in London, thirty years ago; and an American gentleman, Captain Atkins Adams, with whom I had sailed, twenty-nine years ago, in the

ship Rising States, of Marblehead, from London to Norfolk, in Virginia, in the year 1809; and our meeting with these friends was a source of extreme delight. They contributed also, by their personal attentions, and introductions to the large circle of their friends, to make our stay as full of pleasure as it was possible to be; and to make us regret the close of every day, as bringing us one day nearer to the time of our separation.

The domestic manners of the families of New Bedford were peculiarly agreeable to us, characterized as they were by a happy union of general intelligence, good sense, frankness, and more of warmth and cordiality than we had seen in the American character elsewhere. For this, perhaps, several causes may be assigned. One is, that there being no class here, as in Boston and the larger cities, so much above others in wealth and possessions, as to make them separate themselves into an upper or exclusive caste, the intercourse is very general, and embraces all persons of moderate competency, respectable character, and affable manners. Another cause is, that having, for the most part, either passed their lives at sea, or mingled much with sailors, they have that frankness and heartiness of manner, so characteristic of mariners all the world over. A third cause undoubtedly is, that their voyages having embraced a wider range than usual, 522 for trips to circumnavigate the globe, in whaling and in trading voyages, are undertaken every year from this port, and one captain was named to me, whose wife had accompanied him in trading voyages three times round Cape Horn, and the Cape of Good Hope —they have had a larger intercourse with the different nations of the world, and rubbed off many of the angles of national prejudice which adhere so strongly to those who always remain at home; while many also, after they have acquired a competency by their distant voyages at sea, take a trip with their families to England, visit France and other continental countries from thence, and come back greatly improved in intelligence, feelings, and manners.

The result of all this, added to the particular claims which Captain Adams, Mrs. Lumbard, and the four sailor-boys, now all captains, had established for us before we came, was to make us respected, courted, and entertained by every one who could obtain a visit

from us; and to comply with the wishes of as many as we desired to gratify, we were often obliged to dine with one family, take tea with a second, and pass an evening party with a third; so that if we could have been “killed with kindness,” we were really in danger of such a death.

The people of New Bedford are as skilful as they are in other parts of America, in the removal of houses, from the places in which they were built to a more convenient locality. One large house was pointed out to me, built of brick, with six tall chimnies, which had been moved, whole and complete, from the spot where it was first erected, up the hill, to a more remote and elevated position; and it 523 was asserted and repeated by many, in whose veracity I had the fullest confidence, that all this was done while the family were living in the house, and operations of cooking going on during all the time.

Another case was pointed out to me, in which a small wooden church was moved from its position in the street, to make room for the large stone church now occupying its place, under the pastoral care of Mr. Holmes; the smaller church, in its new position, being at present used as a lecture-room. And a third instance was shown to me, in which a church had been cut down from the roof to the foundation in the centre, the two parts drawn asunder, from each other, and the open space filled up so as to connect the whole, thus adding about 30 feet to the length of the building when completed.

During our stay at New Bedford, we made an excursion to a thriving little sea-port, within the adjoining township of Rochester, called by its ancient Indian name, of Matapoisset. The inhabitants do not exceed 800 in number; yet so actively are they engaged in ship-building, for which the locality is peculiarly favourable, that they launch upon the average four large ships, besides many smaller vessels, in the course of each year. About three years ago, there were nine ships of from 300 to 400 tons each, on the stocks at once; and three of them were launched on the same day. In the proportion of ships to population, Matapoisset perhaps exceeds any other ship-building port in the United States. Most of these vessels are engaged in the Southern whale fishery, like those of New Bedford, and

some in carrying general freight of merchandise. The smaller 524 ones are engaged in coasting and fishing voyages. Salt is manufactured here also to a great extent from the sea-water, which is pumped up from the sea, and deposited in shallow reservoirs or salt-pans, from whence the salt is obtained by evaporation of the water.

At this village we had the pleasure to pay a visit to one of the most venerable of the New England divines of the present day—the Rev. Dr. Thomas Robbins, who has been for forty years the pastor of the congregation over which he now presides, and who, as might be expected, is greatly esteemed and beloved by his flock. We were conducted by him over his library, which, for such a spot, is both extensive and valuable; and particularly rich in antiquarian and biblical lore. He has collected also a vast number of pamphlets and other works on the early history of America; which are all so well classified and arranged, as to be immediately available for the illustration of any point of American history, and form altogether perhaps the most extensive and valuable collection of historical memorials in the State— the number of the separate pamphlets exceeding 4,000.

In addition to these, there are upwards of 3,000 volumes in general history, the belles-lettres, and theology; and among the last no less than 300 ponderous folios, many of them printed between 1450 and 1500. The richest part of his library, is however, his collection of ancient bibles; among which is a copy of Cranmer's, another of the Geneva bible, and several of King James's, one of 1613, and one of 1630, in black letter; a copy of Coverdale's bible; 525 and a very fine copy of St. Jerome's Bible, printed at Venice in 1478. He has also a copy of Elliott's Bible, including the whole of the Old Testament and the New, translated by the Missionary Elliott into the language of the Naragansett Indians, who formerly occupied these parts; this was printed at Cambridge near Boston, so long ago as the year 1683, being the first Bible ever printed in America, about 63 years after the first settlement of Massachusetts. At the end of this Bible is a translation, into the same tongue, of the whole of Sternhold and Hopkins's version of David's Psalms, the versification of which is very curious, in its appearance, orthography, and pronunciation, of which the following may serve as specimens:

Job, i. 1, 2.

There was a man in the land of Uz, whose name was Job; and that man was perfect and upright, and one that feared God, and eschewed evil: And there were born unto him seven sons and three daughters.

Indian version.

Na mo wasketomp ut ohkeit Uz, nob ussowesu Job, kah nob wosketomp a pannuppeyeuoo, kah sampwesu, kah noh quoshont Godoh, kah aqueteah matcheseonk. Kah nokitteauan nesausuk tahsuroh wanaumonuh, kah nishuoh wuttauronoh.

Psalm ii. 1.

With restless and ungoverned rage Why do the heathen storm? Why in such rash attempts engage As they can ne'er perform?

Indian translation.

Tohwutch nag, penoewohteacheg, Musquantamwehettil? Tohwutch tahroche teagas nag, Unnantammohettit.

Having passed some hours, when in England, with the late Dr. Adam Clarke, in examining the Duke of Sussex's collection of Bibles, at Kensington, 526 I advised Dr. Robbins to open a communication with his Royal Highness, on the subject of Biblical literature, which might be productive of mutual gratification.*

The township of Rochester, of which Matapoisset forms a part, is about six miles square, the usual area assigned to such townships; and each section, so cut off and divided, is governed by town's officers—the Select men, as they are called, being elected annually by a town's meeting—and these regulate every thing connected with the business of the

township; while the sheriff of the county, and the justice of the peace, who are appointed by the governor and council of the State, discharge the functions of the judiciary, It is the universal custom here to call these townships by the name of “town,” and thus, an inhabitant would say, “the town of Rochester is six miles square,” or “the village of Matapoisset is situated within the town of Rochester.” As English persons usually understand by the word town, a concentrated collection of dwellings—this different sense in which

* The Rev. Dr. Robbins adopted my advice, and addressed a letter to his Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex, offering him a duplicate copy, which he possessed, of Elliott's Indian Bible, and expressing a great desire to obtain from Europe a copy of the old Edition usually called “The Bishop's Bible.” To this the illustrious Duke returned a very prompt and gracious reply, sending out to Dr. Robbins a copy of the Bible he wished to procure, but at the same time declining to deprive him of the duplicate copy of the Indian translation, as he already possessed one of these in his collection at Kensington. This act of princely liberality, to a distant and unknown republican minister of the gospel, of a dissenting body of Christians, soon became known in the United States, and was spoken of with great and deserved praise in most of the papers of the Union.

527 the word is used here, gives rise sometimes to ludicrous mistakes. An English lady, who was married to an American gentleman, heard him describe his residence as within the town of Rochester, which the lady naturally supposed, from his stating it to contain 10,000 inhabitants, to be a pretty large-sized town. On their way thither, the husband having passed the limits of the adjoining township, exclaimed, “Now, my love, we are very near home.” To which the wife rejoined, “But where is the town? I do not see it yet.” “Oh!” replied the husband, “why, we have been in the town for several miles past.” The astonishment of the lady was increased rather than diminished, “Town!” she exclaimed, “why, I see nothing but fields, and cattle, and trees; for not a single house is visible in any direction: surely this is a strange kind of town without houses.” Yet such was the “town” of Rochester, or township, which would be the more accurate name. The dwelling of the

husband, which was within the “town,” was a country mansion, surrounded by half a dozen neighbours within a mile; and the area of six miles square was spread over in the same way with scattered dwellings, hamlets, and villages, several miles apart from each other, but all, in the New England sense of the term, belonging to the same town!

As connected with the different use and acceptation of certain words, and the peculiarity of some particular.expressions, I may mention, that in this quarter, to “hire money” is used for to borrow; and to “hire a farm” or a house, is used for to rent it. The word “smart” appeared to be in general use, to indicate good health, as, for instance, when persons 528 were asked in the usual manner, “How d'ye do this morning?” the answer would often be, “Smart, thank you,” or “Pretty smart,” which is a degree below, and “Quite smart,” which is a degree above the ordinary condition. In England, the word “smart” is chiefly applied to gaiety of appearance and finery of apparel or decoration among landsmen; but at sea, it is used to imply activity, readiness, and intelligence. Thus, “a smart officer,” is one who thoroughly understands his duty, and is active and efficient in maintaining discipline; and the injunction “be smart,” is often given to seamen. In this sense it is used by all classes in America; a “smart man” meaning always an active, intelligent, and capable person. The word “chors” is here used to signify errands, messages, and small commissions or jobs; and ladies of the best society say, “I have a great many chors to do this morning,” when they have shopping or purchases to make for themselves or others. This, however; is old English; as the phrase “chor-woman” is still used in London for an assistant servant, called in to help the domestics on cleaning days.

Indeed, most of the phrases which we are accustomed to call “Americanisms” are in reality old English, and were probably brought to this country by the original settlers, the only difference being that they have become obsolete in England, but are still continued to be used here. As an instance of this, it may be mentioned that the act of cutting any thing out of wood with a knife, as children make boats and other playthings, is called “to *whittle* it out.” Now, so far back as the time of Chaucer, the weapon used by yeomen, which was half-knife 529 and half-dagger, was called a whittle; and “Sheffield whittles” are spoken of

as among the best then known. So the phrase “as liev,” implying “as soon,” is old English. In the reign of Henry the Eighth, the phrase was common in English writings; and in Tyndal the Martyr's Preface to his new Translation of the Scriptures from the original Hebrew and Greek into the vernacular tongue, he uses the word “liever” to convey the meaning which we should now express by the terms “much sooner,” or “rather,” in the following passage, in which, speaking of the great hostility of the Romish clergy to any translation of the Scriptures into the vulgar tongue, he says, “A thousand books had they *liever* to be put forth against their abominable doings and doctrine, than that the Scriptures should come to light.”

CHAP. XXXIII.

Anniversary of the Landing of the Pigrims—Ball at the Pilgrim Hall—Beauty of the ladies —Presentation of colours to the Standish guards—Oration of Dr. Robbins—Air of God Save the King—Ode to the Pilgrims—Temperance address at the orthodox church— Examination of the town and its records.

Having been invited to attend the annual celebration of the Landing of the Pilgrim Fathers at Plymouth, we left New Bedford on the morning of Friday, the 21st of December, with some agreeable friends, who engaged an extra-stage for the purpose. Our party consisted of Mr. Francis Alden and his lady, both descended from the pilgrim fathers, John Alden, and Governor Bradford, whose silver cup, brought over in the Mayflower, we were the bearers of for the celebration;—Captain Atkins Adams, with whom I had come to this country 29 years ago, when we sailed together from London to Norfolk in Virginia, and his lady;—Mr. Jenny, another descendant of the pilgrim fathers;—the Rev. Dr. Thomas Robbins, of Matapoisset, who had been invited to deliver the annual oration; Mrs. Buckingham, my son, and myself.

We left New Bedford at half-past eight, passed through Fairhaven at nine, and after an hour's pleasant ride through a stony and barren tract, in which we drove ten miles, we reached the centre of the township of Rochester soon after ten. Here we alighted at the hospitable mansion of Captain and Mrs. Lumbard, the lady whom we had known as a warm and intimate friend more than thirty years ago in England; and early as the hour was, we found prepared for us a sumptuous entertainment, in a luncheon or second breakfast, of which we all heartily partook. Starting from hence again at twelve, we passed over a more sandy but still infertile territory, except for pine-wood, which lined the road on either side, and after a drive of three hours more, performing a distance of about twenty miles, we reached the ancient town of Plymouth, and found apartments provided for as at the “Old Colony House” hotel.

The anniversary of the Landing of the Pilgrims falling this year on a Saturday, and Saturday evening being revered in many parts of New England as the commencement of the Sabbath, it was thought proper that the public ball, which usually closes the proceedings of the anniversary day, should on this occasion be given on the night preceding. The ball was to be given in the building called “Pilgrim Hall;” the tickets of admission were three dollars each, including refreshments; and the hours of dancing were limited, from seven in the evening till three in the morning. Having been joined by a large party of other New Bedford friends, who came down in their own carriages, we made a “goodly company” for the ball, and attended it early in the evening. The number 2 M 2 532 assembled was about 400, more than half of whom we were told were residents of Plymouth, and the other half were strangers from Boston, Providence, New Bedford, and the surrounding towns. The number of ladies and gentlemen were nearly equal, though I was informed that among the resident population of Plymouth, the females are nearly three times as numerous as the males; the young men leaving the town between 15 and 20, to study or pursue the calling to which they intend to devote themselves for life. But as the greater number of the strangers who come to visit them at the anniversary are gentlemen, the severe cold of the season making it inconvenient for ladies to travel much

at this time of the year, the inequality of the sexes is agreeably adjusted and balanced; and thus, at the Pilgrim Ball, as it is called, there is never any want of partners.

The dances, which were all previously fixed on, and announced in a printed code of regulations for the evening, distributed with every ticket, consisted of country-dances, called here, more accurately than with us in England, “contra-dances,” cotillons, Spanish dances, and quadrilles. The visitors were as miscellaneous as those at the President's levee in Washington, or the military levee in Salem, already described; for as this is almost the only public entertainment in Plymouth throughout the year, every person that can save up the requisite sum of three dollars, and who feel no scruples of a religious nature as to joining in such entertainments, make a point of attending the annual ball. There was a great mixture, therefore, of classes, and consequently a great variety of tastes in dress, and of general carriage and manners. 533 Many of the gentlemen danced in frock-coats; some had drab, and others black and white plaid trousers, such as were fashionable for morning-wear in England a few years ago. One gentleman danced in yellow morocco slippers, and scarcely a dozen were in what would be considered a proper ball-dress at home. The ladies, however, exhibited no such marks of carelessness or neglect in their costume, but ran generally into the opposite extreme. The most fanciful mixture of colours, great profusion of ribbons, and in some instances an almost Indian fondness for beads and feathers, made the ladies among the gayest in their apparel that we had for a long time seen. One of these, indeed, so far outstripped even the florid taste of the night, that she was designated by the other ladies generally, and as if by common consent, “the peacock;” and certainly, if a variety of gaudy colours, and the display of varied feathers, could justify a claim to this distinction, it was abundantly merited.

Notwithstanding all this, there was the same commendable and beautiful order and decorum in the behaviour of all, that we witnessed with so much pleasure at Washington and Salem. No one gave themselves any airs of arrogance or superciliousness. Every one made way cheerfully and readily for others; nothing was done, said, or looked, that could give the slightest offence; none appeared to feel any other sentiment than respect

and goodwill towards each other; and throughout the whole of the long evening, I do not remember to have seen a single countenance which did not express satisfaction, cheer fulness, and good nature. Some of the younger ladies 534 were among the most beautiful that we had yet seen in America; three or four were exquisitely lovely, and, as specimens of feminine beauty, could hardly be surpassed, I think, in any country in the globe. If accurate miniatures could be taken of them by first-rate artists, for any collection of female beauties, in annuals, or other similar publications, they would be worth a great deal to any painter or publisher in England. Such lovely faces, under the graceful pencil of Sir Thomas Lawrence, would have been numbered among the richest of his gems.

We remained at the ball till near midnight, when the spirit of the dance was in no degree abated, and some of the younger members of our party continued until three in the morning. The next day was devoted to the remaining business of the celebration, which took place in the following order. At ten o'clock there was a parade of a military company called the Standish Guards, consisting of about 50 men, well-dressed, armed, and drilled. To these it was intended to present a new stand of colours, and for this purpose a platform was erected in front of one of the houses in Court Square, on which, after the music of an excellent band, a young lady, of about 18, ascended, accompanied by her father. Her dress was a cloth riding-habit, with velvet cap surmounted by a plume of ostrich feathers, and a long white blonde veil, hanging gracefully on one side of her face. She delivered a short but appropriate address to the captain of the company, on presenting him the colours for his corps. The captain replied in a much more ambitious strain; his oration, which had been evidently penned and committed to memory, was of the most 535 inflated style, filled with lofty and sonorous words, and full of heroism, devotion, wounds, and death. Its effect, however, was completely marred by the gallant captain closing his unusually florid and energetic speech with the words “In the name of this *corpse* , I receive, madam, the flag presented by your own fair hands.” Not a muscle of any countenance betrayed the slightest perception of this error in pronunciation; for in America it is common to give to all French words used in the language, such as *route, tour* , &c. the pronunciation which their

orthography would warrant if they were English, and to speak them as if they were written rout, tower, &c. At first this strikes one as a great vulgarity; but it is no more so than the constant practice of the English themselves, in giving to French names a purely English pronunciation, as in Paris, Calais, Lyons, &c., which, though maintaining exactly the same orthography, are so differently pronounced by the natives of England and France.

After the presentation of the colours, we repaired to the Pilgrim Hall—of which a more detailed description will be given further on—and the members of the Pilgrim Society there, forming themselves into a line, and being joined by all the strangers and most of the resident heads of families in the town, marched to the music of the band, in a long procession, to the principal church, a fine gothic building recently erected by the Unitarians. Here we heard the oration delivered by the Rev. Dr. Robbins. It was a grave, sensible, and well-arranged discourse, chiefly historical, but happily blended with moral reflections suggested by the event commemorated, and the associations 536 of the time and place. In the course of the service an ode was sung by the choir and audience, to the air of “God save the King,” which tune has been long since adopted and used in this country for devotional hymns, under the name “America.” In the Appendix will be found some beautiful lines on the subject of the Pilgrim Fathers, by two of the sweetest poets of the country, Mr. Pierpont and Mrs. Sigourney.*

* See Appendix.

The service was closed by an appropriate hymn, sung to the tune of the “Old hundreth psalm,” the peculiarity of which was, that it was delivered out, line by line, after the manner of the Pilgrims; it being on record that in their devotional exercises these Fathers followed here the practice then common in England, of reading from the pulpit a single line only of the psalm to be sung; and when that was finished, but not before, giving out the second. This was a practice well adapted to a period. when there were not printed books enough for all: and when all could not read; but wholly unnecessary at the present day, when circumstances are so much changed. A ludicrous anecdote is current on this subject,

which states, that the minister gave out from the pulpit, to the great astonishment of his congregation, the following paradoxical lines from an old version of David's Psalms. The first line was this—

“The Lord will come—and he will not”

This seemed so flat a contradiction in terms, that many refused to sing it at all, supposing that there was some error in the delivery. Their surprise, 537 however, was still further increased by the next succeeding line

“Be silent—but speak out.”

which seemed so impossible to be done, that the choir were in despair; though if the two lines had been read at once, with attention to the punctuation, they would stand thus—

“The Lord will come—and he will not Be silent,—but speak out.”

After the service, the guards who had escorted the Pilgrim Society to the church, marched homeward in military order; and the afternoon was given to interchange of friendly greetings and domestic visitings. In the evening, a large assemblage was collected at the orthodox church of Mr. Hall to hear an address on the history and influence of temperance societies in Great Britain, which I had been announced to deliver there.

The audience was very numerous; and the impression appeared to be as powerful as could well be desired,—the address lasting upwards of two hours, and great numbers coming at its close to express their satisfaction, and their regret at its not being longer.

On Sunday, the 23rd, we attended the church of the Rev. Mr. Briggs, and heard a very eloquent and beautiful sermon, from a passage in the Gospel of St. John: “He must increase”—alluding to the increase of the followers of Christ, and the general spread of his doctrines over the civilized world. It embraced a most interesting and philosophical review of the history of the past; it comprehended also a survey of 538 the present; and

it carried forward the imagination to the prospects of the future. The sermon was written, as is almost always the case in this country; and the preacher was young—from 25 to 30; but it was a most masterly composition, and admirably delivered; we had the pleasure to learn, that the whole character of the man was in perfect harmony with the professions of the minister.

During the three remaining days of our stay at Plymouth, the 24th, 25th, and 26th of December, we were engaged during the mornings and afternoons in examining all the objects of interest in the town, and in the evenings in delivering, in the Pilgrim Hall, three Lectures on Palestine, which were attended by very large audiences in proportion to the population, beginning with 150 on the first evening, and ending with more than 300 on the third. This occupation, too, brought me here, as elsewhere, acquainted with the principal families of the place, who were all most anxious to show us attention, in the exercise of their hospitalities, and in opening to us every source of information on all the topics of interest connected with Plymouth and its neighbourhood, on which we desired to be informed.

With their aid and assistance, therefore, we visited the Rock on which the Pilgrims first landed from the Mayflower, the ship that brought them from England; —the Pilgrim Hall, with its noble picture, and its interesting museum of Pilgrim relics;—the burial-ground of the first settlers, in which the mate of the Mayflower, at the age of 98, was deposited in 1697, the gravestone bearing the inscription being still preserved, he being only 21 on his arrival in the settlement, 539 and living 77 years after his landing; and the Record Office, in which we saw the original documents as far back as 1623, when plots of ground were assigned by lot to the settlers; as well as many enactments and orders of the first Court attested by the autograph signatures of the Pilgrim Fathers—Bradford, Winslow, Standish, Brewster, Prince, and Morton. From these united sources of documentary and oral information, the following history and description of Plymouth is drawn.

CHAP. XXXIV.

History of the foundation of Plymouth colony—Affecting embarkation of the Pilgrims at Delfthaven—Sail from Plymouth in the Mayflower—Arrival off Cape Cod—Civil compact signed in the cabin of the Mayflower—Landing on Plymouth Rock—First treaty made with the native Indians—First offence punished among the English settlers—Community of Property—Individual possessions—First introduction of trial by cution for crime—Severe sickness, and destroying hurricane— First code of laws—Fines for drinking, smoking, and Sabbath-breaking—Punishment of whipping, for extorting high profits— Instance of rigour and impartiality in executing the laws—Singular regulations respecting manners—Union of Plymouth with the colony of Massachusetts—Oliver Cromwell's commission to Governor Winslow—First notice of horses seen in the colony— Persecution of the Quakers—Selling criminals for slaves—Employment of native Indians as magistrates—Efforts of Plymouth in the Temperance reformation—Jail and poor house both empty, and distilleries of rum extinct—Native Indians in Plymouth.

The history of the foundation of Plymouth Colony is too remarkable and too interesting to be passed over in silence, in any description of America; and written on the spot itself, every incident of it assumes additional importance. Without entering, however, into very minute details, an outline of the principal events connected with the rise and progress of this remarkable settlement, may very appropriately precede a description of its present condition.

541

The religious persecutions which characterized the reigns of Mary, Elizabeth, James, and Charles, in England, led many of the most pious and worthy of the nation to seek an asylum in other countries, and to become voluntary exiles from their native land, rather than endure the oppressions to which they were subjected there.

It was in the year 1610 that a party of such exiles went to Holland, under their pastor, Mr. John Robinson, where they resided in peace for some few years, first at Amsterdam, and then at Leyden; but finding, even there, some obstacles to the full enjoyment of

their religious opinions, and little prospect of advancing their condition, they resolved, about the year 1616, to remove to America. Their motives for this step, as recorded by themselves, were to “preserve the morals of their youth; to prevent them, through want of employment, from leaving their parents, and engaging in business unfavourable to religion; to avoid the inconveniences of incorporating with the Dutch; to lay a foundation for the propagation of the gospel in remote parts of the world; and by separating from all the existing establishments in Europe, to form the model of a pure church, free from the admixture of human additions.”

In 1617, Mr. Robinson employed, Mr. Robert Cushman, and Mr. John Carver, as agents for his church, to the Virginia Company, to obtain a grant of territory for settlement within their limits, and at the same time security from the king that they should enjoy their religious freedom. They did not return till 1618; and the answer they brought was, that the Virginia Company would grant the land, and 542 “the king would connive at them, and not molest them, provided they carried themselves peaceably;” but he would not set the example of granting any act of toleration officially, or under the great seal of state. In 1619, a second negociation was opened by Mr. Bradford and Mr. Cushman, and these obtained the patent desired; but as it was not in all respects such as was unanimously approved, it was never made use of; and they contented themselves with obtaining a grant of land from the Virginia Company, which was made to them along the banks of the Hudson River —all the territory north of the Chesapeake being then called “Northern Virginia”— and determined to rely on Divine Providence for the issue.

It was thought best that a portion of the whole number should go out first, and that Mr. Robinson the pastor, and another portion, should remain behind until the arrival of the first party should be heard of. This being agreed on, several of the congregation sold their estates, and made a common fund, which, with money contributed by others, enabled them to purchase the Speedwell of 60 tons, and to charter the Mayflower of 180 tons, for the voyage. All things being ready they prepared to embark at Delfthaven. The following

touching account is recorded, in the New England Memorial, of the last hours they passed on the continent of the Old World, before they embarked for the New.

“When they came to the port, they found the ship and all things ready; and such of their friends as could not come with them, followed after them, and sundry came from Amsterdam to to see them shipped, and to take their leave of them. One night 543 was spent with little sleep with the most, but with friendly entertainment and Christian discourse, and other real expressions of Christian love. The next day, the wind being fair, they went on board and their friends with them; where truly doleful was the sight of that sad and mournful parting, to hear what sighs, and sobs, and prayers, did sound amongst them, what tears did gush from every eye, and pithy speeches pierced each other's hearts, so that sundry of the Dutch strangers that stood upon the quay as spectators, could not refrain from tears. Yet comfortable and sweet it was, to see such lively and true expressions of dear and unfeigned love. Their reverend pastor falling down on his knees, and they all with him, with watery cheeks, commended them with most fervent prayers unto the Lord and his blessing; and then, with mutual embraces and many tears, they took their leave one of another, which proved to be the last leave of many of them.”

The pilgrims embarked on board the Speedwell, at Delfthaven, in Holland, on the 22d of July, 1620, and sailed for Southampton, in England. Here they found the Mayflower awaiting their arrival; and both vessels sailed from the port together on the 5th of August following. The Speedwell, however, proving leaky, was obliged to put into Dartmouth to repair; but on sailing a second time was found to be so unseaworthy, that both ships put into Plymouth, in Devonshire, where the Speedwell was condemned, and the whole of her passengers transferred to the Mayflower, in which there were, therefore, 101 passengers, including 41 males, 28 females, all wives accompanying their husbands, and 42 children and servants, besides the crew, crowded into a vessel of 180 tons burden.

The Mayflower sailed alone from Plymouth on the 6th of September, 1620, and shaped her course for the Hudson river, on the banks of which the grant of land had been made to

the emigrants by 544 the North Virginia Company; but according to the positive testimony of the secretary Morton, the captain of the ship was bribed by the Dutch governor to conduct them to New England, so as to place them there beyond the protection of any English charter. The boisterous nature of the passage at this season of the year, rendered it very easy, on pretence of unfavourable winds, to shape the vessel's course farther to the northward; and accordingly on the 11th of November, after a passage of more than two months, they found themselves entangled among the breakers of Cape Cod, and winter far advanced. Here they anchored; but before they sent on shore a party to reconnoitre the ground, and ascertain whether a landing could be safely effected, they assembled in the cabin of the Mayflower, and after a solemn religious service of thanksgiving and prayer to the God of their worship, they drew up and signed the following brief but memorable compact of civil government.

“In the name of God, Amen. We whose names are underwritten, the loyal subjects of our dread sovereign Lord King James, by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, king, defender of the faith, &c., having undertaken, for the glory of God, and advancement of the Christian faith, and honour of our king and country, a voyage to plant the first colony in the northern part of Virginia,—do, by these presents, solemnly and mutually, and in the presence of God and one another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil body politic, for our better ordering and preservation, and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and by virtue hereof, do enact, constitute, and frame such just and equal laws and ordinances, acts, constitutions, and offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient, for the general good of the Colony; unto which we promise all due subjection and obedience. In witness whereof, we have hereunto subscribed our names at 545 Cape Cod, the eleventh day of November, in the year of the reign of our sovereign Lord, King James, of England, France, and Ireland, the 1st, and of Scotland the 5th, Anno Domini 1620.”

This compact was signed by each of the 41 males among the exiles, and the first seven names are those of John Carver, William Bradford, Edward Winslow, William Brewster,

Isaac Allerton, Miles Standish, and John Alden; the latter being the first to step on shore when the boat landed at Plymouth, and the first, therefore, to set his foot on the Pilgrim Rock.

The first Governor elected by the suffrages of all, was John Carver; and the head of the first exploring party was Miles Standish. On the 13th of November, the wives of the Pilgrims were set on shore to wash, and a party of the men was formed to explore the interior. These ranged the woods for several days, and saw five Indians at a distance, but could not prevail on them to draw near. They found, however, a ship's kettle, some European garments, knives, pack-needles, and pieces of old iron, which were subsequently ascertained to be parts of the wreck of a French vessel driven on the coast. Some Indian dwellings were also found, but their inmates had all deserted.

The result of their investigations was not sufficiently encouraging to induce them to settle at Cape Cod, so that, after further explorations, they determined on fixing themselves at the spot then called by the Indians, Pawtuxet, where Plymouth now stands; and on the 11th of December, old style, corresponding with the 22nd, or, in stricter accuracy, with the 21st of December, new style, 1620, they made their first landing on the Plymouth Rock. VOL. III. 2 N 546 Their first care was to construct a shed or temporary house, that should serve for the shelter of all, while separate dwellings were building; and this shed, of 20 feet square, at which every individual laboured amidst the most inclement weather, was completed in a few days.

After this, the land was apportioned in lots, of three poles in length, and half a pole in breadth, for each family's house and garden, which were to be built on each side of a uniform street, for better security against the Indians; and this street, ascending up from the water, at right angles with the shore, was the Leyden-street of the old, as it continues to be of the existing town, though the original dwellings have been all replaced by larger and more substantial ones. The common dwelling, indeed, was burnt down by fire so early as the 21st of January, 1621; and before April of the same year, disease had committed

such ravages among their little band, that only 55 survived out of the 101 that came out of the Mayflower. Among the deceased was Governor Carver, whose short term of authority had only endeared him the more to those over whom it was so mildly and equitably exercised.

Though he died, however, full of honours, and was remembered by all who survived him, it is already uncertain where his body was interred, and no stone or other monument either marks the place of his burial, or records his virtues. The tradition is, that all the early victims were buried on a spot called Cole's Hill near the beach; and that at a subsequent period, when the Indians came among them, the survivors caused all the graves to be ploughed, and sown 547 over with corn, to prevent the Indians seeing them, and thence inferring the numbers of the dead, by which it was feared that they might infer the weakness of the settlement, and thus be induced to attack it, in the confidence of victory.

It was not until the 16th of March, 1621, that the settlers had an interview with any native Indian, when a chief named Samoset, who had journeyed down from the country of Monhiggon, now the State of Maine, entered the settlement, and, advancing towards the place where he saw many of the settlers assembled, addressed them in broken English, saying, “Welcome! Englishmen; Welcome! Englishmen;” to the great surprise and joy of all who heard him. It appeared that he had learnt from the captains of the English fishing vessels frequenting his coast, sufficient of the language to make himself understood; and he communicated to the settlers the fact, that about four years before their landing here, a severe sickness had carried off all the native inhabitants, which accounted for the fewness of the Indians they had yet seen.

He further represented, that in the neighbourhood were still a large tribe called the Nausets, who were justly incensed against the English, as, only a few years ago, an English captain named Hunt (visiting this place under the orders of the celebrated Captain Smith, the first settler of Virginia) had taken on board 20 Indians from Pawtuxet, and 7 from the Nausets, and carried them off to Malaga in Spain, where he sold them as slaves,

at 20l. a head; so early in the history of this country, had the cupidity of the 2 N 2 548 English introduced the odious practice of kidnapping, and the atrocious traffic of the slave trade.

On the 2d of April 1621, the first treaty was made with the few Indians belonging to the tribe who formerly inhabited Pawtuxet; when the chief or Sagamore, named Massasoit, with Quadequina, his brother, and others of their tribe, met the English settlers, on an adjoining eminence, called Watson's Hill. It was necessary, however, to offer presents, to induce the Indians to treat, and the governor “ sent Mr. Winslow to the chiefs with a pair of knives, a copper chain with a jewel in it for the king, and for Quadequina, a knife, and a jewel to hang in his ear; a *pot of strong water* , (probably ardent spirits) a quantity of biscuits, and some butter, all of which were well received;” so early in their intercourse with the Indians did the English introduce among them the fatal curse of intoxicating drinks. The record of the interview that followed this, is sufficiently curious to be given entire.

“Winslow addressed Massasoit in the name of king James, assuring him that the king saluted him with words of love and peace, and did accept of him as his friend and ally; and that the governor desired to see him, and confirm a trade and peace with him as his next neighbour. Massasoit was well pleased with the speech, and, after eating and drinking, gave the remains to his people. He looked on Mr. Winslow's sword and armour with a desire to buy them, but he refused to gratify him. Massasoit now left Mr. Winslow in the custody of Quadequina, his brother, and came over the brook with twenty men, leaving all their bows and arrows behind them. Captain Standish and Mr. Williamson, with six musketeers, met the king at the brook, and each party saluted the other, when the king was conducted to a house then partly built, where were placed a green rug and three or four cushions. 549 Governor Carver now appeared with a drum and trumpet, and a few musketeers. After salutations, the governor kissed the king's hand, who in return kissed him, and they seated themselves; but the king all the time trembled for fear. The governor called for some strong water and drank to him, and he drank a copious draught, which

made him sweat a long time after. Massasoit and his people having partaken of some fresh meat, the following terms of peace were mutually agreed to.

“ 1. That neither he, nor any of his, should injure, or do hurt, to any of the English. 2. If any of his did hurt to any of ours, he should send the offender, that we might punish him. 3. That if any of our tools were taken away when our people were at work, he should cause them to be restored; and if ours did harm to any of his, we should do the like to them. 4. If any did unjustly war against him, we would aid him; if any did war against us, he should aid us. 5. He should send to his neighbouring confederates, to certify them of this, that they might not wrong us, but might be likewise comprised in the conditions of peace. 6. That when their men came, they should leave their bows and arrows behind them, as we should do our pieces when we went to them. Lastly, that doing thus, King James would esteem him as his friend and ally.

“ The above treaty was pleasing to the Sachem, and approved by his people. In his person, the king was a lusty, able-bodied man, and in his countenance grave. His attire differed little from that of his people, except a great chain of beads of white bone about his neck. His face was painted with a dull red, like murry, and oiled, both head and face, so that he looked greasily. He had in his bosom, hanging in a string, a large long knife; he marvelled much at the trumpet, and made some attempts to sound it. All his followers were painted of divers colours; some were clothed with skins, and some were naked. Samoset and Squanti tarried all night with the English, and the king Massasoit, and his people, with their wives and children, spent the night in the adjacent woods.”

The first offence committed and punished among the English was that of John Billington, “who shipped on board the Mayflower in London, and was not of the company.” He was charged with 550 contempt of the captain's lawful commands, and with uttering opprobrious speeches; and after being tried by the whole company, he was sentenced to have his neck and heels tied together; but on humbling himself, and craving pardon, and its being his first offence, he was released before the full time, for which he was

sentenced, had expired. Not long after, two servants of one of the pilgrims were arraigned before the company for trial, having fought a duel with sword and dagger, in which both were wounded; and for this offence they were sentenced to have their head and heels tied together, and to remain in that situation for 24 hours without food or drink.

From this period onward, the settlers made excursions into the interior, and from day to day strengthened their alliances with the native Indians around them; their intercourse being marked by many curious incidents expressive of the surprise felt by the Indians on seeing the persons, arms, and dresses of their new visitors. The settlers had hitherto behaved with justice and generosity to the natives, and had thus progressively won their friendship and esteem to such an extent, that by the month of September 1621, when they had not been more than nine months in the country, they obtained the assent of nine Indian Sachems or chiefs to sign their declaration of allegiance to King James, the reigning sovereign of Great Britain, as their lawfully acknowledged monarch, to whom they pledged their allegiance.

On the 9th of November in thesame year, 1621, the Fortune, a small vessel of 55 tons burden, arrived at Cape Cod, bringing Mr. Cushman and 35 passensers 551 to join the settlement. The reinforcement was very seasonable; as, soon after their arrival, the Indians of the Naraganset tribe, who were long suspected of being hostile, sent a messenger to the English settlement, with a bundle of arrows tied together with a snake's skin. This the English received as a war-challenge; and Governor Bradford assured the chief sachem, Cannonicus, that if they loved war they might begin it, as he was not unprepared. He accordingly sent back, by the same Indian messenger, the snake's skin stuffed with gunpowder and bullets, with the verbal message of defiance. This produced the desired effect; for the Indians were so afraid, that they would not touch the snake's skin, nor even receive it; but sent it back to the English unopened.

The Indians, from the earliest period of the English having any intercourse with them, had shown a great propensity to thieving; and one of the instances in which they evinced this

propensity is thus amusingly described, in the annals of the settlers. It occurred in the month of January 1622, little more than a year after the first landing of the Pilgrims.

“Captain Standish made frequent successful excursions during the winter, to traffic for corn and furs. While his shallop lay in a creek at Nauset, an Indian stole from him some beads, scissors, and other trifles. Standish complained to the Sachem, and threatened him and his people with punishment, unless they were restored. The next day, the Sachem with a number of his men, appeared to make satisfaction. First, by way of salutation, he thrust out his tongue to its full length, and drew it across the Captain's wrist and hand, to his fingers' ends. Next he attempted to bow the knee in imitation of the English, having been instructed by Squanto. All his men followed his example, but in so awkward a manner, that 552 the English could scarce refrain from breaking out in open laughter. After this ceremony, he delivered back the stolen goods, assuring the captain that he had punished the thief. He then directed the women to make some bread for the company, and expressed his sorrow for the theft, and was glad to be reconciled.”

There were among these, however, many who possessed merit themselves, and who could appreciate it in others; as, on the occasion of the death of Massasoit, one of the leading chiefs, the following disinterested eulogy was passed on him by one of his nation:

“Whilst I live,” said this sorrowing native, “I shall never see his like among the Indians; he was no liar, he was not bloody and cruel, like other Indians. In anger and passion he was soon reclaimed, easy to be reconciled towards such as had offended him, ruled by reason, not scorning the advice of mean men; governing his men better with few strokes, than others did with many, truly loving, where he did love; and fearing that the English had not a faithful friend left among the Indians.”

In March, 1623, there arrived other vessels to join the colony—the Ann, and the Little James, the last of which was only 44 tons, and yet conveyed 60 passengers, as well as goods and merchandise; and when one considers the class of vessels now used for the

Atlantic voyage, rarely ever less than 300 tons, it is impossible not to admire the hardihood and courage of these early adventurers, in sailing across this sea with 60 passengers in so small a bark as the Little James.

In the autumn of this year, their provisions became so exhausted, that the whole colony suffered the greatest distress for want of food; they lived almost wholly on fish, without even bread; and on one occasion were reduced to the small quantity of one 553 pint of corn among their whole numbers, which when it came to be divided, furnished each with five grains only! In commemoration of this distress, it has been the custom, ever since, to place on each plate at the annual dinner on “Forefathers' Day,” five single grains of parched corn, by which the guests are made to feel how great must have been the privation of the Pilgrim Fathers, when these constituted their whole stock of food.

In the first few years of their settlement, they had enjoyed community of property in every respect; but in this year, 1623, the common stock was divided among the members of the community, and certain lots of land were assigned to each individual, so that after this, all laboured on their own account.

It was in this year also that the trial by jury was first ordained to be observed in legal proceedings, according to the following ordinance, which is thus entered in the records of the colony.

“It is ordained, this 17th day of December, A.D. 1623, by this court, there held, that all criminal facts, and also all matters of trespass and debts, between man and man, shall be tried by the verdict of twelve honest men, to be impanelled by authority, in form of a jury upon their oaths.”

In 1624, Mr. Edward Winslow was sent to England, as an agent for the colony, to procure supplies of provisions and clothing; and after being absent six months, he returned with the requisite supplies, including, among other things, three heifers and a bull, “which,” say

the records, “were the first neat cattle imported into Plymouth, the settlers being wholly destitute of milk for the first four years.”

About this time a person, named Oldham, having 554 behaved with great treachery and wickedness, was convicted of the crimes laid to his charge, and banished from the colony; but, returning again after a short period, though he had made full confession of his guilt, and expressed contrition for his offences, he was compelled to undergo this punishment—

“He was made to run the gauntlet through a double file of armed men, and each man was ordered to give him a blow as he passed, with the butt-end of his musket, saying, at the same time, ‘Go and mend your manners;’ he was then conducted to his boat, which lay at the water-side, for his departure.”

The first execution for crime that took place in the colony was in 1630, when John Billington was indicted for murder, found guilty, and hung. Governor Bradford says of him —

“He was one of the profanest amongst us. He was from London, and I know not by what means shuffled into our company. We used all due means about his trial; he was found guilty, both by grand and petit jury; and we took the advice of Mr. Winthrop and others, the ablest gentlemen in the Massachusetts Bay, who all concurred with us that he ought to die, and the land be purged from blood.”

In 1633 the colony was visited by a severe sickness, which carried off great numbers; and it is worthy of remark, that this was preceded, in the year before, by the appearance of what are now thought to have been locusts, but which are thus described by the writers of that day.

“The spring before this sickness, there was a numerous company of flies, which were like for bigness unto wasps and humble-bees; they came out of little holes in the ground, and did eat up the green things, and made such a constant yelling noise, as made the woods

ring of them, and to deafen the hearers. They were not 555 heard nor seen by the English in the country before this time; but the Indians said that sickness would follow; and so it did."

It was in 1636 that the first code of laws was drawn up and settled for the colony, as, previous to this time, the community was governed by what the rulers and jurors deemed to be the moral law, as taught in the Old and New Testament. Under this patriarchal rule, we find, between 1632 and 1640, the following entries of offences and punishments in the records—

"Frances Sprague, for drinking over much, fined 10 shillings. Frances Billingham and John Phillips, for drinking* tobacco in the highway, fined 12 shillings each. Stephen Hopkins presented for selling beer for twopence per quart, which was worth but one penny. John Barns, for sabbath-breaking, was fined 30 shillings, and set one hour in the stocks. Thomas Clark, for selling a pair of boots and spurs for 15 shillings, which cost him but 10 shillings, was fined 30 shillings. William Ady, for working on Sunday, was severely whipped at the post."

* The term "drinking," no doubt, has here the meaning of smoking, and not chewing; and it is remarkable, that with the Arabs, Turks, Persians, and Hindoos, the same mode of expression is used, of "drinking tobacco," for smoking it.

In 1636, a body of laws was adopted by the court, under the title of the "General Fundamentals," and this style of enactment was observed in them:—

"We, the associates of the Colony of New Plymouth, coming hither as free-born subjects of the kingdom of England, endowed with all and singular the privileges belonging to such, being assembled, do enact, ordain, and constitute," &c.

It recognized the democratic principle, that no laws should be binding unless passed by the representatives 556 of the community; and that there should be a free election,

annually, of the governor, deputy-governor, and assistants, by the votes of the freemen. At the same time, in conformity with the prejudices of the age, they classed among the crimes to be punished with death, “rebellion against the king, murder, and solemn compaction or conversing with the devil, by way of witchcraft or the like!”

As an instance of the rigour with which these laws were executed, it may be mentioned, that in 1638, four young men-servants, who had absconded from their masters at Plymouth, and gone into the woods, having murdered a single Indian, for the purpose of robbing him of his wampum, or strings of beads—which was the current money of these times—they were subsequently apprehended, tried, and, confessing their guilt, were all hung. Some of the laws or ordinances passed about the same period, as found in the records, are such as to excite a smile, especially the following—

“It is ordered, that if any man make a motion of marriage to any man's daughter, or maid, without first obtaining leave of her parents or master, he shall be punished, according to the nature of the offence, by a fine not exceeding five pounds, or corporal punishment, or both, at the discretion of the bench.

“Any person denying the Scriptures to be a rule of life, shall suffer corporal punishment at discretion of the magistrates, so as it shall not extend to life or limb.

“This year the general court of Massachusetts passed the following order for the regulation of the ladies' dresses. ‘No garment shall be made with short sleeves; and such as have garments with short sleeves shall not wear the same, unless they cover the arm to the wrist; and hereafter, no person whatever shall make any garment for women, with sleeves more than half an ell wide (twenty-two and a half inches.)

“It was ordered that *profane swearing* should be punished by sitting in the stocks three hours, or by imprisonment. For *telling* lies, a fine of ten shillings, or the stocks for two hours for each lie.”

In 1643, occurred the first union of the New England colonies, when Connecticut and Massachusetts, including Newhaven, Boston, and Plymouth formed themselves into the United Colonies of New England; and in this, as has been well observed, may be seen the earliest germ of the great general confederacy of the United States. The same severe and rigorous discipline, however, was still maintained in the local government of Plymouth, as we find by the following entries in the records of 1650:—

“Nathaniel Basset and Joseph Prior were fined 20s. each, for disturbing the church in Duxbury; and at the next town-meeting or training-day, both were to be bound to a post for two hours in some public place, with a paper on their heads, on which their crime was to be written in capital letters. Miss J. Boulton, for slandering, was sentenced to sit in the stocks during the court's pleasure, and a paper written with capital letters to be made fast unto her all the time of her sitting there; all of which was accordingly performed.

“Jonathan Coventry, of Marshfield, was presented for making a motion of marriage to Catharine Bradbury, without her master's consent. L. Ramsgate was presented for lying, slandering, and defaming her brother-in-law. Joanna, the wife of O. Mosely, was presented for beating her husband, and getting her children to help her, and bidding them knock him on the head, and wishing his victuals might choke him. Punished at home.”

In 1654, Oliver Cromwell, the Protector of the Commonwealth of England, granted a commission to Governor Winslow, which original document, on parchment, is preserved among the relics of pilgrim days, in the Pilgrim Hall at Plymouth.

“The first notice of horses on record is in 1644, when a mare belonging to the estate of Stephen Hopkins was appraised at 6l. sterling. In 1647, in the inventory of Thomas Bliss, a colt was appraised at 4l. sterling. In Joseph Holliway's inventory, in the same year, one mare and a year-old colt were appraised at 14l. In June, 1657, the Colony court passed an act, that every freeholder who kept three mares, and would keep one horse for military service, should be freed from all military service, training, and watching. While destitute of horses, it was not uncommon for people to ride on bulls; and there is a tradition, that when John Alden went to Cape Cod to be married to Priscilla Mullens, he covered his bull with a handsome piece of broad-cloth, and rode on his back. On his return, he seated his bride on the bull, and led the uncouth animal by a rope fixed in the nose-ring.”

The persecution of the Quakers by the very men who had left their own country expressly to enjoy religious freedom, is a part of the conduct of the Pilgrim Fathers which it is very difficult to justify, or even excuse. It was in 1665 that the following ordinance against them was passed:

“It was ordered by the Court, that in case any shall bring in any Quaker, Ranter, or other notorious heretic, either by land or water, into any part of this government, he shall forthwith, upon order of any one magistrate, return them to the place from whence they came, or clear the government of them, on the penalty of paying a fine of 20s. for every week that they shall stay in the government, after warning. A more severe law was afterwards passed. ‘It is therefore enacted by the Court and authority thereof, that no Quaker, or person commonly so called, be entertained by any person or persons within this government, under penalty of 5l. for every such default, or be whipped.’”

The Quakers of this period were, however, very different persons from those who bear the same name now; and who, as a sect or class, may fairly be ranked among the most intelligent, orderly, upright, meek, and charitable of men; and it will be sufficient to 559 give a single example of the fierce and vindictive spirit by which some of the early Quakers were animated, to show that the pilgrims had great provocations from them, to say

the least. The case of Humphrey Norton is sufficient to establish this. This man, when sentenced to be removed from the colony, addressed the Governor, Thomas Prince, on the bench, by saying:—

"'Prince, thou lyest; Thomas, thou arta malicious man; thy clamorous tongue I regard no more than the dust under my feet; and thou art like a scolding woman, as thou pratest and deridest me.' Norton afterwards addressed the governor by letter in such language as, 'Thomas Prince, thou hast bent thy heart to work wickedness, and with thy tongue hast set forth deceit; thou imaginest mischief upon thy bed, and hatchest thy hatred in thy secret chamber; the strength of darkness is over thee, and a malicious mouth hast thou opened against God and his anointed, and with thy tongue and lips hast thou uttered perverse things; thou hast slandered the innocent, by railing, lying, and false accusations, and with thy barbarous heart hast thou caused their blood to be shed,' &c. &c.—'John Alden is to thee like unto a pack-horse, whereupon thou layest thy beastly bag; cursed are all they that have a hand therein; the cry of vengeance will pursue thee day and night.' After continuing in this strain at great length, he closes with, 'The anguish and pain that will enter thy veins will be like gnawing worms lodging betwixt thy heart and liver. When these things come upon thee, and thy back is bowed down with pain, in that day and hour thou shalt know to thy grief that prophets of the Lord God we are, and the God of vengeance is our God.'"

Equally difficult is it to justify or excuse the conduct of the Pilgrim Fathers in introducing into their colony the practice of selling criminals as slaves; and that this was the fact, so early as the year 1678, 560 appears by the following entry in the Old Colony records of that year.

"This may certify, that certain Indians near Sandwich, whose names are Canootus, and Symon, and Joell, being apprehended on their confession, convicted of feloniously breaking open a house and stealing from a chest of Zechariah Allen, of Sandwich, twenty-five pounds in money, they having lost or embezzled said money, and no other way

appearing how he should be satisfied for his loss, the Colony have sentenced the above-named Indians to be perpetual slaves, and empower said Allen to make sale of them in New England, or elsewhere, as his slaves for the term of their lives."

In 1685, the court began to employ some of the more intelligent of the Indian chiefs as magistrates; and when it became necessary for them to issue warrants for the apprehension of offenders, it was required that they should do so in writing, and in English, which most of them understood very imperfectly; yet they contrived to express themselves intelligently, though with an unprofessional brevity, of which the following copy of a warrant, issued by one Hihoudi, an Indian magistrate, to a constable named Peter Waterman, for the apprehension of an offender named Jeremy Wicket, is an example.

"I, HIHOUDI—YOU, Peter Waterman—Jeremy Wicket—Quick you take him—Fast you hold him—Strait you bring him!

"Before me, " Hihoudi. "

In 1692, Plymouth ceased to exist as a separate colony, and was then incorporated with Boston, Salem, and the other towns of Massachusetts, under the new charter procured for that colony in this year, and brought out by Sir William Phipps as its governor. The wages of labour was even at this time so low, that in 1698—

561

"The town of Plymouth agreed with Abraham Jackson to ring the bell, and sweep the meeting-house, and see to locking the doors and fastening the windows, for one year, for one pound and ten shillings."

In 1726, wild cats were so abundant in the town, that a reward of ten shillings per head was voted by the court for every head brought to the assessor, and many pounds were paid annually for this purpose for some time. In 1738, the following are recorded among the laws and incidents of the town—

“The town voted that threepence per head shall be paid out of the town-treasury, for every full-grown rat that may be killed in the town, threepence for every blackbird, and sixpence for every crow. And in 1744, a vote passed, that every male head of a family shall procure ten grown rats' heads, or ten blackbirds' heads; and each male head of a family who shall fail, shall be assessed the sum of sixpence, old tenor, per head, for each head that he shall fall short of said number; and the assessors are ordered to add each delinquent's fine to his next town-tax.

“A man named Crimble was indicted at Plymouth for forging a bond, but, for want of evidence, was only convicted for a cheat, and was ordered to wear said bond, with a piece of paper over it, with the word *cheat* written thereon; and to stand on the courthouse steps half an hour. This year, square-toed shoes went out of fashion, and buckles began to be worn.”

In 1765, when the passing of the stamp-act for the colonies, in the British parliament, excited such opposition at Boston and elsewhere, the town of Plymouth participated in it to the fullest extent; and the sentiments entertained by the descendants of the Pilgrim Fathers were worthy of the sires from whence they sprung. In their instructions to the representatives in the legislature, they use this bold and manly language— VOL. III. 2 O

562

“We likewise,” say the instructions, “to avoid disgracing the memories of our ancestors, as well as the reproaches of our own consciences and the curses of posterity, recommend it to you to obtain, if possible, in the honourable house of representatives in this province, full and explicit assertions of our rights, and to have the same entered on their public records, that all generations yet to come may be convinced that we have not only a just sense of our rights and liberties, but that we never (with submission to Divine Providence) will be slaves to any power on earth.”

Library of Congress

Plymouth was among the earliest of the towns in America that took an interest in promoting the Temperance reformation, which has since made. such progress in every part of the Union; although there is no reason to believe that Plymouth was more afflicted than many other towns, by the evil it sought to remedy. But the following record of the year 1816, dated the 17th of May in that year, is honourable to the wisdom and philanthropy of those who originated the inquiry and made the report, which is adverted to in the following extract:—

“A committee, chosen by the town, to make inquiry into the conduct of retailers of spirituous liquors, reported ‘that they are deeply impressed with the magnitude of the evil, and with the serious consequences that will probably result to the rising generation, if some seasonable cheek cannot be put to the practice. Aware of the odium that attaches itself to those who, from official duty, are led to oppose the views and emoluments of interested individuals, we would not leave to the fathers of the town to encounter the hydra alone; we would therefore, recommend to every honest, discreet, and sober-minded inhabitant of the town, to set his face against the practice, as he would regard the interest, prosperity, and comfort of his fellow-creatures, and would preserve the rising generation from moral pollution and degeneracy; and that they would unite their efforts with those of the select-men and civil 563 officers of the town, to discountenance and suppress this alarming, this crying sin. They would, also, recommend, that the selectmen, overlooking all past transgressions in this respect, be enjoined peremptorily and perseveringly to withhold their approbation from any person whom they shall hereafter know, or very strongly suspect, to be guilty of a violation of the law. Your committee hope they shall be excused, if they exceed the bounds of their commission, when they express their firm conviction that a systematic perseverance in discharging the painful duty of putting under guardianship such citizens as are notoriously intemperate, will be one remedy, among others, of the evil in question.”

This attention to the removal of the causes of intemperance has been continued to the present time; and one among many numerous benefits arising from this, is seen in the fewness of crimes or offences, there being at present not a single tenant of the jail of Plymouth, either civil or criminal. The jailor and turnkey have nothing to do; and two large distilleries, which formerly supplied the surrounding country with rum, have been discontinued for want of custom, and their buildings are also at present unoccupied.

In 1820, the second Centennial Celebration of the Landing of the Pilgrim Fathers, took place at Plymouth; and on this occasion was founded The Pilgrim's Society. This was incorporated by the Legislature of the State, and resolutions were passed to build a Pilgrim Hall, to be devoted to the annual festivities accompanying the celebration. In 1824, this edifice was erected; and a portion of the Rock which was separated in 1774 from the parent block on the beach, and drawn by oxen to the Liberty-pole Square, on the breaking out of the Revolution, was now brought to the front of the Pilgrim Hall, 2 O 2 564 and there enclosed within the iron railing that now surrounds it.

There are at present no Indians living in the town of Plymouth; though there is a small tribe, or remnant of one, in the neighbourhood. So recently as the year 1803, however, there were 14 males and 35 females, adults, and 15 children under age; and their lands within the township amounted to 2,683 acres, which were valued at 14,140 dollars. These Indians retained most of the characteristics of their ancestors, and were dissolute, treacherous, and ferocious. The dwindling away of their race, however melancholy as matter of sentiment, is undoubtedly a benefit to the general community, as their places are supplied by a better and more improveable class of beings.

CHAP. XXXV.

Disadvantageous position of the town—Causes of this exception to a general rule—First house—First burial-ground—Cole's Hill— Forefathers' Rock, the first spot of landing—Population—Pursuits —General equality—Churches—Grave of Thomas Clarke, mate

of the Mayflower—Prospect from the summit of the hill —Court House—Pilgrim Hall—Museum—Sargent's picture— Landing of the Pilgrims—Sword of Standish—Oriental inscription and talisman—Helmet of King Philip the Indian Chief— Chair of Governor Carver—Charter of Oliver Cromwell—Hotels —Banks—Newspapers of Plymouth—Slow advance of the town —Causes of this—Specimens of the poetry of the Pilgrims' days—Dr. Thacher, the historian of Plymouth—Miss White, a descendant of the Pilgrims—Antiquities in her cabinet—Parting from friends at Plymouth—Return to New Bedford—Journey to Providence and Stonington—Voyage by steam-vessel to New York.

The situation of Plymouth is one of the very few exceptions to the admirable combination of local advantages which is generally seen in the sites of American ports and cities. The reason of this is obvious; the Pilgrim Fathers who first settled here had no choice; for, being driven unexpectedly, and unintentionally as far as they were themselves concerned, upon this part of the coast, at a season of the year when further exploration was impracticable, they were obliged to content themselves with the spot on which their lot was thus cast.

On the certificates of membership given to those who enrol themselves in the Pilgrim Society, is an 566 engraving, in which the dreariness and destitution of the first landing of the Pilgrims, and the snows and gloom of winter, is attempted to be portrayed, and of which the following is a faithful transcript.

The town lies along the edge of a group of round and steep hills, having before it a harbour or bay, which is formed by a long low beach of sand running almost parallel to it in front, and between it and the sea. Though this secures smooth water for the small vessels anchorin here, yet, it being what is called a dry harbour—that is, all the water leaving it at ebb tide, and exhibiting an extensive flat of sand completely dry—it is not adapted for ships of large size, and will never be frequented as a good harbour; a defect which is fatal to its maritime growth. The surrounding country at the back of the town is either stony or sandy, and affords little inducement to agricultural pursuits; while the thinness of the

population, and the scantiness of 567 water-power and fuel, offer little hope of its ever being a favourable position for manufactures.

The town can hardly be said to have any plan. The principal street runs along nearly parallel to the water, at a height of about 50 feet above its level; and from this, smaller streets lead down over the declivity, at right angles with the larger one, to the wharfs, along which the small Vessels trading to the port are moored. The first street that was laid out by the Pilgrims, was called by them Leyden-street, in honour of the Dutch city, in which they had found an asylum before they sailed for these shores. This street still exists under its old name; and in it, near the water, is pointed out the spot where the first house was erected by the exiles in the Mayflower, when they were obliged to make one building serve the purpose of a general dwelling for the whole. This street leads downward, by a spot called Cole's Hill—a mound, on the sides of which, the first Governor Carver, and the 50 of associates, who died within the first year, were buried. Their graves were subsequently ploughed over by the survivors, and corn planted on them, to obliterate all traces of their burial, in order to conceal from the Indians the extent of their mortality, lest, acting on this knowledge, and knowing the amount of their loss, the Indians should be led to attack them and drive them out.

Not far from this spot, and close to the edge of the, sea, is the identical Rock on which the Pilgrims first set their feet when they landed from the May-flower; but, strange to say, so little veneration was felt for this, or for anything else connected with their 568 history, till about 60 years ago, that this spot, which is still called “Forefathers' Rock,” was enclosed and built in, as part of a long wharf, extending out into the sea. At present its surface is just level with the ordinary road, and carts drive to and fro over it every day, it being so completely obliterated that unless some guide acquainted with the spot, should accompany the visitor, to tell him where it lay, he might be standing on the surface of the rock without knowing it; and be looking about for the hallowed spot in vain.

In the actual “town” of Plymouth there are about 3,000 inhabitants, but within the limits of the “township” there are more than 5,000; and at Duxbury, an equally ancient settlement about ten miles off, on the coast, there are nearly 5,000 inhabitants also.

The residents of Plymouth are chiefly engaged in the mackerel and cod fishery, coasting, navigation, and some few local manufacturers. These are principally, 569 one cotton factory, a rolling mill and nail factory, two or three forges, a blast furnace, and some rope walks for the manufacture of cordage and twine. The condition of the people appears to be more equal here than even in American towns generally; there are none very rich, and none at all actually poor. There is a jail which has not had an inmate for many months, and is now to let; and there is a poor-house, but it has no occupants; while riots, crimes, and wants of any pressing nature, are comparatively unknown. It may give some idea of the general prudence and carefulness of the inhabitants, to mention most remarkable fact; namely, that while in American cities and towns generally, fires are of such common occurrence, that a week rarely passes without many houses being destroyed—and never perhaps a year—here, in Plymouth, it is now just one hundred and twenty years since any dwelling-house has been destroyed or burnt by fire!

Of the public buildings, there are no less than six churches, to the town population of 3,000, which, is one to every 500 inhabitants; and in the township there are altogether eight. The Unitarians, here as in Boston, take the lead in numbers wealth, and influence; and their church, in which the Annual Oration was delivered, is by far the handsomest in the place. Immediately behind it, is the steep round hill chosen by the Pilgrims for their second burying ground; Cole's Hill, nearer the water, being the first; and here the gravestone of Thomas Clarke, mate of the Mayflower, who died in 1697, at the age of 98, is still legible; while the 570 number buried since that period on this hill, (which is now the general cemetery of the place,)far exceeds the whole number of the present population of the town. From the summit of this burial-ground are seen several other and similar hills of the same rounded shape, varying from 150 to 200 feet in height, and particularly one on

the opposite or south side of the brook, which runs down nearly through the centre of the town, and is called Watson's Hill, being the spot on which the first treaty with the Indians was made, on the 2nd of April, 1621.

The Court House and the Pilgrim Hall may also both be numbered among the public buildings of Plymouth. The former is a substantial brick edifice, forming one side of an open space, called Court Square. It contains, within a spacious and handsome court-room, with all the requisite offices; and a fire-proof repository, in which are preserved the Old Colony records, from the year 1623, when the first division of lands and cattle took place, up to the present time, neatly bound, and chronologically arranged.

The Pilgrim Hall is a Doric building, with a portico of four pillars, the edifice being 70 feet in length by 40 feet in breadth, and 33 feet high. It consists of an area story, in which is a large schoolroom for girls, and several requisite offices. The main story is devoted to the Hall, which is lofty and well proportioned, lighted on both sides. At its entrance are two ante-rooms, used for the Library and Museum; and above these are two drawing rooms, communicating with the orchestra or gallery, 571 which are used for refreshments. It was erected in the year 1824, at the expense of the Pilgrim Society, and cost about 10,000 dollars.

The great attraction of the Pilgrim Hall is the noble picture presented to it by the artist, Colonel Sargent, of Boston, who studied under Benjamin West, at the Royal Academy, in London, and whose genius and talent are admirably displayed in this magnificent production of his pencil. It was at first painted as an historical picture, for sale, and the price of it was fixed at 3,000 dollars, or 600l. sterling; but no one being ready to purchase it at that Sum, the artist very liberally presented it to the Pilgrim Society, for the adornment of their Hall; and never was private munificence more appropriately bestowed. The size of the picture is 15 feet in length by 13 in height; and all the figures are above the size of life. The costume of the men is that worn by the cavaliers and military officers in the time of Charles the First; that of the women is free and graceful, without being peculiar to that

or any other time, but such as a skilful artist would select, to unite freedom of drapery with simplicity of style.

The scene represents a snow-covered rock, with a bare and leafless tree, and all the adjuncts of the severest winter. In the offing is seen the Mayflower, at anchor, of the antique shape of the vessels of that day. The shallop, or long boat, with shattered mast and rigging, and an English union-jack at the flag-staff, raised upon the broken mast head, lies alongside the ice-bound Rock, and below it; while in the shallop are seen, a seaman at the helm, and 572 a passenger and his wife in the bow, in the attitude of fervent thankfulness, with clasped hands and uplifted eyes, in gratitude for their safe arrival at the shore.

On the Rock, and in the centre of the picture, is seen the manly figure of Governor Carver, whom the Pilgrims had spontaneously chosen as their first governor, before they quitted the ship. He is dressed in the military costume before described, with open neck, short beard, helmet, long gloves, leather belt and large buckle, short sword and cross handle. Behind him are Bradford, Alden, and Allerton, similarly arrayed, and all with noble countenances. On the left of the central group, is seen the venerable figure of Brewster, the ruling Elder of the Pilgrims, with a flowing grey beard, and dark but ample cloak, covering both his body and his head, just showing his grave but commanding features. Near him is the figure of White, another of the leaders, bearing in his arms the interesting child Peregrine, who was born on board the Mayflower, during the voyage, or at least before the landing was effected; and his figure is peculiarly striking and effective.

On the right of the principal group, are the figures of Winslow and his wife, with others, male and female, of the party; and close to the Governor, bending in submission and admiration, yet advancing in confidence, is the figure of Samoset, the Indian Chief, who was the first to give the Pilgrims the salute of welcome. Beyond the Indian, is seen the head and bust of the gallant Standish; and on the 573 shoulder of Governor Carver, is leaning his wife, in an attitude of affectionate reliance, with a countenance full of the

sweetest beauty and resignation, her extended and uplifted hand, expressing at once admiration and apprehension combined. A group of little children, benumbed with cold, and a faithful dog looking up among them in mute wonder at the strange Indian in his wild native costume, completes a picture of the highest character, for genius in its composition, skill in drawing, force and harmony in colouring, and subduing power in the depth of the moral impression which it leaves on the beholder.

I know not that I ever looked so long and so often on any picture with such unbroken, and even increased satisfaction, as on this; and I cannot but believe that if it were exhibited in London, it would have crowds of admirers of all ranks and classes. I was glad to learn that a copy of it, on a small scale, had recently been taken by Mr. Herring, an artist of New York, for the purpose of having it engraved, as part of a series of Pictorial Illustrations of the History of the United States; and I shall rejoice to learn that the engraving is worthy the painting—if so, it cannot fail to be admired.

In the Museum of the Pilgrim Hall are many relics and curiosities well worth inspection; among them the following deserve mention:—

1. The sword of Captain Standish, having on its blade, near the hilt, an inscription in characters which none of the learned of this country have yet been able to interpret, as the characters are wholly unknown to them, being neither Roman, Greek, 574 Hebrew, Arabic, Persian, or Sanscrit. On a careful inspection of them, they appeared to me to be Sassanian or Parthian, of the time of Sapor and Heraclius; as they resemble many of the characters seen in the inscriptions on the rocks of Persia, near Persepolis, attributed to the age of the Sassanides, and which the late learned Baron Silvestre de Sacy, of Paris, was the only Orientalist who succeeded in deciphering. In addition to this are certain signs, within circles, which strikingly resemble the cabalistic emblems used in talismans or charms, by the Eastern nations. Under one of the circles, is the date 1149, from which it may be inferred that if the blade is of Eastern origin, it was taken probably by some English knight in the Crusades, and brought to England; the date 1149 being imprinted to

mark the year in which it was taken. If not of Eastern origin, it might be one of the famed Toledo blades, manufactured in imitation of an Eastern sword, containing the impress of some Oriental inscription and talisman, to increase its value in the estimation of the curious or superstitious, and the date be that of its manufacture. In either case, the sword would be 471 years old before it came to this country, and might have been purchased by Standish, in England, as old swords are now, by men curious in these weapons; for swords, when not ill-used or neglected, will last a thousand years and more.

2. The identical cap worn by King Philip, the celebrated Indian Chief, who reigned during the period of what is called King Philip's war, in this part of Massachusetts. It is in the shape of an ancient 575 Greek helmet, and was worn with plumes. It is curiously wrought, in the manner of net-work, and interwoven with the feathers of some red bird, so that it must have looked peculiarly warlike, when fresh and bright, on the head of an Indian warrior.

3. An antique chair, used by Governor Carver, for purposes of public ceremony, and probably very ancient before it was brought from England.

4. The original Charter to the Colony of Plymouth, written on parchment, granted by Oliver Cromwell.

In front of the portico of the Hall is an oval space, enclosed with a rich iron railing, within which is deposited a large portion of the Rock on which the pilgrims landed, taken from the spot near the water's edge, and conveyed up here for better preservation after the Hall was built. On it are painted, in large figures, the date 1620; and as the rock is of granite, it may endure for centuries. The railing was placed round it in June, 1835; it consists of an ellipse, 41 feet in perimeter, formed of wrought iron bars, five feet high, resting on a base of hammered granite. The heads of the perpendicular bars represent harpoons and boat-hooks alternately; and the whole is embellished with emblematic figures, of cast iron. The base of the railing is studded with representations of marine shells, placed alternately

reversed. The upper part of the railing is encircled with a wreath of iron castings, in imitation of heraldry curtains, fringed with festoons; of these there are 41, leaving the names in bas-relief of the 41 Pilgrim Fathers, who 576 signed the Compact, while in the cabin of the Mayflower, at Cape Cod, in 1620.

The schools in Plymouth are of three classes; the Primary school, the Common school, and the High school; there is one of each class for boys, and another for girls, under competent teachers; so that there are no children in the town who have not within their reach the means of a good education.

There are two hotels, one called the Old Colony, and the other the Pilgrim House. There are two banks also, one of which is called the Old Colony Bank. Of the two newspapers, one of which is Whig, and the other Democratic, the names are in the same manner calculated to keep alive ancient and local associations, one of them being called the Old Colony Memorial, the other the Plymouth Rock.

Though less advance has taken place in Plymouth than in any other town in the United States, compared with the period that has elapsed since its first settlement, yet this is clearly owing to the absence of those local advantages which are in other places found so favourable to navigation, manufactures, and commerce. This great defect of its position has been already shown to arise from the necessity under which the first settlers were placed of making this the place of their abode. The town has partaken, however, of the general intellectual improvement of the country; and the Pilgrim Fathers, if they could arise from the dead, and look around upon the spot which they first saw as a wild and wood-covered tract, would see it now thickly studded with 577 dwellings, churches, schools, banks, hotels, halls, and manufactories; with two newspapers, a good circulating library, and all the elements necessary for enlarging the understanding and cultivating the taste of its inhabitants.

As a specimen of the literary compositions of the Forefathers' age, the following lines, written on the death of Governor Bradford, in 1657, and preserved among the records of those by-gone days, may be cited:—

“The month of May, by nine of the clock, A precious one, God out of Plymouth took; Governor Bradford then expired—his breath Was called away by force of cruel Death.”

But it has been well observed, that the rude rhymes of the Pilgrims will find an ample apology with all who consider the circumstances and the literature of their age; for the glorious deeds of their lives are more than a compensation for the feeble strains of their verses. “Hitherto,” says Camden, “will our sparkified youth laugh at their great-grandfather English, Who had more care to *doe* well, than to *speake* minionlike; and left more glory to us, by their exployting of great *acts* , than we shall doe by our forging of new *words* and uncuth *phrases.* ”

The last visits we paid in Plymouth, were to two of its living antiquities; Dr. Thacher, the best historian of the place, aged 85; and Miss White, a speaking record of past times, aged 91. Dr. Thacher had been attached to the American army as a surgeon during the whole of the revolutionary war; he was personally acquainted with most of the VOL. III 2P 578 signers of the Declaration of Independence; he knew General Washington intimately, and was present at the execution of Major André as a spy; he had all the vigour of mind and all the enthusiasm which an antiquary requires, and felt as much delight as ever in the study of his favourite subjects.

Miss White was a most remarkable old lady; a descendant of the pilgrim father, William White, whose son Peregrine was born on board the Mayflower at sea. She received us reclining on her bed, but neatly dressed, as for ten years past she has had but a partial use of her limbs for walking. Her face, however, was remarkably free from the wrinkles that usually accompany so great an age; her features were so pleasing as to indicate the possession of great beauty when young, and she had not a gray hair on her head. Her hair

was as brown, though not quite so full, as that of a woman of 25; and her cheerful smile, firm voice, and intelligent conversation, made it difficult to believe in what was, however, beyond all doubt, that she was really 91 years of age. She described her sight as perfectly good; and her constant occupation of knitting, sewing, or reading, had never yet relaxed, or become painful.

The room in which she lived, was in a house more than 200 years old, and one of the earliest of those built in the colony. It was of wood, but constructed with great strength, and the exact pattern of an English house of the same period—a central door, low, but wide, with a large handle-shaped brass knocker, (of which we saw more in Plymouth than in any other town,) with a broad entrance 579 hall, and rooms on each side. The house was two stories in height, but the ceilings were very low; and across those of the larger rooms, extended a thick and heavy beam of wood, laid flat, and not endwise as in modern buildings.

Miss White's room was called “The Cabin of the Mayflower,” and it was certainly the most perfect cabinet of antiquities we had yet seen. The chair used by Governor Carver on board the Mayflower, made of old English oak, with the staple for lashing it to the ship's deck in stormy weather, was a prominent article in the furniture:—the other chairs were of the old high-backed English fashion, the seats stuffed with hair, the wood of dark mahogany, the covering of striped black stuff. The old chest of drawers, with fanciful brass handles; the oak-framed horizontal-paned glass over the chimney-piece; the little lion-pawed mahogany pier table; the perpendicular and narrow oak-framed pier glass between the front window, with the dark green watered moreen curtains; and the family arms of the Whites and the Howlands, both Pilgrim Fathers, hanging over the mantel-piece, framed and glazed, as issued from the Heralds' College in London— carried one back so completely to the old English country mansions of past centuries, that it was difficult to feel one's-self in the New World, and among a yet infant people.

We indulged ourselves with a long visit to this venerable and deeply interesting lady; and received quite as much pleasure from her lively and agreeable conversation as she herself seemed to derive from the visit of strangers, especially as my 2 P 2 580 wife and son were both present, and answered the many inquiries made of them on points that interested her deeply.

Our leave-taking of the families of Plymouth was cordial and agreeable in the extreme. We had attended two large parties made for us while here, and interchanged several more social visits. Great regret was evidently felt at our short stay; the lectures were closed with more enthusiastic approbation than it is usual for American audiences to bestow; and we parted with many a hope that we should visit Plymouth again.

On Thursday, the 27th of December, we left Plymouth for New Bedford, in an extra-coach; and, after halting an hour to take refreshments at the house of our friends Captain and Mrs. Lumbard, at Rochester, we reached Fairhaven at two o'clock, remained there to dine with our friends, Captain and Mrs. Adams, and in the evening went to New Bedford to deliver a lecture for the benefit of the Bethel and Port Society, as its funds had fallen into arrear, and it was thought desirable to make an effort, while the feeling of the public was strongly alive to its importance, to pay off its debts, which the proceeds of the lecture, and the assistance of its best friends, were likely to accomplish.

On Friday, the 28th, we left New Bedford on our way to New York, and travelled in an extra-coach about 22 miles to Taunton, a small but pretty and rising town. After dining at the hotel we started at three o'clock by the rail-road train for Mansfield, a much smaller place, distant about 11 miles. Here we shifted into other cars for Providence, at which 581 we arrived about six o'clock; and passing on, by another line of cars, we went by the rail-road to Stonington, a distance of 47 miles, in two hours and a half, reaching the latter place at half-past eight in the evening. As the moon was near the full, and was unusually

bright, and as the cars were commodious and well warmed by stoves in each, our journey was extremely pleasant, and the society agreeable.

At Stonington, we embarked in the Naraganset steam-vessel for New York; and though late in the season, we found a large number of passengers, among whom were as many ladies as gentlemen. The vessel was of the largest class, containing more than 200 separate berths, or bed-places; and having the means of making up more than 300 beds, including the sofas and benches. The saloons were certainly magnificent, the tables amply supplied, and every thing that could make the passengers comfortable seemed to be carefully attended to.

During the night, we had a heavy fall of snow. In consequence of the thickness of the atmosphere, the greatest caution became necessary, and we accordingly proceeded at a slow rate, often stopping altogether for a few minutes, and continually sounding with the lead, on both sides.

At daylight, however, we found ourselves close to the entrance of New York, with the north-eastern portion of the city on our right, and the extreme end of Brooklyn on our left; and after passing the Navy Yard, and getting among a crowd of vessels of every class, which were thickly ranged on both sides, we rounded the Battery Point of New York, 582 and by eight o'clock were safely alongside the wharf, from which we went directly to the American Hotel, and, finding rooms there, made it our abode for the short period of our intended stay in the city.

This terminated our travels through the Northern States of the Union, embracing the principal cities and towns in each; and on casting a retrospective glance over the places visited, and subjects described, it will be admitted that they are as varied and comprehensive as the limits of the work would contain.

To different classes of readers, who may honour these volumes with their perusal, various objections to separate parts of them will no doubt arise; for the tastes of mankind are as

diversified as their temperaments, and unless all could be educated in the same school, and placed under the same circumstances— study the same subjects, and have the same objects in view—it would be chimerical to expect uniformity of taste and judgment on any literary production.

The political reader would have liked, perhaps, more extensive developments of the principles of republican government, and more detailed expositions of its practical working. The financier would have gladly exchanged this for more information respecting the condition and solvency of the State Stocks and corporate Banks. The geologist, mineralogist, and botanist, would hold both politics and finance to be inferior in interest to descriptions of Nature in the several departments named. The mercantile reader would think these all misplaced, if they occupied a more prominent portion than the information he 583 seeks, as to the extent and nature of the exports and imports, tonnage of shipping employed, tariffs, duties, markets, prices current, &c. The philanthropist will perhaps think that more might have been said on the subject of slavery, on prison discipline, education, and benevolent institutions. The churchman and dissenter will each respectively regard the subjects of endowments for religious establishments, and the comparative merits of this and the voluntary system, as of sufficient importance to take precedence of every other. And the general reader, who seeks only for amusement, will most probably complain that so much space should have been given to all these topics, and so little devoted to matters of a more light and entertaining nature.

Amidst all these conflicting claims, the utmost that any writer can hope for, is to please that portion of the community who are reasonable enough to remember that if a book —professing to be at once historical, statistic, and descriptive—contains a sufficient amount of information on each of these branches to justify its title—and in addition to this, something agreeable to their own tastes also—they should charitably consider that others require to be informed and gratified as well as themselves.

The remainder of our travels through the Continent of America, embraced a visit to the Southern and Western States:—from New York to Charleston in South Carolina; thence to Mobile and New Orleans, by a land journey across the States of Georgia and Alabama to Louisiana; up the river Mississippi; across the mountains of Georgia, North Carolina, and Tennessee, and over the ridge of the 584 Alleghannies into Virginia; and afterwards across the Cumberland range, through Pennsylvania to Pittsburgh, and by the Ohio to Cincinnati, Kentucky, St. Louis, and Missouri; across the prairies of Illinois to Lake Michigan; from thence to Mackinaw, Lake Huron, Detroit, Lake Erie and Canada, including Toronto, Montreal, and Quebec; Pictou and Halifax in Nova Scotia; St. John's and Fredericton, in New Brunswick; across the Boundary Line into Maine; and thence, by Bangor and Portland, to Boston and New York. From this, the original port of our landing, we embarked in the ill-fated steam ship, President; and, after encountering a heavy gale, and being obliged to put back for want of fuel, when nearly half-way across the Atlantic, we completed in her the last voyage she ever made before the fatal one in which there is now too much reason to believe she has perished!

It is intended, during the present summer, to arrange and prepare for the press, a Second Series of this Work, to embrace as much as the same extent of limits will admit, of the Travels in the Southern States, which are less known than they deserve to be to the British public. And if the reception given to this portion shall be sufficiently encouraging to warrant the undertaking, it will probably be ready for publication about the autumn of the present year.

APPENDIX—VOL. III.

No. I. FIRST FATAL GIFT OF THE WHITES TO THE INDIANS, By Mrs. Sigourney.

[See p. 37.]

They come! they come! the pallid race, The red men gather from the chase, From forest shade and light canoe, They throng that “water bird” to view, Whose mighty wings that near the shore, They deem their Great Manitto bore.

Frank is their welcome to the hand, The ready smile, the open hand, The proffered fruits with gladness prest The purple plum with downy vest, The clustering grape, the com-sheaf's gold, The untaught greeting warm and bold.

But by what gift, what token strong, Did Europe's sons, renowned in song, Mark their first visit to the child, Of simple faith and daring wild? A cup! a cup! but who may tell What deadly dregs within it swell, The sickening eye, the burning cheek, Its fearful magic strangely speak; And on their turf of verdant dye, See! they who taste it helpless lie— Type of the woes that soon must sweep Their blasted race away, Down to oblivion dark and deep, With none their hopeless wrongs to weep. Or mourn their sad decay,

Yes! when the old world, hasting, prest Her friendship on the infant West, The boon she brought, the pledge she gave, Was poison, and a drunkard's grave. But thou, fair city, throned in pride, Queen of the Hudson's silver tide,* Well hast thou, by thy deeds effaced This stain upon thine annals traced— Well hast thou, by thy zeal to aid Temperance,— thine early trespass paid; And as the kneeling form that prest A Saviour's tear-laved feet was blest, So hast thou shown, with victor sway, That love which washes sin away!

* The city of New York—the earliest and most zealous in promoting the Temperance Reformation.

586

No. II. INSCRIPTION IN THE CHURCH OF CANANDAIGUA, TO THE MEMORY OF PATRICK COLQUHOUN.

Integer vitæ scelerisque purus.

[See page 126.]

Sacred to the memory of PATRICK COLQUHOUN, Esq. L. L. D. who held Lands in this State, and rose to manhood in America.

He was born at Dumbarton in Scotland, 14th of March 1745. He was elected for three successive years, Lord Provost of Glasgow, Where he founded the Chamber of Commerce, The Royal Exchange Tontine; And essentially promoted the Trade and Manufactures of Scotland, as evinced by numerous testimonies.

He was Deputy-Lieutenant, and 25 years Justice of the Peace for Middlesex and the adjoining Counties, during which period he originated and carried into effect The Thames Police, thereby producing a large increase of Revenue to the Government; great savings to the West India Planters; and much benefit to the Merchants of the Port of London.

He suggested, and actively and successfully promoted, Various plans for the prevention of crime, for the supply of food during scarcities, for the amelioration of the condition of the poor, and for the education of children.

He was author of the treatises On the Police of the Metropolis, and River Thames, on the Wealth, Power, and Resources of the British Empire, And of various other Works on Criminal Jurisprudence, Political Economy, and On the Commerce and Manufactures of Great Britain. His mind was fertile in conception, Kind and benevolent in disposition, Bold and persevering in execution.

He died on the 25th of April, 1820, after a laborious life of 76 years, alike honourable to himself, and useful to Society.

587

No. III. ODE FOR THE SECOND CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION OF THE SETTLEMENT OF BOSTON, SEPT. 17, 1830.

By The Rev. John Pierpont.

[See page 300.]

Break forth in song, ye trees, As through your tops the breeze Sweeps from the sea! For, on its rushing wings To your cool shades and springs That breeze a people brings Exiled though free.

Ye sister hills, lay down Of ancient oaks your crown In homage due;— These are the great of earth; Great, not by kingly birth, Great, in their well-proved worth, Firm hearts and true.

These are the living lights That, from your bold green heights, Shall shine afar, Till they who name the name Of FREEDOM, toward the flame, Come, as the Magi came Toward Bethlehem's star.

Gone are the great and good, Who here in peril stood, And raised their hymn. Peace to the reverend dead! The light that, on their head, Two hundred years have shed, Shall ne'er grow dim.

Ye temples, that to God Rise where our fathers trod Guard well your trust! The faith that dared the sea, The truth that made them free, Their cherished purity, Their garnered dust.

Thou High and Holy One, Whose care for sire and son All Nature fills, While day shall break and close, While night her crescent shows, O let thy light repose On these our hills.

588

No. IV. HYMN ON THE CONSECRATION OF MOUNT AUBURN CEMETERY, SEPT. 24, 1831.

By John Pierpont.

[See page 393.]

To thee, O God, in humble trust Our hearts their grateful incense burn, For this thy word —“Thou art of dust, And unto dust shalt thou return.”

For, what were life—life's work all done, The hopes, joys, loves, that cling to clay, All, all departed, one by one, And yet life's load borne on for aye!

Decay! Decay! 'tis stamped on all! All bloom, in flower and flesh, must fade: Ye whispering trees, when we shall fall, Be our long sleep beneath your shade!

Here to thy bosom, Mother Earth, Take back, in peace, what thou hast given; And all that is of heavenly birth O God, in peace recall to heaven!

No. V. ODE FOR THE FUNERAL OF DR. SPURZHEIM.

Boston, 17th Nov. 1832.

[See page 399.]

Stranger, there is bending o'er thee Many an eye, with sorrow wet: All our stricken hearts deplore thee; Who, that knew thee, can forget? Who forget what thou hast spoken? Who thine eye—thy noble frame? But that golden bowl is broken, In the greatness of thy fame.

Autumn's leaves shall fall and wither On the spot where thou shalt rest 'Tis in love we bear thee thither, To thy mourning mother's breast For the stores of science brought us, For the charm thy goodness gave, For the lessons thou hast taught us, Can we give thee but a grave?

Nature's priest, how true and fervent Was thy worship at her shrine! Friend of man, of God the servant, Advocate of truths divine—

Taught, and charmed, as by no other, We have been, and hoped to be; But, while waiting round thee, Brother, For thy light—'tis dark with thee!

Dark with thee? No: thy Creator, All whose creatures, and whose laws Thou didst love, will give thee greater Light than earth's, as earth withdraws. To thy God, thy godlike spirit, Back we give, in filial trust: Thy cold clay —we grieve to bear it To its chamber—but we must.

John Pierpont.

No. VI. HYMN FOR THE MEETING ON BEHALF OF THE SAILOR'S HOME.

(*From the Boston Evening Gazette.*)

[See page 233.]

Mariner's House. —At the request of the “Seaman's Aid Society,” Mr. Buckingham delivered a very interesting address to a numerous and highly respectable audience, on Friday evening, at the ODEON, in aid of the “Mariner's House.” He was listened to with almost breathless attention for nearly an hour and a half, while he spoke of the incidents of a sailor's life in a peculiarly happy manner. The Rev. Mr. Taylor also addressed the audience in his usual energetic manner. The meeting was an interesting one, and will not soon be forgotten by those who were so fortunate as to be present. The receipts were about 500 dollars. The following hymn, written for the occasion by the Rev. John Pierpont, was sung by the choir.

Tossed on the billows of the main, And doomed from zone to zone to roam, The seaman toiled for others' gain But, for himelf, he had no home.

No father's door was open flung For him, “just rescued from the wreck,” No sister clasped her arms, and hung In speechless joy around his neck;

But he was cast upon a world More dangerous than the ocean's roar, When o'er his bark the surges curled, And drove it on a leeward shore.

He had no home;—and so had He Who, as *his* bark began to fill, Said to the Lake of Galilee, When lashed by tempests, 'Peace! Be still!'

Of winds and dashing waves the sport, By perils, while at sea, beset, The sailor found himself, in port, Exposed to greater perils yet.

590

False brethren were his perils there, And perils by his countrymen, And perils by the syrens fair That lured him to the robber's den.

But now, a brother stands, instead, With open arms to take him in; And spreads a banquet and a bed, That may be tasted without sin.

Yes! the poor seaman hath a Home! We thank thee, God, for what we see; Let him no more mid perils roam, But come, at once, to it and THEE.

No. VII. TABLETS TO THE MEMORY OF SEAMEN, IN THE MARINERS' CHURCH, NEW BEDFORD.

[See p. 515.]

THE CREW OF THE HIBERNIA ERECTED THIS TOKEN OF RESPECT TO THEIR SHIPMATE, DANIEL H. SHIRES, OF NEW YORK. AGED 22 YEARS, WHO WAS LOST OVERBOARD, AUGUST, 11th, 1835.

Suddenly the shaft of death Flew to stop his vital breath— Sunk him to his coral bed, Till the Sea gives up her dead. Cherished be his memory pure, While this marble shall endure.

IN MEMORY OF JOHN GLOVER, OF LONDON, AGED 22 YEARS, WHO WAS LOST OVERBOARD, FROM THE SHIP CHINA, ON THE 27th OF JANUARY, 1835.

This sacred Cenotaph is reared By those who shared his grief and joy; To them his memory is endeared, By ties which death cannot destroy. He sank beneath the deep blue wave, Nor could their efforts save him there: Those who may meet a watery grave, Should for a sudden death prepare.

* His shipmates requested me to give them a funeral discourse on the occasion; and all the sailors in port, and many of the ladies of the Port Society and others attended. The chapel was crowded in every part, and a deep interest was taken on the occasion; his being an Englishman was no impediment to his receiving as much honour and sympathy as if he had been an American by birth.— Enoch Mudge, *Chaplain of the Bethel Church.*

591

No. VIII. INSCRIPTION ON THE VASSAL MONUMENT, IN THE KING'S CHAPEL, AT BOSTON.

[See p. 449.]

Sacred to the memory of SAMUEL VASSAL, Esq. of LONDON , Merchant, one of the original proprietors of the lands of this country: a steady and undaunted Asserter of the Liberties of ENGLAND in 1628. He was the first who boldly refused to submit to the Tax of Tonnage and Poundage, an unconstitutional claim of the Crown arbitrarily imposed: For which, (to the ruin of his family) his goods were seized, and his person imprisoned, by the Star Chamber Court. He was chosen to represent the City of LONDON in two successive Parliaments, which met April 13, and November 3, 1640. The Parliament, in July 1641, voted him £10.445. 12s. 2d. for his damages, and resolved that he should be further considered for his personal sufferings; But the rage of the times, and the neglect of proper applications since, have left to his Family only the honour of that Vote and Resolution. He

was one Of the largest Subscribers to raise money against the Rebels in Ireland. All these facts may be seen in the Journal of the House of Commons. He was the son of the gallant JOHN VASSAL, who, in 1588, at his own expense, fitted out and commanded two Ships of War with which he joined the Royal Navy, to oppose The Spanish Armada.

This Monument was erected by his Great-Grandson FLORENTIUS VASSAL, Esq. of the Island of Jamaica, now residing in England, May, 1766.

592

No. IX. LINES ON THE LICENSE LAWS FOR SELLING THE POISON OF ARDENT SPIRITS.

By The Rev. John Pierpont,

[See p.454]

“We license thee for so much gold,” Said they who filled St. Peter's chair, “To put away the wife who's old, And take the one that's young and fair; For public good requires a dome, To swell, like heaven's, for us at Rome.”

“For so much gold we licensed thee; (So say our laws,) a draught to sell That bows the strong, enslaves the free, And opens wide the gate of hell: For public good requires that some, Since many die, should live by rum.”

Ye civil fathers! while the foes Of this destroyer seize their swords, And Heaven's own hail is in the blows They're dealing, will YE cut the cord That round the falling fiend they draw, And o'er him hold your shield of law?

And will ye give to man a bill, Divorcing him from Heaven's high sway? And, while God says, “Thou shalt not kill,” Say ye, “for gold ye may—ye may?” Compare the body with the soul! Compare the bullet with the bowl!

In which is felt the fiercest blast Of the destroying angel's breath? Which binds the victim the more fast? Which kills him with the deadlier death? Will ye the felon fox restrain, And yet take off the tiger's chain?

The living to the rotting dead, The God-contemning Tascan tied, Till by the way, or on his bed, The poor corpse-carrier dropp'd and died, Lash'd hand in hand and face to face, In fatal and in loathed embrace.

Less cutting, think ye, is the thong That to a breathing corpse, for life.! Lashes in torture loathed and long, The drunkard's child—the drunkard's wife. To clasp that clay—to breathe that breath, And no escape? Oh, that is death!

593

Are ye not fathers? When your sons Look to you for your daily bread, Dare ye, in mockery, load with stones The table that for them ye spread? How can ye hope your sons will live, If ye, for fish, a serpent give?

0 holy God, let light divine Break forth more broadly from above, Till we conform our laws to thine— The perfect law of truth and love; For truth and love alone can save The children from a hopeless grave.

No. X.

Parting Hymn, sung at the Episcopal Church of New Bedford, after the Farewell Sermon, of the Rev. Mr. Bent; Sunday, December, 1838.

[See page 510.]

Gracious Father! now thy blessing Grant on this our parting hour; Truth on every heart impressing, By the Holy Spirit's power. Long the sacred tie has bound us, Gladly teaching, gladly taught; While each passing year around us Still a stronger chain has wrought.

Oft have we, with common pleasure Worshipped at this holy shrine; Oft rejoicing in the treasure, Read and heard Word divine. Oft in scenes of peace and gladness, Common joy our hearts have felt; Oft 'mid pains, and grief, and sadness, We with common tears have knelt.

But, alas! the bond is broken, Pastor and his flock must part; Now the farewell must be spoken, Saddening each and every heart. Precious moments, past for ever, Sweet communion, quickly gone; But if Thou the tie dost sever, Father, let thy will be done!

Earth is fading like a vision, All things tend to swift decay; Death, as if in cold derision, Marks the dearest for his prey. 2 Q 594 " *But the word of God erdureth,* " Chance and change it both disdain; And this blessed word ensureth, Faithful souls shall meet again.

Part we then, on God's word leaning, Praying thus to meet above; From the gospel promise gleaning, Visions of undying love. There no cloud shall shade our meeting, There no tears our grief shall tell; There no fear shall chill our greeting, There no heart shall sigh — Farewell.

No. XI. LINES ON THE PLYMOUTH ROCK.

By Mrs. H. L. Sigourney.

[See page 536.]

A bark is moored below, 'Mid the tossings of the bay; What seeks it, where the hunters' bow, Hath evermore held sway? They stand on Plymouth Rock, A feeble pilgrim band; Why bide they thus the wintry shock, In a wild stranger land.?

Their welcome who can tell, Save the bitter blast that blew, And the snows that coldly fell, Ere their lowly cabins grew? An axe amid the trees— The rugged hearth-stone flames— Yon dreary shapeless huts—are these For England's high-born dames?

Hark! to the war-whoop wild— Look! 'tis the Indian's crest; The pilgrim-mother clasps her child, And girds the warrior's breast. No corn upon the vale, No vessel o'er the wave: What cheers them, when their cheek is pale, What lights the Indian's grave?

Old Harvard hath a voice, Within its classic halls, A whisper from their hallowed dust—. Who reared its ancient walls., Mid all their weary toil, 'Mid all their wasting woe, They cast an acorn in the soil, For that lordly oak to grow.

595

Recount their deeds of yore, Sons of those glorious sires, And kindle on this sacred shore, Bold Freedom's beacon fires; And praise ye Him, whose hand Sustained them with his grace, And make this Rock, whereon, ye stand, The Mecca of their race.

No. XII. THE PILGRIM FATHERS.

By John Pierpont.

[See page 536.]

The Landing of the Pilgrim Fathers of New England at Plymouth, took place, December, 1620. These lines were written in Celebration of that event by the Pilgrim Society of Massachusetts, in December, 1824.

The Pilgrim Fathers—where are they? The waves, that brought them o'er, Still roll in the bay, and throw their spray As they break along the shore: Still roll in the bay, as they rolled that day, When the Mayflower moored below, When the sea around was black with storms And white the shore with snow.

The mists, that wrapped the pilgrim's sleep, Still brood upon the tide; And his rocks still keep their watch by the deep, To stay its waves of pride. But the snow-white sail that he

spread to the gale; When the heavens looked dark, is gone; As an angel's wing, through an opening cloud Is seen, and then withdrawn.

The Pilgrim Exile—sainted name! The hill, whose icy brow Rejoiced when he came, in the morning's flame, In the morning's flame burns now; And the moon's cold light, as it lay that night, On the hill-side and the sea, Still lies where he laid his houseless head, But, the Pilgrim—where is he?

The Pilgrim Fathers are at rest: When summer's throned on high, And the world's warm breast is in verdure drest, Go, stand on the hill where they lie. The earliest ray of the golden day, On that hallowed spot is cast; And the evening sun, as he leaves the world, Looks kindly on that spot last.

596

The Pilgrim spirit has not fled: It walks in noon's broad light, And it watches the bed of the glorious dead, With the holy stars by night. It watches the bed of the brave who have bled, And shall guard this ice-bound shore, Till the waves of the bay, where the Mayflower lay, Shall foam and freeze no more.

GENERAL INDEX.

A.

E.

Y.

Yankee, properly designates the inhabitants of New England, iii. 194.

THE END.

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