

REMARKS
DURING A
JOURNEY THROUGH NORTH AMERICA
IN THE
YEARS 1819, 1820, AND 1821,
IN
A SERIES OF LETTERS:
WITH
An Appendix,
Containing
AN ACCOUNT OF SEVERAL OF THE INDIAN TRIBES,
AND THE
PRINCIPAL MISSIONARY STATIONS, &c.
ALSO,
A LETTER TO M. JEAN BAPTISTE SAY,
ON THE
COMPARATIVE EXPENSE
OF
FREE AND SLAVE LABOUR.

BY ADAM HODGSON, Esq. OF LIVERPOOL, ENG.

Collected, arranged, and published by
SAMUEL WHITING.

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Southern District of New-York, ss.

BE IT REMEMBERED, That on the first day of November, in the forty-eighth year of the Independence of the United States of America, Samuel Whiting, of the said District, hath deposited in this office the title of a Book, the right whereof he claims as author and proprietor, in the words following, to wit :

“ Remarks during a Journey through North America, in the years 1819, 1820, and 1821. In a series of letters : with an appendix containing an account of several of the Indian tribes, and the principle missionary stations, &c. also a letter to M. Jean Baptiste Say, on the comparative expense of free and slave labour. By Adam Hodgson, Esq. of Liverpool, Eng. Corrected, arranged, and published by Samuel Whiting.”

In conformity to the Act of Congress of the United States, entitled, “ An Act for the encouragement of Learning, by securing the copies of Maps, Charts, and Books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the time therein mentioned.” And also to an Act, entitled “ an Act, supplementary to an Act, entitled an Act for the encouragement of Learning, by securing the copies of Maps, Charts, and Books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned, and extending the benefits thereof to the arts of designing, engraving, and etching historical and other prints.”

JAMES DILL,

Clerk of the Southern District of New-York.

ADVERTISEMENT.

IN presenting to the American public the present volume, the Editor flatters himself that he is subserving the cause of truth, benevolence, and piety.

The Letters of Mr. Hodgson, written during his extensive journeyings through this country, were originally published in the [London] *Christian Observer*. Emanating from a source so respectable, and communicated through a medium of such high authority, the publication of these Letters may be considered as the commencement of a new and better era, in the views and feelings of the people of Great Britain towards the United States—feelings, which every good man will rejoice to find are triumphing over the old and inveterate prejudices of other days.

To these Letters, the Editor has added an Appendix, containing two other interesting documents from the same hand. The first is an account of the *American Indians*, or rather of those Tribes which the author visited in his tour, viz. the Creeks, the Choctaws, the Chickasaws, and the Cherokees; and an interesting view of the Missionary establishments at Elliot and Brainerd: this part of Mr.

Hodgson's book will be read with high gratification by the friends of *Missions to the Heathen*; and it is hoped also, with *profit*, by those who have been either indifferent or hostile to these benevolent efforts to civilize, and to christianize, the poor benighted and degraded children of the forest.

The other document is "a Letter to M. Jean Baptiste Say, on the comparative expense of *Free* and *Slave* labour."

This letter involves a question of vast importance to the cause of Africa, and the emancipation of the millions of her wretched and injured sons.

The facts and reasonings adduced by Mr. Hodgson, must have a powerful tendency to correct some of those *false premises and worse deductions* which constitute the strong hold of *Negro Slavery*, and which do still oppose the principal obstacles in the way of universal emancipation.

On the whole, it is presumed that the present volume will be received with peculiar favour by the American public. The writer is a partner of a mercantile house of extensive business, liberal views, and great respectability, in Liverpool. And those who shall read what he has here written, will not require to be told that he is a scholar, a philanthropist, and a Christian. /

NEW-YORK, Nov. 1, 1823.

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ERRATA.

The following errors occurred in the English copy, and were not noticed till the work was printed :

- Page 96, 2d line, for Charleston, *N. C.* read *S. C.*
 196, 19th line, for *cents* read *dollars*.
 290, 23d line, for *observe* read *subserve*.

A few other slight typographical errors have been detected, but they do not affect the sense.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CHRISTIAN OBSERVER.

IN the course of the year 1820, and the spring of 1821, I made an extensive tour through Upper and Lower Canada and the United States of America, traversing the latter through Maine and Louisiana, through Alabama, and back again through the States of Mississippi and Tennessee.

Although I had no intention of remaining in the country, the subject of emigration had become so interesting before I left England, that it was natural that in a journey of nearly 8000 miles in the New World, about 1800 of which I performed on horseback, that subject should engage much of my attention.

I was by no means qualified, either by previous habits or information, to avail myself fully of the valuable opportunities of observation which I enjoyed; but I made a few general remarks on the subject, in my correspondence with my brother; and having found, on my arrival at home, that he had preserved my letters, it has occurred to me, that, superficial as my knowledge was on many parts of the subject, I might possibly add something to the general stock of information on a question so peculiarly interesting at a time in which so many persons have been under the painful necessity of deciding on the eligibility of expatriating themselves, in order to find in the new world a freedom from those cares under which they were sinking in the old.

If on perusing the letters I send you—which are copied, I believe, without any alteration, except where there are personal allusions—it should be compatible with your plans to insert them in the Christian Observer, they are quite at your service.

At a future time I may, perhaps, trouble you with some remarks on the religion and morals of the United States, if I persuade myself they will be of any interest.

Although I most decidedly prefer my own country, I feel that very great injustice has been done to America by most of our travellers and journalists; and I was gratified to perceive, that the Christian Observer, in the true spirit which becomes its character, was the first to endeavour to establish a more correct, as well as a more candid and liberal appreciation of that interesting and powerful, though in some respects rival nation.

ADAM HODGSON.

REMARKS, &c.



LETTER I.

Philadelphia, Nov. 6, 1820.

—NEITHER am I able to write to you as fully as I could desire on the subject of emigration to the *United States*, upon which you say you should wish to hear what occurs to me. On this difficult and interesting topic, I will enter more particularly shortly; and, in the mean time, will send you the result of my observations on the inducements which *Canada* appeared to me to offer to English labourers and other persons of little or no property. Those observations were necessarily both rapid and superficial; and my information is proportionably scanty, although I endeavoured to seize every opportunity of obtaining intelligence.

The lands which the Government is at present distributing in Upper Canada lie parallel to the St. Lawrence and the Lakes, and constitute a range of townships in the rear of those already granted. They are said to be no where above ten or fifteen miles distant from the old settlements. Land offices are established in ten different districts, in order to save the emigrants the trouble of going up to York; but their power is restricted to grants of a hundred acres. When an emigrant

has chosen the township in which he wishes to settle, and has complied with the necessary formalities, he receives, by lot, a location-ticket for a particular hundred acres, with a condition that he is not to dispose of them for three years. The title is not given till he has performed his settling duties; which are, to clear five acres in each hundred, and the half of the road in front. Now these certainly appear to be very easy conditions on which to obtain the fee-simple of a hundred acres: and the proposal to emigrate must therefore be a tempting one to a starving labourer or mechanic.

The real inducements, however, are so much less than the apparent ones, that although many would wisely emigrate even with a full conviction of the difficulties they had to encounter, I believe that, at present, there is not one emigrant in five hundred who does not feel bitterly disappointed on his arrival at Quebec. Instead of finding himself, as his confused ideas of geography had led him to expect, on the very borders of his little estate, he learns with astonishment that he is still five hundred miles from his transatlantic acres; and, if he has no money in his pocket, he may probably have to encounter, in reaching them, more severe distress than he ever felt at home. There is indeed much benevolent feeling towards emigrants both at Quebec and Montreal; and societies have been formed in each of these places, to afford them information and relief; but the inhabitants are beginning to complain that the requisitions for this purpose are becoming more burdensome than even the English poor-rates. The steam-boat compa-

nies are also liberal; (indeed almost every man of property feels a personal interest in the encouragement of emigration;) but an emigrant must be unusually fortunate who reaches the Land Office in Upper Canada, without expending at least 5*l.* after landing at Quebec. The emigrants who accompanied us in the steam-boat in which I ascended the St. Lawrence, were some of those lately sent out free of expense by our Government; but there was one, a smart shoe-maker, not of that number, who had been detained some weeks at Quebec earning money to carry him up the river.

When the emigrant arrives at the Land Office of the district where he proposes to settle, determined perhaps in his choice by the hope that his lot will place him in the vicinity of an old acquaintance, he may probably have to wait some weeks before the next distribution takes place; during which he must be supporting himself at an expense increased by his ignorance of the manners of the country. He then learns, perhaps for the first time, that there are certain fees to be paid at the different offices through which his papers must pass. I have a list of these before me, in which they are stated to be,

For 100 Acres	-	-	-	£ 5 14 1
200 do.	-	-	-	16 17 6
500 do.	-	-	-	39 19 9
1000 do.	-	-	-	78 10 2

I was however informed, by several persons from York with whom I crossed Lake Ontario, one of whom said he was in the habit of transacting this business for the emigrants, that, for a hun-

dred acres, the fees were 13*l.* 10*s.* This I mentioned to the Sheriff and several of the principal merchants at Montreal, who did not dispute it; one of them observing only that he believed there had been cases in which grants of 50 acres were made without fees.* It is much to be regretted that where land is said to be gratuitously bestowed, *any* fees should be deemed necessary; as the boon, when accompanied with this demand, is calculated to produce discontent rather than gratitude, especially where the emigrant finds that his fees amount to one half the sum at which he could select and buy the same quantity of land, without the delay attending the grant, and unshackled with any conditions or clearing dues. The surveyors receive their compensation in land, and generally secure the most valuable portions. When I was in Canada, they would sell their best lots at one dollar per acre; while 13*l.* 10*s.* the fees on a hundred acres, amount to more than half a dollar per acre. I never met with any one person among all those with whom I conversed on the subject, who did not agree that, if a settler had but a very little money, it would be much more to his advantage to *buy* land, than to *receive* it from government.

Supposing the emigrant to be able to pay his fees, he may still have the misfortune to find that his allotment (for he can only choose his township, not his estate,) is not worth cultivating. In this case he has to pay two respectable persons for

* I believe grants of 50 acres are generally, or always, to be obtained without fees.

surveying and certifying it to be irreclaimable ; and he is then permitted to take his chance in the next distribution. Generally speaking, I believe he may expect to find himself in his own forest from three to six weeks after his arrival at the Land Office in Upper Canada.

Even then his situation is most dreary, especially if he has no neighbour within a reasonable distance, and has to purchase and carry his provisions from a remote settlement. But if he has no money to procure food ; if he has a wife and family to provide for, without the forlorn hope of parish assistance ; if he is a weaver or a spinner, accustomed to warm rooms, and to employments little calculated to impart either the mental or physical qualifications essential to his very support ; if he is, in fact, of a class to which a large proportion of the poor emigrants from Great Britain belong, I can hardly conceive any thing more distressing than his sensations, when, arriving on his new estate, with an axe in his hand and all his worldly goods in his wallet, he finds himself in the midst of a thick forest, whose lofty trees are to be displaced by a labour almost Herculean, before he can erect the most humble shelter, or cultivate the smallest patch. And if at such a time he has further to anticipate the rigours of a long Canadian winter, his situation must be deplorable in the extreme.

Under such circumstances, which I should imagine are the ordinary circumstances of the *poorest* emigrants to Canada, I can conceive of no resource, nor could I hear of any, except that of hiring them-

selves to some older settler, in the hope of saving a trifle in order to be able, in the course of time, to pay for clearing an acre or two of their forest farm, or to buy provisions while they attempt a task for which they are little qualified. Sometimes a few will join, and one half hire themselves out to obtain provisions for the other half while felling the trees. If they surmount the difficulties of the first year, they may expect at its termination to be in possession of an adequate supply of food for their families; and with the prospect, if they are industrious, of being independent and progressively prosperous during the remainder of their lives.

Those, however, who have money enough to provide for their immediate wants, and to pay the expense of clearing a moderate proportion of their land, (possessing 100*l.* to 200*l.* or 500*l.* for instance,) may, in a single year, be very comfortably settled in a decent log-house with out-buildings, and with every prospect of a liberal supply of all the substantial comforts of a farm. Every year would add largely to their abundance, and to their facilities for improving and extending their estate; but they would accumulate money but slowly, unless they had, as they probably would have, an occasional foreign market for their grain besides the West Indies. They may also derive some little profit from pot and pearl ashes, which Mr. G—— of Montreal told me he received on consignment from Ohio; a distance of 800 miles, by way of Lake Erie and Ontario. The situation of the Upper Canadas is further said to be favourable to

the culture of hemp, notwithstanding the failure hitherto of the most promising experiments.

Grain, however, will be their staple commodity; and although the large body of settlers who arrive annually may afford a temporary market, they will soon produce far more than they consume, and under ordinary circumstances will depress the prices very nearly to a level with the cost of production. Indeed I heard the farmers of Lower Canada complaining that their markets were glutted with the produce of the Upper Province.

For several years the average price of wheat in Upper Canada has been about five shillings for sixty pounds; but on the American shores of the Lake we found it at twenty-five to thirty-three cents; and although its introduction into Upper Canada is either prohibited or shackled with heavy duties, it of course will find its way into the province whenever the price there is *materially* higher than at home. In the Lower Province, when our ports are open, they consume American grain, and export their own; as it is necessary their shipments should be accompanied with certificates of Canadian origin.

Any interruption to the timber trade would diminish the market for grain; since a very large body of consumers are found in the raftsmen, who collect and convey the timber from the lakes and rivers to Quebec, and in the crews of five or six hundred vessels who replenish some part at least of their stores at that port. The raftsmen are in a great measure the link of communication between the Montreal and Quebec merchants on the

one hand, and the emigrants and back-woodsmen on the other—the channels through which British manufactures flow into the interior, and country produce to the coast.

Although, therefore, I have a list before me of fourteen heads of families, with eighty-six children, who, beginning the world with nothing but their industry, have, in the course of fifteen or twenty years in Canada, accumulated an aggregate amount of property of 35,500*l.*, about 2500*l.* each, I conceive that a farmer removing thither from Europe, for the purpose of making money rapidly, would certainly be disappointed. On the other hand, if his object were to prevent the diminution of what little property he actually possessed, and to secure independence for himself and a career of prosperous industry for his children—to purchase, by the sacrifice of the many comforts of an old settled country, the advantages of a less crowded population and a cheaper soil—to withdraw from the burdens, without retiring from the protection, of his native land, and without assuming those obligations to another government which *might* make him the enemy of his own—to settle, though in a distant colony, among his countrymen and fellow-subjects, within means of instruction for his children and opportunities of public worship for his family;—if these were his objects, and he could bring with him health, temperance, and industry, and one or two hundred pounds, I am persuaded that in the ordinary course of things, he would be remunerated a thousand fold for his privations.

And, notwithstanding all I have said of the difficulties of the early settler without money, a young man of industry, enterprise, and agricultural habits, without family, or with the means of leaving them for a year or two with his own or his wife's friends, who should come out to Canada, and hire his services till he could have a log-house built, and two or three acres cleared, would probably find himself in the prime of life an independent farmer on his own estate, with abundance of the necessaries of existence, and with prospects brightening as he advanced towards the evening of his days. But the sickly, the shiftless, the idle, the timid, and the destitute, with large families, will, I have no doubt, suffer far less in living from hand to mouth in England, than in encountering the difficulties of emigration to Canada.

The soil of Upper Canada is generally extremely good, and the climate, with the exception of a long and severe winter, unobjectionable. To persons on the spot, possessed of accurate local information, opportunities, I have no doubt, occur of making advantageous investments of capital in land on speculation; but the inducements to such projects will probably be limited, and to a certain degree accidental, while Government continues to grant lands either gratuitously or as a reward for military services.

LETTER II.

Philadelphia, Nov. 21, 1820.

My last letter conveyed to you pretty fully the ideas which occurred to me, in my visit to Canada, on the subject of emigration thither. I think I did not overstate the privations which emigrants must undergo; but I am persuaded that, in spite of them all, while it continues under the British Crown, it will be a happy asylum for thousands, who will gradually arrive, through various degrees of suffering and disappointment, at comfort and independence.

The facilities and intrinsic value of Canada—the fertility of its soil—the beauty of its scenery, and the salubrity of its climate, greatly surpassed my previous ideas, and, as far as I had an opportunity of judging, the ideas generally entertained in England. Americans also appear to me universally to return to Canada with far higher ideas of its importance than they had before conceived; though I am strongly of opinion, that, as an acquisition to the United States, neither the American government nor people regard it as particularly desirable. How far Great Britain is interested in retaining it, has often been doubted; but, without expressing any opinion on this subject—rendered more difficult and complicated by its connexion with considerations of much importance to Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and the West Indies, and its relation to the just claims and expectations of the inhabitants—*my feelings*, I confess, would now

lead me to protest strongly against the relinquishment of so fair a portion of the globe ; a beautiful romantic country, watered by a river which discharges, according to the estimate of American geographers and surveyors, one half more water than the Mississippi, into which the tide flows more than four hundred miles, and which is navigable for five hundred and eighty miles for ships of five hundred tons. After being frequently induced to cast an envious eye on the fine unoccupied land of the south-western part of the United States, I was delighted to find that *we* too had a spacious territory, and a virgin soil, where millions may, with common industry, attain ease and competence.

The present situation of England had rendered the subject of emigration so interesting when I left home, that it has secured my attention during every part of my route through the United States ; but I was perhaps led to endeavour to qualify myself to form more clear and decided views of the various advantages which different sections of the country respectively offer, by finding, soon after we commenced our journey, that my servant James was beginning to wonder how he and his wife would look on this side of the Atlantic. I did not at all check the idea, but offered to assist him in getting all the information in our power ; observing only, that I would recommend him to decide on nothing till he had been in Canada, as I should think much better of him, if he preferred, with the *same* inducements, to settle in a British colony than under a foreign government,—that if the United States, however, presented greater inducements,

I would give him every assistance in settling there. I also advised him to make his inquiries as extensive and minute as possible, in order that if, as I thought probable enough, after a few months familiarity with solitary log-huts and frontier settlements, and the exertions and privations attendant on clearing forests and subduing a wilderness, he should be satisfied that England, after all, was the best place for *him*, there might be classes of his countrymen to whom his information would be important.

With these views we proceeded through the new settling districts in Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, Tennessee, and Virginia; living almost entirely among very recent emigrants, sleeping with them in their log-huts, erected in many cases the week before, and through the sides and roofs of which the stars twinkled upon us as we lay on the floor, with a brilliancy quite unknown in our little island.

My conversation with these hardy pioneers turned naturally on the peculiarities of their situation, their past sacrifices, or present difficulties, and their prospective compensation; and as I made it a rule, from which I deviated only in one instance, to get rid before night of any companions whom I might happen to have picked up in the course of the day, I was usually enabled to make myself one of the family, and by sitting down with them at their meals, or over their fire, to draw them out, and render them very communicative. By this plan I not only escaped the effects of the possible ill temper, or want of suavity,

of a travelling companion, under the little trials of our novel accommodations, but, by creating less bustle in the family, I saw things more in their ordinary state.

In our course through the above mentioned States, we met with only three or four cases in which the emigrants regretted the change; although the price which some of those in Alabama had been obliged to pay for their Indian corn the first year, (and which amounted in the case of one family to six dollars per bushel, and for one purchase eight,) had thrown them back three or four years in their calculations. All these, however, were *Slave-States*; and I was glad to find that my servant considered *that* a decided objection to settling in them. Indeed, as no title could be obtained but by purchase, there were no decided inducements to those, who, like him, have only from 80*l.* to 100*l.*

We found many families living very comfortably on land which they had taken possession of, and had cleared, on the presumption that some peculiarities in the situation would prevent its being brought to sale for many years, and that they should obtain something for their improvements, even if they should not have realized sufficient in the mean time to purchase a title to their occupation. It is very *unpopular* to bid against these "*Squatters*;" and for the improvements of a single year, and the produce of a single crop, it was common for them, till the late depression of prices, to obtain a fair remuneration for the labour employed.

The first night we lay out in the woods in Alabama, one of the points discussed by some Carolinian emigrants, who came to our fire to have a little chat before bed-time, was the eligibility of stopping on the road a year, to make and sell a crop from the public lands in their way, or of proceeding without delay to their ulterior destination in the state of Mississippi. They appeared pretty nearly decided on the former plan.

The Southern States presenting, as it appeared to me, no adequate inducement to indigent English emigrants, I turned my especial attention to the advantages offered in the western part of the State of New-York, where it has been understood that many of those destined for Canada finally settle. I found it impossible to learn with any precision to what extent the tide of Canadian emigration is still diverted to the State of New-York; but I am disposed to believe, that fewer in proportion pass over into the American limits than formerly. Neither could I entirely satisfy myself as to the inducements to do so, especially as the soil is not superior in the State of New-York; and it is not very uncommon for Americans to go over into Canada to settle. I believe, however, that the principal reasons are to be found in the extreme activity of the agents of the Holland Company and Sir William Pulteney's estate, (who are very solicitous to promote the rapid settlement of their respective tracts,) and in the aid which they afford the emigrant at his outset, in letting him settle on their lands free of rent for the first two or three

years ; assisting him, perhaps, in raising a little cabin, or lending him a little Indian corn.

These trifling services, especially to an emigrant who has no money with which to pay his fees in Canada, are not only very seducing in prospect, but essentially contribute to lessen the first and severest difficulties of a new settler. Ultimately, however, I am disposed to think they are disadvantageous in the majority of instances ; the New-York settler having to begin to provide for rent and instalments, (which, even under the alleviated pressure of his situation, it would require both self-denial and good management to save,) at the very time when the Canadian settler is emerging from his greater difficulties, and deriving a liberal subsistence for his family from his own unburdened estate. I have been told, that very few persons under the former system ultimately maintain possession of their lands ; but that, after supporting themselves and their families in greater or less abundance, they are compelled to abandon their improvements for arrears in rent or instalments, and, joining the forlorn hope on the frontiers, to repeat their laborious and interminable efforts to convert the wilderness into a fruitful field. In passing through the State of New-York, I heard a great deal of the distress which at present exists from inability on the part of the emigrants to pay their rents and instalments, and of the hard names which the agents had to bear for proceeding to extremities. Still, however, an active, prudent man, would, under ordinary circumstances, succeed under the system, and probably as rapidly at

least as in Canada ; but it would require greater self-denial to impose the necessary severities on himself in New-York, than to submit to them when unavoidable in Canada. The general observations which I made concerning the classes to whom emigration to Canada would prove a real benefit, are equally applicable to emigration to the United States ; but in a future letter I will endeavour to give you some idea of what farmers, who bring with them a few thousand, instead of a few hundred, pounds, may expect to do in different parts of the United States. I will, at the same time, tell you all I can learn respecting Mr. Birbeck's settlement.

I had not intended to confine this letter to such dry statistics ; but it is too late to begin on any other subject.—James, I believe, is disposed to think, that he is better at home than in America ; except in his present capacity, in a city where his wages might be ten pounds per annum higher than in England, and where his wife's services as a dress-maker, fine washer, &c. would be productive.



LETTER III.

Norfolk, (Virginia,) Dec. 12, 1820.

As engagements of various kinds begin to thicken upon me previously to embarking, and I have little chance of any opportunity of writing to you as I *wish*, I must continue to snatch little

intervals as they present themselves, and write to you as I *can*.

You are already in possession of our "personal narrative" to a late date. I will now continue my remarks, scanty and superficial as I know they are, on the subject of emigration. I do not recollect that I omitted any thing at all material which occurred to me during my hasty progress through the country, with respect to the inducements offered to the *poorer* classes, who are anxious to obtain a little land, from which they may derive a subsistence for their families by personal exertion. On the more difficult subject of the advantages which agriculturists, with a capital of a few thousand pounds, would derive from coming to this country, I shall enter with greater reluctance; because it is one in the minutiae of which I feel still less at home, although I have taken pains to obtain such information as would lead me to conclusions on which I could rely. The fact is, that of the more recent settlements, (even of those less remote than Mr. Birkbeck's,) little is known on the coast, and the accounts which you receive from casual visiters are usually as vague and inaccurate as those derived from persons interested are exaggerated and partial. *Opinions* respecting all the settlements, is easy enough to collect; but *facts*, on which to found opinions entitled to any consideration, it is extremely difficult to obtain.

I have met with two persons only who have actually been at Mr. Birkbeck's settlement; one in the course of the last summer. the other last

than eight weeks since. They both state, that he has now a very comfortable house, excellent fences, and from 60 to 80 acres of Indian corn; but that he has raised little or no wheat, finding it more desirable, on the whole, to purchase flour at Harmony, eighteen miles distant.

I have not Mr. Birkbeck's book before me to refer to, in order to see whether this is his third or fourth year; but, in either case, the result differs so widely from his anticipations, as to render it difficult for him to elude the charge of being a wild and sanguine speculator.

In one of his estimates, he states the following as the quantity of produce which a settler on 640 acres, may expect to raise in the first four years:—

- 1st year, 100 acres of Indian corn.
- 2d year, 100 ditto ditto.
100 ditto Wheat.
- 3d year, 200 ditto Indian corn.
100 ditto Wheat.
- 4th year, 200 ditto Indian corn.
200 ditto Wheat.

This estimate was made not later, *I believe*, at any rate than in 1817, (you can refer to his book;) and yet in the autumn of 1820, he has little or no wheat, and only 60 or 80 acres of Indian corn, though possessing unquestionably, in his skill and resources, more than the average advantages of new settlers, and stimulated to extraordinary exertions by a regard to his reputation. So much for quantity. With respect to price, in his estimate of profit. he takes wheat at seventy-five, and

Indian corn at forty, cents per bushel. I cannot hear of any actual sales on the Wabash, to fix the prices on the spot; but in both Kentucky and Ohio, wheat is at twenty five to thirty-three, and Indian corn at twelve and a half cents per bushel: while the fact that he regards it as more desirable to buy and transport flour eighteen miles, than to raise it at home, furnishes a strong presumption that he can derive little profit from its cultivation. The gentleman whom I mentioned, as being there a few weeks since, told me that Mr. Birkbeck was preparing to sow a little wheat this winter; but that he regarded grazing as the most profitable object of his future attention. Of the price of labour, and of foreign articles of domestic economy, I could obtain no satisfactory information. I lately met a gentleman who has been travelling extensively through the western country. He did not visit Mr. Birkbeck's settlement, but saw two English families returning from it sickly and debilitated; their inability to preserve their health there being, as they alleged, their principal reason for leaving the colony. He also met an English gentleman of property who had been to examine the place, with a view of taking his family thither: he said, the sight of it, and a conviction that it was unhealthy, decided him at once to relinquish the idea; that he considered the selection a most unfortunate one for Mr. Birkbeck, and that the number of the colonists did not exceed two hundred.

I have heard others speak rather favourably of the healthiness of Mr. Birkbeck's *particular spot*,

to which his draining-fences will contribute; but all represent Illinois in general as a most unhealthy state, where the people for the most part are pallid and emaciated, and exhibit the languor and apathy which follow frequent or long-continued intermittents.

I became sadly too familiar with this melancholy spectacle on my south-western route: scarcely one family in six in extensive districts in the Carolinas, Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana, and Mississippi, being exempt from fever and ague; and many of them exhibiting tall young men of eighteen to thirty moving feebly about the house, completely unfitted for exertion, after fifteen or eighteen months' residence, or rendered indolent or inefficient for the rest of their lives. In Georgia and Carolina, we were told in a jocular way, that it was not uncommon for a person who was invited to dinner on a particular day, Wednesday for instance, to begin reckoning "Monday—Tuesday—Wednesday—No; I cannot come to you on Wednesday, for that is my fever day."—The two gentlemen who had visited Mr. Birkbeck agreed in stating, what has often been denied, that he has a well of excellent water.

On the whole, I am disposed to think that Mr. Birkbeck's sanguine anticipations have been grievously disappointed, and would have been proved by the result to have been extravagant, independently of the recent changes in the circumstances of the country. At the same time, I have no doubt that even his present views of his situation and prospects, moderated as they must be by his

past experience, embraces advantages which in *his* estimate far outweigh the privations and sacrifices attending his removal hither, and lead him still to congratulate himself warmly on his change of country. And, indeed, in possession of all the substantial comforts of physical life: removed beyond the sphere of those invidious comparisons which would render him sensible to artificial wants; exempt from present anxieties, and with a reasonable prospect of leaving every member of his family independent and prosperous, his situation, in a worldly point of view, is a very comfortable one. I am inclined however to think, that independently of his ambition to found a colony, and his apparent anxiety while on the move to get as far as possible from his native country—an anxiety for which true English feeling finds it difficult to account—he might have invested his property in some of the Atlantic States, with as much or more advantage to at least one or two generations of his family, and with a far less sacrifice of present comfort. Should his family, however, retain any large quantity of land, a growing density of population in the western country, and even in Illinois, notwithstanding its present unhealthiness, may render it a source of wealth in future years.

In the ordinary course of things, without a European market, agricultural profits in this country must be extremely small; among other reasons, because so large a *proportion* of the population, compared with most other countries, will be land proprietors, and so small a proportion dependent

on others for their agricultural produce ; and because the great fertility of the soil will leave an unusually large supply, after maintaining the labourers employed in its cultivation. It appears to me that the natural tendency of this state of things among an industrious and enterprising people, is to encourage domestic manufactures ; I mean manufactures really domestic—made in the family—the produce of that labour which higher agricultural profits would retain in the field, but which there appears to be no inducement to employ in the cultivation of produce which will sell for little or nothing when raised. This is a species of manufacture in a great measure independent for its prosperity on governments or tariffs ; for it is of little importance to the small farmer, that foreign manufactures are tolerably low, if his produce will neither command *them*, nor money to buy them. He can obtain his clothing in exchange for his leisure hours ; but then it must be by employing those hours in actually *making* his clothing, and not through the intervention of agricultural produce. I am surprised to find to how great an extent this species of manufactures is carried, and how rapidly the events of the last two years have increased it. In some parts of the state of New-York, I was told the little farmers could not make a living without it. In Pennsylvania, it is perhaps still more general ; some of the lower descriptions of East India goods having almost entirely given place to a domestic substitute actually made in the family ; and the importations of Irish linens having been

most seriously checked by the greatly increased cultivation and manufacture of flax in the immediate vicinity of Philadelphia. In Virginia and North Carolina, I had opportunities of seeing these domestic manufactures as I passed in the stage: and on my horseback route it was a constant source of surprise—to *you* I may add, without danger of being suspected to be a Radical, and of gratification; for this combination of agriculture and manufacture in the same family appears to me to form a state of society of all others the best adapted to produce a happy, independent, and domestic population. If I mistake not, America will exhibit this combination in a greater degree than any nation with which I am acquainted, unless the permanent removal of our corn laws should give a new stimulus to her agricultural labour; and even then, the immensity of her fertile territory might enable her to supply our wants without checking her in any material degree in the career I have anticipated for her.—But I did not intend to enter on these speculations. I have sometimes wished you could see what a pretty family picture a mother and two daughters make; the mother spinning, and keeping a daughter on each side most actively occupied in carding for her.—In the hope that this picture will play around your imagination, and lead you to forget how dry a letter you have been reading, I will conclude for the present, especially as I am arriving at the end of my paper. I intend, if I have time, that another letter shall accompany this.

LETTER IV.

Norfolk, (*Virginia*,) Dec. 13, 1820.

THE little digression into which I was insensibly led in my letter of yesterday, prevented me from completing my remarks on Mr. Birkbeck. I have already mentioned some of my reasons for supposing that, in the ordinary course of things, agricultural profits will be generally low in this country. Nor am I aware of any peculiarities in Birkbeck's situation which would form an exception in his favour in this particular. It must not be forgotten, that while the imminent danger of flour turning sour at New Orleans, his principal market, is to be set against the advantages he may possess over the *farmers* in the Atlantic States; in his competition with the *graziers* of Ohio, his great distance from the Atlantic cities may more than counterbalance the benefit of a readier access to extensive prairies. At present I am told, that the expense of conveying flour from Illinois, and selling it at New Orleans, would leave little or nothing for the grower of the wheat; and I have been assured, on the authority of several persons who have passed through Kentucky and Ohio this autumn, that in many cases the farmers would not cut their wheat, but turned their cattle into it; and that in others, the tenants would hardly accept of the landlord's moiety of the produce which they had stipulated to give him for rent.

Mr. Mellish, the traveller and geographer, whom I frequently saw in Philadelphia, showed me a letter from Mr. Birkbeck, in which he says: "There is an error of some importance in my Letters; and I wish that a correction of it could accompany the publication. In my estimate of the expenses of cultivating these prairies, I have not made sufficient allowance of *time* for the innumerable delays which attend a new establishment in a new country. I would now add to the debtor side *a year of preparation*, which will of course make a material deduction from the profits at the commencement of the undertaking."

On the whole, I am disposed to believe that experience will suggest to Mr. Birkbeck some mode of making money, though far more slowly than he expected; and I think the general estimate of the merits of his situation, by the natural reaction of his exaggerated statements, is at present a little *below* the truth.

I should not be surprised if a new and extensive market were gradually opened to the western farmers among a population employed or created by *manufacturing establishments* beyond the mountains. Wool may be raised on the spot with tolerable facility; and I have already mentioned the low rate of freight at which, in Ohio, they can obtain cotton from Louisiana and Mississippi in exchange for wheat, which will scarcely grow at all in the southern countries.

As the Waltham factory, near Boston, can sustain itself so well against foreign competition, I do not know why cotton mills should not flourish,

in Ohio, where mill-seats are numerous and excellent, provisions low, labour moderate, and the protection contemplated by the duty on foreign articles increased by distance from the coast. Hitherto capital has been wanted, commerce and land-speculations absorbing all that could be begged or borrowed; but the India trade is at present discouraging, the land mania has partly subsided, and money is readily to be had on good security for five per cent.

From what I hear of Ohio, I know of no place where a young, enterprising, skilful cotton-spinner, with from 5000*l.* to 15,000*l.* capital, fond of farming, and exempt from those delicate sensibilities which would make his heart yearn towards the land of his nativity, would pass his time more to his mind, or be in a fairer way of realizing a large fortune. To the mere farmer or agriculturist also, I should consider it an inviting State. I was told by the late governor of Ohio—one of the earliest settlers in that State, and for many years one of its representatives in Congress, a very active, intelligent man, with whom I have already made you acquainted—that unimproved land is to be had at $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 dollars per acre, for good quality; improved with buildings, and pretty good, 6 dolls. and 20 to 30 dolls. for the best in the country. He considers that farming capital, well managed by a practical hard-working farmer, assisted by his family, produces six to nine per cent. at the low prices of $12\frac{1}{2}$ cents for Indian corn, and 25 cents for wheat, and fifteen to twenty per cent. at 25 cents for Indian corn, and 50 cents for

wheat. I should imagine this was too high a return to calculate upon where labourers were to be hired, and the capital large; but he seemed to say it was not, and added, that grazing would pay much better interest, the cattle being sold to drovers from Philadelphia, with herds of cattle which they had purchased from the Indians 1000 or 1200 miles from their destined markets.

I asked a very respectable and intelligent resident in Ohio, how he would recommend an Englishman, coming to settle in that State as a farmer to employ his 5000*l.* supposing that to be his capital. He said he would purchase a farm and stock with 500*l.* leave 2000*l.* in government or bank securities bearing interest to bring in a certain income, and the remaining 2500*l.*, he would invest judiciously in land to be left to improve in value as a speculation. On this last, he would venture to underwrite a profit of 100 per cent, in ten years, asking no other premium than the excess above 100 per cent. Many bargains are now daily offering. He said, if a person vested 1000*l.* in a farm and stock, and in making his house comfortable, 2000*l.* in government securities, yielding six per cent. interest, and 2000*l.* in land to lie idle, improving in value; the six per cent. which he might safely calculate on making from his farm, besides maintaining his family on its produce, added to the six per cent. for his 2000*l.* in money securities—together 180*l.*—would enable him to keep a carriage and two horses and threeservants, and to enjoy many of the comforts of life. This, too, I consider highly coloured. after

making every allowance for the difference between his estimate of comforts and ours. His would probably exclude wine, and tea, and coffee; or at least his coffee would probably be pale enough when every pound cost one or two bushels of wheat. English ideas also as to clothes, even on a peace-establishment in the western wilds, and still more as to education, would probably differ widely from those of my informant. The expense of a good boarding school or "seminary" for boys or girls, (in this country they have as few *schools* as *shops*, except Sunday-schools, though as many *seminaries* and *academies* as *stores*,) is 35*l.* per annum near Chillicothe. He has some of his family at school on these terms; and I think he said that at the female "seminary" Latin was taught, if desired. In dress and manner he is of about the same "grade," as the Americans would say, as a respectable Yorkshire farmer, possessing an estate of 8000*l.* or 12,000*l.* and lives, I should imagine, somewhat in the same style, with a table perhaps more profusely spread with domestic produce,—such as beef, mutton, venison, turkeys, game, and fruit,—and more restricted in foreign wine and colonial luxuries. He spoke of going over to England to bring two or three hundred people with him to Ohio, where "he would make them so happy;" but his family attachments bind him to home. Such men as the overlooker of your mill, or others equally steady and experienced, but more acute, would prosper well in Ohio under his auspices. They would be growing rich, while the *poor* settler on land would be only

comfortable and independent ; a condition, however, by no means to be despised, especially when capable of suggesting such poetical ideas as the following :—

'Tis I can delve and plough, love,
And you can spin and sew ;
And we'll settle on the banks
Of the pleasant Ohio.

The present is a most favourable season for investing money in this country ; and a judicious capitalist, who would take time to look about him, and watch opportunities, might lay out his money to great advantage. The depreciation of real estate throughout the Union is perfectly astonishing, and sales are occasionally forced at sacrifices almost incredible. You will have seen in the American newspapers, the various plans before Congress, and the recommendation in the Report of the Secretary of the Treasury, for remitting part of the price, and extending the time of payment to those purchasers of the public lands whose instalments are not yet paid up. This proposed relief will probably prevent the Alabama settlers from executing the intentions, which in my letters from thence I mentioned having been so generally expressed to me, of relinquishing their purchases, and forfeiting the instalments already paid.

In Richmond, where the disastrous results of the Bank mania have been pre-eminently conspicuous, and where real estate has fallen 50 to 75 per cent. there having been several instances in which property having been sold, payable in three or four instalments, has, after the payment of all the previous instalments, been transferred to the

seller to discharge the last. It is estimated that more than one half of the city and its immediate vicinity is mortgaged to the banks.

In Baltimore, about one-third is similarly situated, and property there is only prevented from exhibiting a depreciation nearly equal to that of Richmond, by the policy adopted by the banks of holding it, in the expectation that its gradual advance will pay them a better interest for their money than could be obtained from investments or discounts, if they were to force a sale. A house and store were pointed out to me in Baltimore, in the principal commercial street, which about 1816 were let for 2000 dollars per annum, but are now let at only 600. This is an extreme case; but taking the city generally, it would probably be correct to estimate the decline in rents at from 40 to 50 per cent. Real estate has fallen from 33 to 50 per cent; the interruption to the intercourse between the United States and the West Indies, having raised the calamities of this town to a level with the general distress in which it might otherwise have participated less deeply than some of its neighbours, from having been visited less severely with those worse than Egyptian plagues, bank discounts of accommodation notes, renewable *au infinitum*.

Labour here, as in all slave States, falls almost *exclusively* on the slaves: and the portage of the town, the loading and discharging of ships, &c. are performed by those who are either hired out by their masters by the week, or allowed, on paying their masters a certain sum, generally about

two dollars per week, to find work for themselves and retain the surplus.

Allowing for the different effects of a system of this kind and a system of free labour, and fully aware how slowly, though certainly, the price of labour follows the price of provisions. I was surprised to find that while the latter has fallen two-thirds, the former has declined less than a fourth. This is owing partly to the circumstance of the owners of the coloured labourers being able to hold out on any particular occasion against an attempt to reduce their wages; an attempt which can seldom be effectually resisted by persons whose daily labour must obtain their daily bread; partly to conscientious scruples, which deter many holders of hereditary or domestic slaves from trafficking in human flesh, and others from buying their fellow-creatures to hire them out like cattle; but principally to such an irregularity of demand as renders it impossible to adjust the supply to its casual fluctuations, and induces a necessity of including in the remuneration for the hours employed, some compensation for those lost in waiting for employment.

Slaves, who in Norfolk are now worth on an average 300 to 400 dollars each, receive from the merchant who engages their services, seventy-five cents per day, and their food. These are enormous wages, where turkeys, weighing five or six pounds, will sell for 1s. 9d. sterling, and wild ducks at 2s per couple; and where flour is four dollars per barrel, Indian corn, their favourite food, forty cents per bushel, and beef and mutton five to

eight cents per pound. As sailors, the master can obtain for their slaves ten dollars per month : and there are many families in Norfolk, especially many widows and orphans, whose property consists entirely of hereditary slaves, whom they hire out as the only means of obtaining an income.

LETTER V.

New-York, Dec. 24, 1820.

I WROTE to you two long letters from Norfolk, which have not yet found a conveyance ; and on the 22d I addressed to your care a long letter to —, with an account of our visit to Norfolk and return to Baltimore. We left that city on the 18th, at three o'clock in the morning, in an open stage waggon, having decided to return to Philadelphia through York and Lancaster, instead of the old steamboat route, as it would occupy no more time. The morning was bitterly cold ; and as the roads were a sheet of ice, and our horses unprepared, we advanced only three miles an hour, for several hours, when we arrived at a German's, where we procured breakfast and fresh horses.

The face of the country, the thirty miles we continued in Maryland, presents, like almost every other part of that State which I have seen, a beautiful specimen of hill and dale, of which from one-third to one-half is woodland, young vigorous trees of second growth, so nearly of the same size, and so regularly disposed, that they perpetually suggest the idea that they have been planted by

the hand of man. I know no part of England which would give you a precise idea of Maryland hill and dale. Sometimes the scenery reminded me of the forest lands near Loughborough; but the undulations are bolder, and succeed each other in interesting variety, as far as the horizon; sometimes of Derbyshire—Ashbourne for instance—but the hills are less frequently broken by abrupt and precipitous cliffs, or the dales contracted into deep romantic valleys. About thirty miles from Baltimore, we entered York county, in the State of Pennsylvania. For the first few miles the houses were of hewn log and plaster, like those of Maryland; afterwards of stone and brick. As we advanced, the face of the country, still beautiful, principally hill and dale, began to exhibit a much higher state of cultivation, and the houses assumed a more comfortable and prosperous appearance. We now obtained a sight of the fine barns for which the Germans are celebrated, and of which we had heard much. The land was worth from 10 to 50 dollars per acre, in farms of from fifty to two hundred acres, occupied almost exclusively by German proprietors. The instances of land being rented were rare; and in those cases the landlord usually received half the gross produce for rent. I was told, (and although I do not vouch for the entire accuracy of all the "*on dits*" I send you on subjects like this, I seldom give them unless I have had an opportunity of cross examination,) that the less opulent farmers in this neighbourhood expend scarcely any money in articles of consumption, either vesting their

property in land, or hoarding it in a safe place. They are stated to make their own cotton and woollen clothes, their stockings, shirts, and sheetings,—exchanging wool with the hatter for hats, leather with the tanner for shoes, substituting rye for coffee, (now partially employed even in some of the cities, where it is sold in the shops,) using no tea, and very little sugar, which little they procure in exchange for the produce of their fine orchards. The best informed of them teach their children in the evenings; and sometimes they agree to board a schoolmaster at their houses gratuitously, and in succession, thus enabling him to reduce his terms to a mere trifle. They are said to be sociable, and very sensible of the comfort and independence of their condition.

Our driver on this part of the road had emigrated from Macclesfield, in Cheshire, where he drove a chaise, and knew many of our friends there. For some time he drove the Lancaster mail from Preston. He came out, he said, in his “*uniformal dress of an English coachman,*” with a broad hat, long great coat, woollen cord breeches, and jockey boots; all which he has discarded for uncharacteristic, shabby, yet pretending, blue coat, black waistcoat, and blue pantaloons. He procured employment in two days; and his gains have averaged for the last two years 26 dollars per month, with part of his board. I told him that I hoped, when he made his bargain, he did not count upon any money from the passengers: he said, “Oh no! ‘Please to remember the coachman’ would not do here: it would be degrading to ask: although

genteel people sometimes press me to take some thing, which I do not refuse." After this hint, I did not hesitate to follow the natural impulse I felt to give an old Lancaster driver some refreshment. As he seemed a very decent, sensible man, I asked him various questions, in such a way as to give no particular direction to his answers, and found his ideas of the country and people were very similar to my own. To a question whether he found the Americans more or less civil than the English, he replied, "I think they are more accommodating and friendly, and more ready to oblige either a stranger or one another;—but, to be sure, they have always been in the habit of helping a neighbour, and have never known *the depravity like* of a condition which made them obliged to look to themselves. I was surprised to see them so friendly to every body."

He quite agreed with me that labourers, *generally* speaking, have no reasonable prospect of improving their condition, however uncomfortable, by coming hither,—I mean to the *Atlantic* States: in the Western country, industry and self-denial will force their way. Very superior merit, or singular good fortune, may still raise some to independence; but five out of ten may wander about for weeks, or months, in the agricultural districts of Pennsylvania, without finding regular employment, or the means of supporting themselves by their labour. One of our passengers, a respectable looking man, said, that a friend of his had been applied to by a *good* labourer of character, whom he had long known, offering to work till the spring

for his food, which offer was declined. In the neighbourhood of Philadelphia, I heard of *many* instances of less skilful labourers making similar applications in vain.

About 3 o'clock we stopped to dine at York, a town not unlike Loughborough at a distance. We were not expected; and though there were only two passengers who dined, the landlord made many apologies for producing only a beefsteak, veal cutlet, and tart, instead of the turkey, ham, and two or three joints of meat usually set on the table, even for a small party.—Immediately on leaving York, we entered a beautiful and interesting valley, called "Creek Valley," where the land is said to be as good as in almost any part of the United States. On each side of the road were fine large fields, in a high state of cultivation. One of the passengers, well acquainted with the neighbourhood, mentioned to me the value of the several estates as we passed. The first, rather more than three hundred acres in extent, with a house, and large and extensive barns and stabling, which together cost erecting about 10,000 dollars, were sold two years since at 260 dollars per acre. It would, even now, bring 200, the fatal effects of the paper system having been almost entirely averted from this district, either by the prudence of the Bank Directors, or, what is more likely, the inveterate habits of the German farmers, which did not readily become reconciled to a flimsy substitute for gold. The next farm consisted of twenty-five acres, with a new brick house, and a decent frame barn, which together would cost erect-

ing, my informant thought, more than 4,000 dollars. A gentleman, whom he pointed out to me, had just offered 7,000 dollars for the whole, which were refused. The next farm was one of a hundred and fifty acres, with out-buildings, but in high cultivation, one-fifth woodland. It had been sold the preceding week at 140 dollars per acre. In this well settled country, woodland is dearer than cleared land. The next was a large estate, which a German had just sold to his sons at 105 dollars per acre, that they might give their sisters as a marriage portion their equal share, as is usual with them. The sons-in-law thought the sale too low. All these estates are within fifty miles of Baltimore, which the farmers consider their market, and speak of as very near.

Ten miles from York we passed the beautiful and classical Susquehanna, on a fine bridge, a mile and a quarter broad; but the night was closing in, and the clouds, which obscured the moon, prevented our seeing the scenery of this noble river distinctly. We had been frequently gratified during the day, by the view of a distinct chain of the Blue Mountains in the horizon. We reached Lancaster, a *fine old* town, (all things are by comparison,) at nine o'clock, having been eighteen hours in completing the seventy miles from Baltimore. We left Lancaster at four o'clock the next morning, and proceeded in the dark fourteen miles to breakfast. To my great mortification, it was so cloudy and misty during a great part of the day, that my view was circumscribed. We still continued, however, to see handsome barns, substan-

tial houses, and beautifully cultivated fields. From the time we left Lancaster, we were on the great Pittsburgh road, which leads us to Philadelphia, through the "Great Valley," as it is called; the land is for the most part excellent, yielding from twenty-five to thirty bushels of wheat, and thirty to forty of Indian corn, to the acre. The farmers in the county of Lancaster, unlike those of York, are, I was told, deeply in debt; the treacherous paper system having been incautiously admitted.

The country through which we passed during the day's ride, as far as we could see on each side of the road, (the fog contracting our view within narrow limits,) might be compared with the richest part of England, reminding me sometimes of Craven—sometimes of Warwickshire—sometimes of Gloucestershire. The best houses and barns are of stone, the largest being generally taverns; and the buildings on the farms (which are from two to three or five hundred acres in extent) are perhaps from 4,000 to 20,000 dollars in value. There were few (till we reached Philadelphia scarcely any) that could be called gentlemen's houses, or which give one the idea of being in the vicinity of educated, or well-bred society. One, between thirty and forty miles from Philadelphia, exhibited traces of taste and elegance in the front of the house and garden: the out-buildings seemed complete and extensive. My companion said, the whole of the buildings might cost, with the house furnished, 7,000 dollars; and one hundred acres of land, in high cultivation, in the vicinity, 5,000 dollars more. Now, I think, with good management on the farm,

a family might live comfortably with 18,000 dollars in addition; not with less than that sum, nor with so little, if there were boarding-school expenses to pay, or any charges except those strictly domestic. Now let us suppose that Mr. Birkebeck had settled there:—his family, except as regards society, would scarcely have been conscious that they were transplanted: he would have felt at home in a cultivated country, instead of a novice in the prairies, and his agricultural skill might have been profitably exerted in a congenial sphere: 30,000 dollars, out of the 35,000 which he is said to have brought with him, would have been disposed of in a form at least as convertible as at present. I much doubt whether his whole property, at the end of ten years, including the 5,000 dollars left to accumulate with compound interest, would not have been of more value than it will now prove, and have commanded as many cultivated and uncleared acres in Illinois, as he will possess at the expiration of that period. If he should not be benefited, or be only partially so, by the remissions of price proposed by the Government to be afforded to purchasers of public lands, (which will depend on the state of his instalments,) or if his settlement continue unpopular, he may actually lose by his lands, the reduction from one and a quarter to two dollars by the Government for vacant lands, of course reducing the value of those he has entered. This, however, is a speculation for which I have no sufficient data; but I was led to think a little on the subject on passing these fine Pennsylvania farms. It ap-

pears to me that the "aliquid immensum infinitumque," which played round the youthful imagination of Cicero, and conducted that celebrated orator into regions of truth and beauty, had taken possession of the mind of Mr. Birkbeck, and led him, less courteously, into the prairies of Illinois, where I have no doubt it has long since vanished, like an ignis fatuus, leaving the agriculturalist not a little mortified at having been beguiled by an insidious phantom, which beckoned him to fame and fortune in the Western wilds.

We reached Philadelphia, 60 miles from Lancaster, at four o'clock in the afternoon, and found our party at the boarding house increased by the arrival of a gentleman and lady and three daughters from Lexington, Kentucky, who having hastily left a comfortable estate in the vicinity of London, had become tired of the Western wilderness, and had returned to the Atlantic States, *beginning to think that, to persons in their easy circumstances at least, there was no place like old England after all.*



LETTER VI.

New-York, Feb. 1821.

A LONGER residence in the principalities of the United States, and a more intimate acquaintance with their inhabitants, have given me a better opportunity than I had previously enjoyed, of forming the estimate you request from me of the present state of religion and morals on this side of the

Atlantic. You must, however, make great allowance for errors in so difficult and delicate an undertaking, and will receive with peculiar caution, on such a subject, any general conclusions deduced from the observations of an individual traveller. You may, however, consider the favourable representations which I made, in a letter from Boston last autumn, with respect to opportunities of public worship, and the prevalence of evangelical preaching, as applicable to all the principal towns and cities from Portland to Savannah.

But churches are not religion; nor are the ministrations of a pastor an unerring criterion of the piety of his hearers. In a country, however, in which contributions to places of public worship are for the most part voluntary, a liberal dissemination of sacred edifices is a very favourable symptom; while the number of faithful ministers, and the frequent occurrence of large congregations listening attentively to unwelcome truths from pastors appointed by their own election, and dependent on them for support, afford something more than a vague presumption of the existence of no inconsiderable degree of vital piety in the community.

My favourable impressions were strengthened as I proceeded, by noticing the attention *generally* paid on the Atlantic coast to the external observance of the Sabbath; by meeting continually with Bibles, and other religious books, in the steamboats and houses of entertainment; and by witnessing the efforts every where apparent for the extension of Christian piety.

Theological institutions for the education of ministers, extensive, well-endowed, and respectable, frequently arrest the attention of the traveller as he passes along the road ; while a very little intercourse with society convinces him that associations of a more private nature, for preparing indigent young men for missionary services, together with Bible Societies, Missionary Societies, and Sunday School and Tract Societies, are liberally scattered.

I felt neither disposed nor called upon to deprive myself of the pleasure I derived from these favourable indications, by reflecting that they were no accurate measure of the *degree* in which personal religion prevails. I was quite aware that, in many cases, and especially where there is no establishment, churches are sometimes multiplied by the very dissensions of a congregation ; that a proportion of the active effort engaged in the promotion of religious objects, is often very little connected with Christian principle ; and that respect for the form of godliness may survive its power. But at the same time I felt persuaded that, although a love of popularity may enrol the worldly in the list of contributors to religious societies, or engage them as public advocates in a sacred cause, still that diligent performance of the routine of official duties, and those self-denying and persevering efforts, to which religious societies are usually indebted both for their origin and prosperity, imply, in most cases, the existence of a higher principle, and spring from a purer source.

My subsequent experience has convinced me that I was not incorrect in the persuasion in which I indulged myself as I passed along, that I was always in the vicinity of some at least who were united in Christian sympathy with the whole church militant on earth, and were travelling to a better country amidst the hopes and fears, the trials and consolations, which chequer the lot and form the character of the Christian in every quarter of the globe. Sometimes, in the course of my route, some little incident would give peculiar force to this persuasion, or the surrounding scenery impart to it a particular interest.

On my return from Canada through Vermont and New Hampshire, I visited the Theological Institution at Andover; where the handsome collegiate edifice, the spacious grounds, the houses of the professors, and the excellent inn in some degree attached to the establishment, bore ample testimony to the munificence, as the object of the institution to the piety, of its founders. It is from this establishment that the American Board of Missions has drawn nearly all its labourers. After tea we adjourned to the college chapel, where religious intelligence from various parts of the United States was communicated by the students or professors. We had then prayers, after which we separated. It was a beautiful star-light night in autumn; and while looking out of my window, at midnight, on this quiet scene—where many who were then labouring in distant regions of the globe first felt those ardent aspirings after extensive future usefulness, which prompted them

to encounter the trials of a missionary life, and where many were then preparing for the same honourable enterprise—I could not but contrast the privileges of a life thus early and entirely dedicated to the noblest cause, with those of the most successful commercial or political career, where the flame of piety, if not extinguished by the very atmosphere which surrounds it, is exposed to a thousand blasts from which the religious zeal of the missionary is sheltered by his peculiar situation.

At Hartford, in Connecticut, in a church so richly adorned with “Christmas” (either winding round the pillars, or hung in festoons,) as to appear almost like a grove, I was gratified by a sermon in vindication of our Liturgy; and my heart warmed when I heard the minister enumerate among its claims to the affectionate regards of the congregation, “the opportunity which it afforded them of worshipping in the very words in which saints for centuries had breathed their devotions in the land of their fathers, and of still offering their incense in the same censer with their brethren in Britain, that brightest star in the firmament of the Reformation.”—In the afternoon I attended the Presbyterian chapel, where the minister announced, at the close of the service, that it was the wish of many of the congregation that the following Friday should be set apart for prayer and fasting, and that it was expected it should be so observed by the members of the church. I felt that I was among the descendants of the puritanic exiles, (for *exiles* may many of them be con-

sidered rather than *emigrants*;) and I could not but breathe a wish that the spirit of an Elijah might linger in the land which still preserved these vestiges of more devotional times.

At Newhaven, in the same state, after visiting Yale College,—in the library of which I was pleased to recognise, under the titles “Berkeley,” and “The Dean’s Bounty,” substantial proofs of the liberality of our celebrated countryman, Bishop Berkeley,—I spent the evening with Dr. Morse, whom I found engaged in drawing up a report on the state of the Indians, to be submitted to Congress. He had been selected by the President to travel among the Indians with reference to this object, in consequence of having been long employed by a society in Scotland in the promotion of their benevolent designs among some of the northern tribes. He has devoted a very long and very active life to the interests of literature and religion in his infant country, combining the attainments of a scholar with the apostolic zeal of a missionary, and often exchanging domestic endearments and literary ease for the perils of the wilderness, and the privations of solitary journeys in swamps and forests. When Mr. Hall’s sermon on Infidelity appeared, he printed an edition at his own expense, although in very moderate circumstances, and has since endeavoured to introduce among his countrymen a high standard of practical excellence, by exhibiting to their view that extraordinary combination of the lowly and the splendid virtues of the Christian character which adorned the life, and has embalmed the memory of the late Mr. Reynolds of Bristol.

At Boston I had the pleasure of an interview with the late venerable Dr. Worcester, the secretary of the American Missionary Society, and received much interesting intelligence from the Missionary Board, and its excellent treasurer. There I found an association of young men, who have set apart a portion of their income for the establishment of a missionary press at Jerusalem. There also I had the gratification of seeing Henry Martyn in an American dress, going forth in the character of a departed saint, to advance in the West the cause in which he himself fell so early and lamented a sacrifice in the East; to fan, in the very scenes where his beloved though unknown Henry Brainerd had laboured and expired, the missionary zeal which that eminent man had kindled; and to animate every succeeding American missionary by an affecting proof, that a ray of fervent piety, though emanating from the solitudes of an American forest, may penetrate even the cloisters of Cambridge, and revive a fainting bosom in the deserts of Persia or Hindostan.

While visiting a friend in New-York, I was informed that it was in the adjoining room that the agents of the African Colonization Society, and their supporters, assembled for prayer the night previous to the sailing of the first expedition, of whose melancholy fate we had just received the intelligence.

In Philadelphia, the Sunday after my arrival, I heard our excellent Liturgy for the first time on these western shores; and the impression it was calculated to make on my mind was deepened by

the circumstance of its being sacrament Sunday and by the stillness and decorum which I had never witnessed even in England. Here I was also much gratified by meeting with the aged Bishop White, one of the bishops who went over to England after the Revolution, to be consecrated, in order that episcopal authority might be transmitted to the latest generations of America, through the legitimate channel in which it had flowed since the laying on of Apostolic hands. Our excellent Granville Sharp, and his meritorious efforts in his cause, came forcibly to my recollection.

While drinking tea with a friend in Baltimore, one of the females of the family came in, who I learnt had been attending an adult school in which there were 180 Blacks. She told me there were 600 Blacks in the Sunday schools in the city; and that they had lately formed themselves into a Bible Association, and been received into connexion with the Baltimore Bible Society. At the same place, a letter was shewn to me just received from the Black person on whom the management of the expedition of the Colonization Society devolved, on the White agents falling a sacrifice to the dreadful mortality with which the settlers were visited. On a desert shore, deprived by death of the White conductors, to whom he and his companions looked for protection—depressed by the successive deaths of his Black friends, and harassed by the delays, irregularities, and suspicious conduct of the native chiefs—he writes in a strain of fortitude and piety, deserving

of imitation. "But, thank God," he says, "though cut off from my friends, and relations, and family, and the comforts of civilized life, our people dropping off daily, myself labouring under great bodily weakness, and an important charge lying upon me, I can truly say that I rejoice that I came to Africa. O that what few days I am spared in this world, it may be to do good!" And yet this person, I was told, was once an *American Slave*.

At Washington, I attended Divine service in the House of Representatives; a magnificent hall in the capital, which is always appropriated to this purpose on Sundays. The sermon was an impressive one, from the words, "The glorious Gospel of Christ;" and you will readily believe, that the promulgation of this Gospel in the capital of this vast continent, in the new chamber of its Legislature, under the fostering care of its popular Government, was well calculated to excite the most interesting reflections. The scene reminded me of the period when "they shall come from the east, and from the west, and from the north, and from the south, and shall sit down in the kingdom of God;" and when I recollected how long the Star had appeared in the East, before it shed its radiance on the darkness of these Western shores,—whose very existence a few centuries since was unsuspected, and which had long been abandoned to Indian superstitions, which had only just ceased to linger in the primeval forests which surrounded us, and on the banks of rivers which yet bear their Indian names,—I seemed admitted

to a closer view of that mysterious progression by which "the kingdoms of this world shall become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ, and He shall reign for ever and ever." This train of thought, the place, the congregation, the surrounding scene, conspired to give a peculiar interest to the verses with which the service was concluded.

How happy are our ears," &c.

To enter fully into my feelings, you must recollect my distance from the scene where we have usually sung these words; and that when I hear of the East, I do not here think of India and China only, but include Europe and Africa, and with them dear England, in the idea which is present to my imagination. On my return to my inn, I dined in company with my friends the Indian Deputation of the Creeks and Cherokees, to whom I have already introduced you. In the afternoon, I sat in the seat next to the President's in the Episcopal Church, where we had an excellent sequel to our morning's sermon, from the words, "How shall we escape if we neglect so great salvation?"

When visiting General Washington's tomb, in his favourite retreat at Mount Vernon, on the banks of the Potomac, my black attendant informed me, that the domestics,—about thirty I believe in number, and principally slaves,—assembled morning and evening for family worship, at which the Hon. Bushrod Washington, the present occupier of Mount Vernon, and a Judge of the Supreme Court, presides. When I was shown

into the Judge's study, Scott's Bible and Dr. Dwight's Theology were before him, as if just laid aside, and gave rise to a little conversation. In speaking of the African Colonization Society, of which he is the President, he remarked, that the most interesting light in which he regarded it, was as an instrument for the conversion of the Africans to Christianity; that he conceived this would ultimately be accomplished by *native* teachers; and that the Colonization Society, by the introduction into Africa of social arrangements and religious institutions, was calculated to raise up a supply of native instructors, and thus to form an important link in that chain of secondary causes which are to establish the kingdom of the Messiah in every quarter of the globe.

At Charleston, in South Carolina, at the Episcopal Church, at the door of which I counted seventeen carriages, I had the gratification of seeing some slaves receive the sacrament at the same table as their masters, some of whom were of the very first rank of Carolinian planters.

At Augusta, in Georgia, I thought with much interest on the late excellent Miss Smelt, whose Memoirs I had read in England: and although I could not find her grave in the church-yard, it was with great pleasure that I passed a solitary Sabbath in this foreign land amid the scenes where her early piety was cherished and matured.

The following Sunday, in a remoter part of Georgia, near the borders of the Indian Nation, my feelings were still more strongly excited. I attended a Negro congregation assembled in the

woods, to hear a funeral sermon from one of their own number, himself a slave. It consisted of about 200 slaves, sitting on little planks under a large elm-tree; and I found I was the only White person, and the only freeman, in the assembly. The preacher first gave a sort of general address, explaining the occasion of the meeting. We then had prayer; then sung the hymn,

“Why do we mourn departed friends?”

and then had a sermon from the text, “The Lord is a sun and shield;” a text which the preacher assured them was somewhere in the Bible, although “he could not undertake to tell them where.” It was with mingled emotions that I beheld these degraded fellow-creatures, after drawing near to the Throne of the Creator of the universe, the Mercy Seat of our common Father, disperse to their several plantations, to resume on the morrow their extorted labours, and to smart under the lash of a fellow-mortal.

Even in that land of darkness, the shores of the Gulf of Mexico, in Mobile, until lately a nest of pirates, and still without a Protestant place of worship, I found, to my surprise, “The Dairyman’s Daughter,” and “Little Jane,” in a bookseller’s shop. In the seclusion of the forests of the Mississippi, I have seen a solitary planter take down a number of Dr. Clarke’s Bible, and inquire, with great interest, if I could tell him any particulars of so good a man: his wife listening attentively, and pronouncing a eulogium which would have made the Doctor blush.

I have attended divine service at the confluence

of two beautiful rivers in East Tennessee, where the congregation was so numerous that we were compelled to adjourn from the meeting-house into the adjoining woods, where tables were laid under the trees for communicants, who were flocking from miles in every direction, as in Scotland, and to whom the sacred ordinance was administered by four clergymen, of serious deportment, and apparently of respectable acquirements and fervent zeal. At the foot of the Alleghany mountains, where I slept in a little log-hut, kept by a poor old woman and her only son, our hostess gladly availed herself of the accidental presence of a young minister, in his way to Brainerd, to have family prayer and reading: and, in a large popular inn in Virginia, I was asked whether I would like to retire to the private apartments of the family, who assembled morning and evening at the domestic altar.

But it was at the missionary settlements at Brainerd and Yaloo Busha, that my feelings were most strongly excited. Never shall I forget my sensations the two nights I passed in Mr. Kingsbury's little room, which was kindly and courteously assigned to me during my stay. A log-cabin, detached from the other wooden buildings, in the middle of a boundless forest, in an Indian country, consecrated, if I may be allowed the expression, by standing on missionary ground, and by forming at once the dormitory and the sanctuary of a "man of God;" it seemed to be indeed the prophet's chamber, with "the bed and the table, and the stool and the candlestick." It con-

tained, also, a little book-case, with a valuable selection of pious books, periodical, biographical, and devotional; among which I found many an old acquaintance in this foreign land, and which enable Mr. Kingsbury, in his few moments of leisure, to converse with many, who have long since joined the spirits of just men made perfect, or to sympathize with his fellow labourers in Otaheite, Africa, or Hindoostan.

Mr. Kingsbury spent a great part of the second night in my room, inquiring with great interest, about England, and other parts of Europe, with respect to which his intelligence had been very scanty since his seclusion among the Indians. About midnight, we became thirsty with talking so much; and Mr. Kingsbury proposed that we should walk to the spring at a little distance. The night was beautifully serene after the heavy showers of the preceding evening, and the coolness of the air, the fresh fragrance of the trees, the deep stillness of the midnight hour, and the soft light which an unclouded moon shed on the log-cabins of the missionaries, contrasted with the dark shadows of the surrounding forest, impressed me with feelings which I never can forget. We looked cautiously around us, lest we should be surprised by wild beasts; and Mr. Kingsbury stopped to point out to me a plant, which, if swallowed immediately after the attack of a rattlesnake, proves an effectual antidote to the poison. He said that he never stirred from home, without some of it in his waistcoat pocket: and that in the state of Mississippi, it was commonly carried by

all persons who traversed the forest. I could not help regarding this as a fresh illustration of that providential kindness which so frequently ordains the proximity of the bane and antidote.

The preceding particulars will convince you that some indications of genuine, influential, religious principle occur, even to the rapid traveller in almost every part of the United States. During my residence in Boston, New-York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Charleston, I have seen that there is in each of them an extensive society of exemplary christians; and I have had the pleasure of forming an acquaintance with many whose virtues I would gladly emulate, and whose characters are an ornament to their profession.

But you will wish to know in what *degree* vital piety prevails in the community; and I regret that I cannot tell you more explicitly; the subject does not admit of precision. The extent in which religion prevails here is known only to the Searcher of hearts; but there is the strongest reason to believe that it is very considerable. Indeed I am disposed to think, that a *cursory* traveller visiting England and America, without prejudice, and with equal opportunities of observation, would draw a more favourable inference, with respect to the state of religion in the *Atlantic cities* of the latter, than in the towns or cities of the former. Whether a long residence in the respective places, would not lead to some change in his opinions, or at least hold them in suspense, I am at a loss to decide; but I believe it would.

I confine my supposition to the Atlantic cities, because the benighted shores of the Gulf of Mexico, and many portions of the western wilds, possess few features in common with our favoured country, and should rather be compared with our colonial possessions in the East or West Indies;—indeed I might include extensive districts in the back parts of many of the Atlantic States, where population is thinly scattered, and opportunities of public worship occur only once or twice a month. In some of these, I thought I observed great coldness in religious concerns; the unfrequency of public ordinances rendering the inhabitants rather less willing than more so to avail themselves of them when offered. I felt more disappointed in such districts, than in the frontier settlements. In the latter some spiritual as well as temporal privations are naturally to be expected; though I thought their inhabitants exhibited much greater solicitude for schools and churches than those of the former. In fact, the new settlers from the Atlantic States have, in many cases, participated in the advantages of that general revival of religion which promises to be the characteristic of modern times; and before their zeal has had time to cool in solitude and separation, it has often secured a provision for those religious ordinances by which it may be cherished and sustained. But the back parts of Pennsylvania and Virginia were settled in less auspicious days; and we must not be surprised if the flame of piety, burning less brightly at that time even on the coast, should grow pale and sickly when removed into

an atmosphere which ministered little to its support.

Generally speaking, it has appeared to me, that the style of preaching in this country is more Calvinistic than with us, and that there is also less opposition to the peculiar doctrines of the Gospel among men of the world. It is owing partly to this circumstance, that the *profession* of religion involves less of that mitigated persecution of modern days, which a decided Christian must often encounter with us in the regrets or remonstrances of opposing friends, or the ridicule or distance of sneering companions. A religious profession might, therefore, be supposed to be more common; and perhaps may be rather so, though this has hardly struck me.

Whatever may be the actual state of religion in this country, I am quite satisfied that it is on the advance. There may be local exceptions; but my inquiries and observations in every part of my route have led me to a confident conclusion as to the general fact. Many of the societies for the promotion of religion are of recent origin; but they are gradually diffusing themselves over the Union, and the sympathy which was first kindled by commiseration for the Otaheitan or Hindoo, instead of being exhausted on distant objects, seems to derive fervour from its very expansion, and is now visiting the hut of the Aborigines, the log-cabin of the Back-woodman, and the habitation of the careless and uninstructed "neighbour." In New-Orleans, in March, 1815, there was not a Bible to be found, either for sale, or to be given

away; and the only Protestant place of worship was in an upper room belonging to an individual. Now, a Louisianian Bible Society is in regular operation, and the inhabitants have a handsome Episcopalian and Presbyterian Church. The Sabbath is still dreadfully and generally profaned there; but it is religiously observed by many, the influence of whose example is daily extending. At the boarding house where I lodged, were several naval and military, as well as mercantile gentlemen; and I remember an officer who had been drilling his rifle corps one Sunday, remarking on the strong representations which the Presbyterians had been making to him on the subject. He defended the practice by those arguments of expediency which have been worn thread-bare by the commanders of our volunteer corps. A few years since, no remonstrance would have been hazarded; or if hazarded, the summary argument of a pistol would probably have silenced the *interference*.

Unhappily, however, while religion is extending its boundaries in the United States, Unitarianism is but too successfully urging what we consider its conflicting claims; but this, and the state of morals, must form the subject of another letter. This letter is already sadly too long.

LETTER VIII.

Salem, 24th Feb. 1821.

IN my last, after giving you, I think, what you would consider an encouraging picture of the present state, and still more so of the future prospects, of religion in this country, I expressed my regret that Unitarianism had acquired so much influence, and promised to say more on the subject in my next. From all I can learn, it appears that Unitarian opinions have been entertained in New-England for fifty years at least, and perhaps much longer. Generally speaking, however, they were not very openly avowed, till much more recently; some of those who held them concealing their sentiments because they were unpopular,—others because they felt indifferent about them,—and others, more reflecting and philosophical, because they conceived that their extension would be most effectually promoted at that particular time by reserve and caution. The first Unitarian congregation formed in America, was established in the King's Chapel soon after the Revolution. This was the chapel in which the Governor worshipped; but becoming afterwards private property, and the majority changing their sentiments, they expunged from the church prayers all allusion to Trinitarian doctrines, and openly denounced the Trinity. The minority of course retired. In 1792 a Unitarian congregation was formed in Portland, in the district of Maine; and another at Saco, a

small town twenty miles further to the south. Both these congregations soon expired ; but I regretted to find, when at Portland last Sunday, that another congregation was established there, and that the legislature of the newly elected State of Maine, who were then sitting, were debating on a bill which would have a tendency, (if indeed it were not one of its immediate objects,) to favour the extension of Unitarian sentiments. The sermon of the minister of the Episcopal church which I attended, was on the duty of contending for the "faith once delivered to the saints," and had a specific reference to this bill. As Unitarian sentiments became more general, they were gradually avowed with less reserve ; yet the pulpits of many ministers who were supposed to have imbibed them, gave no evidence of the fact, except that of *omissions*. This at length brought upon them the charge of insincerity from their more orthodox brethren. The imputation was repelled with warmth ; and the public were left in great doubt as to the precise sentiments of many of their pastors. Dr. Morse, who had been the most prominent of those who publicly manifested their regret at the defection of their brethren from the common faith, was accused of misrepresentation : and the most candid felt it almost impossible to arrive at the real state of things. At this time, Dr. Morse happened to meet with Mr. Belsham's *Life of Lindsay*, in which he found his own representations borne out by letters and documents transmitted from Boston by the Unitarians themselves. These he strung together in the form of

a pamphlet, under the title of "American Unitarianism; or a brief History of the Progress and present state of the Unitarian Churches in America; compiled from Documents and Information communicated by the Rev. James Freeman, D. D. and William Wells, jun. Esq. of Boston, and from other Unitarian Gentlemen in this Country. By the Rev. T. Belsham, Essex Street, London. Extracted from, &c. &c." This pamphlet was eagerly read, and produced a great sensation. It disclosed the actual state of things, brought the question to issue, and ranged in opposite ranks those advocates of conflicting sentiments who had hitherto been confusedly intermingled. A paper controversy has since been carried on at intervals, as particular circumstances or occasional excitement prompted; and both parties, as usual, claim the victory. In the mean time, however, Unitarianism has advanced; but although it is painful to see that it prevails to a considerable extent, Dr. Morse assured me that he did not believe it was gaining ground at present. If the number of its advocates seems to have augmented during the last year or two, he was disposed to ascribe the apparent increase rather to a more open avowal of their sentiments by many who were Unitarians before, than to a more general conviction of the truth of Unitarianism. Of the present numbers of the Unitarians, I can give you no idea. There are comparatively few, except in New-England; and very few there, except in the towns on the coast. In Boston, I believe there are seven or eight congregations of Unitarians

of different shades. In Baltimore a splendid and costly Unitarian chapel was lately completed; but I was told that it is almost entirely mortgaged to the banks. In Philadelphia there is a small Unitarian chapel. In New-York, a new Unitarian chapel, or what the orthodox consider as such, was opened, while I was there, by Mr. Everett, the Professor of Divinity from Cambridge, (Massachusetts.) I was told it was numerously attended, as Mr. Everett had some reputation, but that it was generally rather frowned upon. As, however, those whom I heard speak of it, were among its strongest opponents, I know not how far to conclude that that was the case. The chapel was opened on a week-day, and the minister was said not to dwell at all on doctrinal points—a line of conduct you would anticipate from a sagacious advocate of *his* scheme.

But Boston is the head-quarters of Unitarianism; and many of the Unitarians there are so amiable, and so intelligent,—possess so much practical kindness, and so many social virtues,—as to exert a powerful influence in favour of their opinions, and to shame many a narrow-minded, indolent professor of a purer faith;—a faith which too many of us are apt to forget it is our duty to *illustrate*, as well as to maintain,—and to exhibit not merely as a dry system of restraint and prohibition, but as a source of the most generous incentives to excellence in all that is “lovely and of good report.”

There are many things in the situation of the respectable classes of society in Boston, which

are calculated to promote the extension of Unitarianism. In the first place, the strong traces which still remain of those habits of order and morality which their religious forefathers left as a rich inheritance to the population of New-England,—habits intrinsically valuable, and entitling the possessors to esteem, but rather apt perhaps to lull asleep any suspicion of error in the creed with which they are found connected. 2dly, A consciousness of literary superiority to the rest of the Union; an undue appreciation of *talent* in the estimate of character: and an association adroitly established between liberality and Unitarianism—all strengthened, if not produced, by proximity to the most celebrated university in the United States, where the principal professors are Unitarians, and the system, though ostensibly neutral, is Unitarian also. 3dly, A state of worldly ease and comfort, in which the necessity of religious consolations is apt to be less strongly felt, and their foundation to be investigated with less trembling solicitude than under poverty and affliction.

I am not, however, without hopes that the tendency of these circumstances will be fully counteracted by a more auspicious influence; I mean, the influence of the warmer piety, the more evident spiritual-mindedness, the more obvious *interest* in religion, which characterize many who hold the opposite sentiments, and which give to their opinions a persuasive air of sincerity and truth. In fact, so naturally does a high degree of religious sensibility appear to result from correct

and deep views of religious truth, that opinions, which are seldom found in connexion with devotional fervour, seem to want one very important credential of their authenticity. Many of the orthodox to whom I allude, are not only pious but learned, of irreproachable moral character and acknowledged liberality, and are engaged in a course of active efforts in their Master's cause. Among them are to be found all the most strenuous supporters of the Bible Societies, Missionary Societies, and Sunday Schools. Indeed, the American Missionary Society, you are aware, had its origin in this part of the country, where it still maintains its head-quarters, in the very focus of Unitarianism. All this is the more important, as New-England is the "Officina Gentium" of America, and is destined to supply much of the *population*, and impress its own features strongly on the *character*, of new States.

With respect to the ministers,—Mr. Dwight among the Congregationalists, and Dr. Jarvis among the Episcopalians, occupy stations of peculiar importance, and seem likely to effect much. The former is the son of Dr. Dwight, the late eminent Professor of Yale College, and is apparently of respectable talents and great activity. The latter is the son of Bishop Jarvis; and I am disposed to believe the most learned, and, as respects most of the duties of his responsible office, the most accomplished, Episcopal clergyman in America. He has a high standing in society, possesses great personal respectability, and was appointed some months since to the new and

handsome Episcopal church in the most fashionable part of Boston. Many of the most respectable inhabitants of Boston have joined his congregation—not a few from Unitarian societies.—Many families are divided in their religious sentiments; some of the members attending Episcopal, others the Unitarian churches.

The most portentous feature in the history of the present state of Unitarianism in this country, is the strong hold it has obtained in Cambridge college, near Boston; the most extensive, and, in a literary point of view, the most respectable college in the Union; in which also a large proportion of the most influential persons of the nation are educated. Many parents are prevented by religious considerations from sending their children thither; but I wish I could say the objection was more general. This, and perhaps Transylvania university at Lexington, are happily the only colleges under the influence of Unitarian sentiments. Yale College, Princeton, Columbia, and all the others that I am acquainted with, are opposed to them; and Yale College has the happiness of having its principal professors men of decided piety. But the noble Theological Institution at Andover, liberally endowed, formed for the express purpose of raising up able champions to contend earnestly for the faith at home, and accomplished missionaries to diffuse it abroad, blest with learned and pious professors ardently engaged in the great objects of their institution, presents perhaps the most cheering view. The only confident assurance, however, of

the triumph of truth, is to be found in the promises of Him who has infallibly predicted its universal reception.—I am glad I have done. it is a painful office to remark on what appear to be the doctrinal errors of others, when conscious of so many practical errors of our own. But I could not refuse your request.

LETTER IX.

Salem, February 26, 1821.

In my letter of the 24th I had no room to advert to the state of morals and manners in the United States; and as these were among the topics on which you requested information, I avail myself of a little leisure to-night to comply with your wishes. I must, however, remind you, that I do not pretend to give you an accurate picture of American morals, (a task to which I feel myself incompetent, although I purposely deferred writing on the subject till on the very eve of embarking,) but merely to send you the observations of a solitary traveller—the impressions I have received in passing rather hastily over this extensive country.

If I were writing to a less judicious friend, I would also remind him that I do not feel myself responsible for any general conclusions he might draw from particular facts, or bound to reconcile the discordant inferences he might deduce from my statements. I am answerable for the facts *only*; and if they sometimes leave you in an un-

satisfactory state of suspense, from which you are strongly tempted to relieve yourself by jumping to a conclusion, I can only assure you, that I am often in the same predicament, and would gladly relieve us both by some bouncing assertions, if I could do it with sincerity; but there have been *bounces* enough on the subject of America already.

The state of morals differs so much in different parts of America, that no general description would be applicable to the whole. Indeed, one might almost as well attempt to include in any general description the various countries of Europe as the United States of America; for although a uniform system of government produces many prominent features of a common character in all the members of this great confederation, yet the wide range of climate embraced by its extensive limits, the great variety of habits, objects, and feelings, and especially of political and religious sentiments, which prevailed among the first settlers of the different States, the diversified pursuits and occupations of the present inhabitants, the admission or proscription of slavery, and a thousand other circumstances, have contributed to establish the most marked distinctions, and often to present the most striking contrasts, between the several sections of the Union. All this must render any general account of American morals a little prolix and perplexed. I will rely, therefore, on your indulgence, and will commence with what has long been considered a crying sin throughout the Union—intemperance.

The habitual use of ardent spirits is indeed very general. Even in the Eastern States it is

not uncommon ; but in the Middle, and still more in the Southern States, it prevails to a lamentable extent. Under the denominations of anti-fogmatics, mint julep, and gin sling, copious libations are poured out on the altars of Bacchus, by votaries who often commence their sacrifices at an early hour in the morning, and renew them at intervals during the day ; and yet I have not seen six instances of brutal intoxication since I landed in America,—nor, except among the poor corrupted frontier Indians, twenty cases in which I had reason to believe the faculties were in any degree disordered. The decanters of brandy which are placed on the dinner tables at the inns for the guests to help themselves, without additional charge, I have never seen used but with moderation ; and, on the whole, I would say decidedly that, taking America generally from Maine to Louisiana, (you know that I have seen few of the Western States,) the sin of drinking to excess, prevails less extensively there than in England—that, whatever may be the injury to the constitution from the common use of spirits instead of malt liquor, there is less derangement of the faculties, less waste of time, and perhaps of money, and far less misery entailed on suffering families from intemperate drinking in this country than in our own. There is, indeed, a far more dreadful squandering of time in bar-rooms in many parts of America ; but it is in cigar-smoking, and is not generally attended with pinching effects, or a deserted wife, or hungry children.

Drams are taken, as it were, “ en passant,” solitary, and in a parenthesis ; not in a social circle

round a blazing fire, where I at this moment see John Bull sitting in an old arm chair, a three-legged deal table before him, his heart expanding as his blood warms, one hand on the knee of his next neighbour, or patting him on the back, the other pushing round the common tankard, the bond of good fellowship, which after a few more circuits will too probably convert this exhibition of rude enjoyment, into a melancholy scene of intoxication, in which man defaces the image of his Maker, and degrades himself to a level with the brutes.

In the higher classes, there is great moderation in the pleasures of the table, in the Eastern and Middle States at least: and as far as my experience goes, in the *highest* circles in the South. In Boston, New-York, and Philadelphia, even *parties* seldom dine later than three o'clock, (there are some exceptions,) and they usually disperse, after taking two or three glasses of wine. What may be the case at the parties of dissipated young men, or at public dinners; whether there is a Madeira guage for Republicanism, as we measure loyalty by Port, I do not know. At a public agricultural dinner, at which I was present, where there were one or two hundred persons in the company, there was the greatest order and moderation: and all rose to return home in about an hour after dinner.

With regard to some other immoralities, if they exist in the same degree as with us, which I am disposed, from the prevalence of early marriages, to question, it is under the shade of secrecy; for the cities, except New-Orleans, present nothing of the disgusting effrontery and unblushing profligacy.

gacy which the streets of our large towns exhibit after dark ; and in the country, as you may have observed in my letters, the female manners are distinguished by a very remarkable degree of propriety. Indeed, I hardly know any thing which has struck me more in America than the respectable demeanor of the females of all ranks of life, and the evident attention in the domestic economy even of taverns or inns to exclude them from situations in which they might be exposed to insult. In New-Orleans, indeed, the picture is almost totally reversed. It must not be forgotten, however, that New-Orleans is still in many respects rather a French or Spanish, than an American city, and that it is improving just in proportion as it becomes American. The French inhabitants have still an ascendancy in the councils of the city ; and the effect is no less conspicuous in the dirty streets and tainted air, than in its moral pollution. Before long, I trust, its streets will be cleansed by conduits from the Mississippi, for which it is admirably situated, and its moral atmosphere purified by the benign influence of religion, which the Christians in the Eastern States, with their accustomed activity, are exerting themselves to extend.

Pilfering, house-breaking, highway robbery, and murder, are far less common here than with us : the last three, indeed, are very uncommon, although I have heard of the mail being robbed at least twice since I have been here, and once (in the wild parts of the country, where it is carried on a horse,) with murder, and aggravated circum-

stances of cruelty. Duelling, except in the Eastern States, is more common, and more deadly.

The bribery of subordinate custom-house officers, so disgracefully common in England (not indeed to defraud the revenue, but to obtain despatch) is very rare here. I have been informed by active respectable merchants in New-York and Philadelphia, that they never knew an instance, and should be extremely surprised to hear of one; that in the only case in which they had known of it ever being offered, the officer considered himself insulted, and knocked the offender down. In Boston, I omitted to inquire on this subject; but in point of morals there is every reason to infer that it stands at least as high as New-York and Philadelphia.

To what extent smuggling, slave-trading, and privateering, under Spanish colours, are carried on, I found it difficult to learn; since these practices, though by no means uncommon, are considered as disreputable as with us, and shun the light. The instances of breaches of trust in responsible situations, especially in banks, of which I have heard in the last twelve months, are disgracefully numerous. This I attribute principally to the wretched system of the insolvent laws in this country, and the laxity of morals in pecuniary matters which they are calculated to produce. For the particulars of this system, so repugnant to the general intelligence and morality of the country, I refer you to your commercial friends. It is a perfect anomaly, and cannot long exist. Indeed, the Bankrupt Bill has already passed the Senate; and although other business may interrupt its pro-

gress through the House of Representatives, it must, in some form or another, ere long become a law, and supersede a system over which, were I an American, I should never cease to mourn, deprecating it as calculated to injure the reputation of my country, and to depress her moral tone.

Lotteries and horse-racing are not uncommon here : the latter is most prevalent in the Southern States, where private race-courses are frequent. Gambling, in the Middle States, I should imagine from all I saw, is about as common as in England : it is far more so as you proceed to the southward, and dreadfully prevalent in New-Orleans, where a license to authorize gambling-houses is sold either by the city or the state authorities : I forgot to inquire which ; though in the one case it would throw the blame on the French,—in the other, on the Americans. The licenser is reported to realize a large income from this iniquitous traffic ; and the Kentucky boats, which for above a mile line the shores of the Mississippi, are said on Sundays to form one line of gambling-shops. These, with the open theatres, the dances of the slaves in all the environs of the city, and the week-day work which is going on at the wharfs, to perhaps one third of its ordinary extent, present a Sunday-evening prospect you would be grieved to witness.

Indelicate and profane language is less common in the Eastern States than with us, perhaps equally prevalent in the Middle, and far more so in the Southern Atlantic States, but it is prevalent to an awful degree on the shores of the Gulf of Mexico. These indeed are emphatically, in a moral sense, the benighted regions of America : and yet their

natural aspect is bright and beautiful. Often, when at New-Orleans, walking out at sunrise, on the banks of the Mississippi, which a few hours before had been parched and cracked by yesterday's meridian fervour, but were then saturated with the heavy dews, which at that season fell nightly like showers on the mown grass, I have thought that I had never before seen so much to delight the eye, regale the senses, or kindle the imagination:—orange groves with their golden fruit and fresh green leaves; hundreds of cattle half hid in the deep wet clover, which grows wild and luxuriant on the rich alluvion; the sugar and cotton plantations on the opposite bank; and the forest behind them stretching to the boundless prairies of the Attacapas and Opelousas;—above all, the noble Mississippi flowing majestically to the sea, and carrying the imagination thousands of miles up its current, to the sources of some of its tributary streams, near the rocky mountains. I have before alluded to the beauties of the close of day, in a climate so delicious, at that hour, and the succeeding ones, when the vault of heaven has a deeper blue than with us, when

"Milder moons disperse serener light,
And brighter beauties decorate the night."

And yet when I think of the moral pollution which pervades New-Orleans, and the yellow fever which annually depopulates it, or of the intermittents and slavery which infest its vicinities, the rocky shores of New-England have a thousand times more charms for me. There I see on every side, a hardy, robust, industrious enterprising popula-

tion; better fed, better clothed, better educated than I ever saw before, and more intelligent, and at least as moral as the corresponding classes even of our own countrymen. Instead of a succession of slave plantations, whose owners, by supplying them wholesale, prevent the existence of villages or towns, except at very distant intervals, (the 2000 slaves of one slave-holder, like General ——, would make at least, one respectable village of themselves,) I find handsome thriving country towns, on every side; and I have already told you how beautiful a New-England town is, with its white frame-houses, its little courts, its planted squares, its fine wide streets, or rather avenues, and most especially its numerous spires. From one spot I have counted more than twenty-five spires; and yet I have been asked, in England, if there were any churches, or places of worship in America!



LETTER X.

Philadelphia, Oct. 1819.

As I am now resting a little after my wanderings, I am anxious to take the earliest opportunity of complying with your wishes, and of giving you the impressions I have received of the American character in the course of my route. I might indeed have done this at an earlier period, but it would have been with less satisfaction to myself. Indeed, I have occasionally been led to doubt whether I have viewed the subject with impartiality, either

while receiving the kind attentions which I have so generally met with, or when exposed to the inconveniences incident to travelling in the unsettled parts of the country. I have sometimes been ashamed to find how much my opinions were influenced for the moment by humour or circumstances, and how necessary it was to guard against forming ideas of a peculiar town from the reception which I might happen to meet with, or the circle into which I might accidentally fall. I shall in future have little confidence in any general conclusions respecting a country, founded on the experience of a single traveller; since, however candid may be his representations, they must necessarily be drawn from a range of observation comparatively limited; and be tinged, at least in some degree, with his own mental peculiarities.

Having thus prepared you to receive my statements with caution, I will give you my impressions without reserve. If, in opposition to their republican principles, we divide the Americans into classes, the first class will comprehend what are termed the Revolutionary Heroes, who hold a sort of patent of nobility, undisputed by the bitterest enemies to aristocracy. Their numbers, indeed, are few, but they have too many peculiar features to be embraced in the description of any other class of their countrymen. Many of them were educated in England; and even those who never travelled had generally the advantage of the best English society, either colonial or military. They were formed in the English school; were imbued with English associations; and,

however active they were in resisting the encroachments of the mother country, they are, many of them at least, delighted to trace their descent to English families of rank, and to boast of the pure English blood which flows in their veins. In the families of these patricians, in which I have spent many agreeable hours, I met with nothing to remind me that I was not in the society of that class of our well-educated country gentlemen, who occasionally visit the metropolis, and mingle in fashionable or political life. The *old* gentlemen of this class are indeed *gentlemen* of the old school; and the young ladies are particularly agreeable, refined, accomplished, intelligent, and well-bred.

The second class may include the leading political characters of the present day, the more eminent lawyers, the well-educated merchants and agriculturists, and the most respectable of the *novi homines* of every profession. It will thus comprise the mass of the good society of America; the first class, which comprehends the *best*, being very limited, *sui generis*, and about to expire with the present generation. The manners of this second class are less polished than those of the corresponding class in England, and their education is neither so regular nor so classical; but their intellects are as actively exercised, and their information at least as general, although less scientific and profound. The young ladies of this class are lively, modest, and unreserved; easy in their manners, and rather gay and social in their dispositions: at the same time, they are very observant of the rules of female propriety:

and if they ever displease, it is rather from indifference than from either bashfulness or effrontery. Their appearance is generally genteel and agreeable: their figures are almost universally good; and they dress remarkably well—in this city, indeed, more to my taste than in almost any place I recollect; for which they are indebted partly to the short passages from Europe, which waft across the Atlantic the latest fashions from London and Paris; partly to their accomodating tariff, which places within their reach the beautiful Canton crapes, and all the most elegant materials for dress which American enterprise can collect in the four quarters of the globe; and partly to the simplicity of the Quaker costume, which has had a happy and sensible influence on the taste and habits of the community at large. Their tone of voice, which is generally a little shrill, and their mode of pronouncing a few particular words, are the peculiarities of manner which I think would be most remarked upon in the best society in England. Generally speaking, also, the style of female education in America is less favourable to solid acquirements than with us. The young ladies here go earlier into society than in England, and enter sooner into married life: they have not, therefore, the same opportunities for maturing their taste, expanding their intellect, and acquiring a rich store of well-arranged and digested knowledge, as those have who devote to improvement the longer interval which climate or custom has with us interposed between the nursery and the drawing-room. In the highest

class, especially in Carolina, there are many exceptions to this general remark; and among the young ladies of Boston there appeared to me to be, if less refinement than in the Carolinians, yet a very agreeable union of domestic habits and literary taste, and great kindness and simplicity of manners.

The third class may comprehend all below the second; for in a country where some would perhaps resent even the idea of a second class, this division is sufficiently minute. This class will include the largest proportion of the American population; and it is distinguished from the corresponding classes of my countrymen (the little farmers, innkeepers, shopkeepers, clerks, mechanics, servants, and labourers) by greater acuteness and intelligence, more regular habits of reading, a wilder range of ideas, and a greater freedom from prejudices, provincialism, and vulgarity. It is distinguished, also, by greater *coldness of manner*; and this is the first of the charges against the nation, generally, on which I shall remark.

As respects the highest classes, I think this charge is in a great measure unfounded; their reception of a stranger, at least, appearing to me as frank and as warm as in England. To that part of the population which I have included in the third class, the charge attaches with strict propriety, and in many cases their coldness amounts to the English "cut direct." At first it incommoded me excessively, especially in the women in the country, who showed it the most; and I have sometimes been disposed to ride on, not in the best

temper, when, arriving at an inn, after a long stage before breakfast, and asking very civilly, "Can we have breakfast here?" I have received a shrill "I reckon so," from a cold female figure, that went on in its employments, without deigning to look at us, or to put any thing in motion to verify its reckoning. In due time, however, the bread was baked, the chicken killed, and both made their appearance, with their constant companions, even in the wildest part of America, ham, eggs, and coffee. The automaton then took its place; and if I had been an automaton also, the charm would have remained unbroken; but I do not remember an instance in which the figure did not converse with good humour before I rose. Very often, however, our reception was warm and friendly; and the wife or daughter who poured out my coffee was frank, well-bred, obliging, and conversible. The coldness of the men, also, I soon found to be confined principally to their manner, and to indicate no indisposition to be sociable and accommodating. On the contrary, in a route of more than 7000 miles, of which I travelled nearly 2000 on horseback, and the rest in steamboats and stages, I have found the various classes as accommodating and obliging as in England; sometimes, I confess, I have thought more so. Some parts of Georgia and the Carolinas might suggest a slight qualification of this remark; while East Tennessee, and the valley of the Shenandoah, might almost claim a warmer eulogium. In the course of my route, I have met with only one instance of personal rudeness, and that too slight

to be mentioned, except for the sake of *literal* accuracy. My servant's impressions correspond with mine. On questioning him, at the termination of our route, he said "he thought the Americans quite as ready to serve us and one another as the English;" and that they were continually expressing their surprise to find Englishmen so civil. Now our civility was nothing more than would naturally be suggested by a recollection of the institutions of the country through which we were travelling, and a general desire to be pleased with friendly intentions however manifested. The coldness of manner of the Americans, however, is a great defect, and must prejudice travellers till they understand it a little.

With regard to the *vanity* which is charged upon them: this foible is admitted by all their sensible men, who are disgusted with the extravagant pretensions maintained in inflated language in their public prints. I have heard some of them jocosely say, that they expect their countrymen will soon begin to assert that they are not only the most powerful and the most learned, but the oldest nation in the world.

In good society, however, I have seldom witnessed this vanity in any remarkable degree, and I really think I have seen more of it in the Americans I have met with in England, than in the whole range of my observation since I landed in this country. When I have made the concessions to which I thought the Americans fairly entitled, I have not often observed a disposition to push their claims too far, but, on the contrary, a readi-

ness to suggest some point of comparison in which Great Britain has obviously the advantage. And, without attempting to defend an acknowledged defect in their character, I must confess the Americans have some excuse for their vanity. Descended (which of us will dispute it?) from *most illustrious ancestors*, possessing a territory perhaps unequalled in extent and value, victorious in the infancy of their history in a struggle for their independence, and rising with unprecedented rapidity in the scale of nations, they must be more than mortal if they were not elated with their condition; and if sometimes they may appear to draw too heavily on the future, and to regard America rather as what she is to be, than what she is, I must own that I never yet met with an American who carried his views of her future greatness so far as I should be disposed to do if she were my country, and if I could be satisfied of the predominating influence of *religious principle* in her public councils.

As for the *inquisitiveness* of the Americans, I do not think it has been at all exaggerated. They certainly are, as they profess to be, a very inquiring people; and if we may sometimes be disposed to dispute the claims of their *love of knowing* to the character of a *liberal curiosity*, we must at least admit that they make a most liberal use of every means in their power to gratify it. I have seldom, however, had any difficulty in repressing their home questions, if I wished it, and without offending them; but I more frequently amused myself by putting them on the rack; civilly, and

apparently unconsciously, eluding their inquiries for a time, and then awakening their gratitude by such a discovery of myself as I might choose to make. Sometimes a man would place himself at my side in the wilderness, and ride for a mile or two without the smallest communication between us, except a slight nod of the head. He would then, perhaps, make some grave remark on the weather; and if I assented in a monosyllable, he would stick to my side for another mile or two, when he would commence his attack. "I reckon, stranger, you do not belong to these parts." "No, sir, I am not a native of Alabama." "I guess you are from the north." "No, sir, I am not from the north." "I guess you found the roads mighty muddy, and the creeks swimming. You are come a long way, I guess." "No, not so very far; we have travelled a few hundred miles since we turned our faces westward." "I guess you have seen Mr. —, or General —" (mentioning the names of some well-known individuals in the middle and southern states, who were to serve as guideposts to direct our route;) but, "I have not the pleasure of knowing any of them;" or, "I have the pleasure of knowing all," equally defeated his purpose, but not his hopes. "I reckon, stranger, you have had a good crop of cotton this year." "I am told, sir, the crops have been unusually abundant in Carolina and Georgia." "You grow tobacco, then, I guess," (to track me to Virginia.) "No, I do not grow tobacco." Here a modest inquirer would give up in despair, and trust to the chapter of accidents

to develop my name and history; but I generally rewarded his modesty, and excited his gratitude, by telling him I would torment him no longer.

The courage of a thorough-bred Yankee* would rise with his difficulties; and, after a decent interval, he would resume: "I hope no offence, sir; but you know we Yankees lose nothing for want of asking. I guess, stranger, you are from the old country." "Well, my friend, you have guessed right at last, and I am sure you deserve something for your perseverance; and, now, I suppose it will save us both trouble if I proceed to the second part of the story, and tell you where I am going. I am going to New-Orleans." This is really no exaggerated picture: dialogues, not indeed in these very words, but *to this effect*, occurred continually, and some of them more minute and extended than I can venture upon in a letter. I ought, however, to say, that many questions lose much of their familiarity when travelling in the wilderness. "Where are you from?" and "whither are you bound?" do not appear impertinent interrogations at sea; and often in the western wilds I found myself making inquiries which I should have thought very free and easy at home. And, indeed, why should that be deemed a breach of good manners in *North America*, which in *South America* is required by the rules of common politeness? "The Abipones of Paraguay," says Dobrizhoffer, "would

* In America, the term Yankee is applied to the natives of New-England only, and is generally used with an air of pleasantry.

think it quite contrary to the laws of good breeding were they to meet any one and not to ask him where he was going; so that the word *miekauè?* or *mïekauchitè?* ‘where are you going?’ resounds in the streets.”

The next American habit on which I will remark, which always offended me extremely, is the almost universal one of *spitting*, without regard to time, place, or circumstances. You must excuse my alluding to such a topic; but I could not in candour omit it, since it is the most offensive peculiarity in American manners. Many, who are really gentlemen in other respects, offend in this; and I regretted to observe the practice even in the diplomatic parties at Washington. Indeed, in the Capitol itself, the dignity of the senate is let down by this vile habit. I was there the first session after it was rebuilt; and as the magnificent and beautiful halls had been provided with splendid carpets, some of the senators appeared at first a little *daunted*; but after looking about in distress, and disposing of their diluted tobacco at first with timidity and by stealth, they gathered by degrees the courage common to corporate bodies, and before I left Washington had relieved themselves pretty well from the dazzling brightness of the brilliant colours under their feet! It was mortifying to me to observe all this in an assembly whose proceedings are conducted with so much order and propriety, and in chambers so truly beautiful as the Senate and House of Representatives—the latter the *most* beautiful hall I ever saw.

Another thing which has displeased me, is *the profusion and waste usually exhibited at meals*. Except in the very best society, the plate is often loaded with a variety of viands, which are dismissed half-eaten. An Englishman is shocked at the liberal portions allotted to the young ladies, till he finds they afford no measure of the appetites of those to whom they are sent, who appear to be as abstemious as his own fair country-women. Still this exhibition of waste is always displeasing; and when viewed in connexion with the sufferings of so many of the population of our country, is also distressing. But the necessaries of life are here produced in abundance, and, with very few exceptions, are within the reach of every one. I only recollect seeing three beggars since I landed.

After touching on these points, I do not feel willing to conclude my letter without reminding you of the kindness and hospitality, the good sense and intelligence, which I have every where met with; and of that frequent exhibition of philanthropic and religious feeling which has given a peculiar interest to many of the scenes through which I have passed. The American character, to be estimated correctly, must be regarded as a whole; and as a whole it has been calumniated to a degree derogatory both to the intelligence and the generosity of my country. The Americans have been exasperated into unfriendly feelings by our real jealousy and apparent contempt; and their very sensibility to our good opinion, which they cannot conceal, has rendered the mis-

representations of our travellers and journalists the more irritating. Americans have often asked me if we do not in England consider them a horde of savages; and when the question has been proposed to me by a fair lady, in a handsome drawing room furnished with every article of luxury which money could procure in London or Paris, I found no difficulty in acquiescing in the conclusion which she seemed to draw from a hasty glance around her, that such an idea would not be *quite* just. On such occasions I have often thought how many of my candid and liberal female friends would blush, if they could be introduced for the evening, to find how erroneous were their previous ideas of trans-Atlantic society. But it is when joining in religious worship with exemplary and eminent Christians, or witnessing the extent and variety of their benevolent efforts, that I most keenly feel the apathy with which in England we are accustomed to regard our American brethren. I really am not without hopes, that it may yet become the fashion for ladies of the two countries to reciprocate visits across the Atlantic. Then, and perhaps not till then, will my countrywomen learn to do justice to their Western sisters; and leaving it to us, their knights-errant, to maintain their own superiority, as in duty bound, will begin to think it *possible* at least that intelligence, refinement, and piety *may* combine, even on this side of the Atlantic, to form characters justly entitled to esteem and affection. The supercilious disdain with which, in many circles, the very idea of polished

society in America is rejected, would be suppressed by a more correct estimate of American manners; and prejudice would be succeeded by candour and liberality. Christian sympathy also would be awakened towards those unknown distant friends, who, sprung from the same stock, and speaking the same language, profess also the same religion; and who, strangers and pilgrims on the earth, like their European brethren and sisters, are travelling a thorny road to that better country where all true Christians will be for ever united in one common family.

My very sensibility to the unrivalled excellencies of my fair countrywomen makes me additionally solicitous that *they*, at least, should be exempt from those unchristian prejudices, which some of my countrymen appear to regard as proofs of patriotism. The pleasure and exultation with which I have just been listening, in a large party, to warm eulogiums on Mrs. Hannah More and Mrs. Fry, and some other of our illustrious females, have rendered me at this moment peculiarly susceptible on this point; and you must excuse me if I write with corresponding earnestness. The conversation afterwards turned on the signs of the times in both countries; and on our rambles in Canada, where many of the party had spent the summer. It was very pleasant to compare our adventures and impressions. Montreal and Quebec are so much like old European towns, and differ so widely from the airy, expansive cities of the United States, that an American feels as far from home on his first arrival in a

Canadian city, as I did in the forests on the Mississippi. As he looks round him, he feels more and more in a foreign land ; and the foreign language and gentle manners of the native Canadians confirm the impression. The pomp of monarchy, even when dimly seen in the regalia of a viceroy : the aristocratical distinctions apparent even in a colony : the vestiges of the feudal system to be traced in the surrounding seignories ; the nunneries, and the Catholic churches, with their vesper and matin bells ; the Catholic clergy walking in the streets ; and the boards of plenary indulgence suspended from the walls, are all calculated to recall impressions connected rather with the old world, than with the newly discovered continent, where man still shares his divided empire with the beasts of the forest. Here no gray tower meets the eye, to call back the imagination to scenes and incidents of elder times ; no monastic edifices, to revive the memory of ancient superstitions ; no regalia, transmitted through a line of kings ; no feudal magnificence ; no baronial splendour ; no sacred depositories of the ashes of generations who have slept with their fathers during a thousand years : all is new, fresh, and prospective ; and if the mind *will* take a retrospective glance, it is but to expatiate in the regions of fancy, or to lose itself in the clouds which rest on the early history of the aborigines. But I shall have tired you.

LETTER XI.

Charleston, N. C. Feb. 19, 1820.

THE celebrated Missouri question continued the great subject of discussion, both in and out of Congress, as long as I remained at Washington. The debates, both on the constitutional difficulties involved in the question, and on the expediency of the proposed restrictions, were very interesting; the former, as developing the spirit of the constitution, and requiring a constant reference to the original principles of the confederation; the latter, as exhibiting the views of the most enlightened men in the country with regard to the probable effects of the admission of slavery into Missouri.

I left Washington on the 24th ult. proceeding only to Alexandria, six miles distant, where I slept, and where I had been not a little surprised to meet Joseph Lancaster a few days before. I set off the next morning at three o'clock, in what is called the mail-stage, the only public conveyance to the southward, and a wretched contrast to the excellent coaches in the north. It is a covered waggon, open at the front, with four horses; and although it was intensely cold, I was obliged to take my seat by the driver, in order to secure a view of the country during the remainder of the day. The road lay across woody labyrinths, through which the driver seemed to wind by in-

stinct; and we often jolted into brooks, which were scarcely fordable. Leaving Mount Vernon, which I had previously visited, to our left, we reached Occoquan, twenty-three miles, to breakfast. Occoquan is romantically situated on a river of the same name, which winds below masses of rock, that my companion compared to those of the Hot-wells at Clifton, but they did not appear to me to be so high. We then proceeded by Neapsco, Dumfries, the Wappomansie River, Acquia, Stafford, and Falmouth, to Fredericksburgh, a small town on the Rappahannock, which we crossed by moonlight. Our journey this day was fifty miles in sixteen hours. The next morning at three o'clock we left Fredericksburgh, and, passing the Bowling Green, Hanover Court-house, and the Oaks, reached Richmond at seven o'clock, sixty-six miles, in seventeen hours. At Hanover Court-house, at least 150 horses were standing fastened to the trees, all the stables being full, as it was a court day. This gave me a good opportunity of examining the Virginia horses, which appear to deserve their reputation.

After we left Alexandria, the country assumed an aspect very different from any which I had before seen. For miles together the road runs through woods of pine, intermingled with oak and cedar; the track sometimes contracting within such narrow limits that the vehicle rubs against the trees; at others expanding to the width of a London turnpike-road, yet so beset with stumps of trees, that it requires no common skill to effect a secure passage. On emerging, at intervals,

from forests which you have begun to fear may prove interminable, the eye wanders over an extensive country, thickly wooded, and varied with hill and dale; and the monotony of the road is further relieved by precipitous descents into romantic creeks, or small valleys, which afford a passage to the little rivers which are hastening to the Atlantic. Every ten or fifteen miles you come either to a little village, composed of a few frame houses, with an extensive substantial house, whose respectable appearance, rather than any sign, demonstrates it to be a tavern (as the inns are called,) or to a single house appropriated to that purpose, and standing alone in the woods. At these taverns you are accosted, often with an easy civility, sometimes with a repulsive frigidity, by a landlord who appears perfectly indifferent whether or not you take any thing *for the good of the house*. If, however, you intimate an intention to take some refreshment, a most plentiful repast is immediately set before you, consisting of beef-steaks, fowls, turkeys, ham, partridges, eggs, and, if near the coast, fish and oysters, with a great variety of hot bread, both of wheat flour and Indian corn, the latter of which is prepared in many ways, and is very good. The landlord usually comes in to converse with you, and to make one of the party; and as one cannot have a private room, I do not find his company disagreeable. He is, in general, well informed and well behaved, and the independence of manner which has often been remarked upon, I rather like than otherwise, when it is not assumed or obtrusive, but ap-

pears to arise naturally from easy circumstances, and a consciousness that, both with respect to situation and intelligence, he is at least on a level with the generality of his visiters. At first I was a little surprised, on inquiring where the stage stopped to breakfast, to be told, At Major Todd's—to dine? At Col. Brown's—but I am now becoming familiar with these phenomena of civil and political equality, and wish to communicate my first impressions before they fade away.

Between the villages, if such they may be called, you see few habitations, and those are almost exclusively log houses, which are constructed as follows: Trunks of trees, about a foot or a foot and a half in diameter, generally with the bark on, are laid on one another, indented a little at each end, to form a kind of fastening; their length determining the length and width, and their number the height of the building. The interstices are usually filled with clay; though sometimes, especially in barns, they are allowed to remain open, in which case you can generally see daylight through both walls. Situated in a thick wood, with a little space cleared around them, where the stems of last year's Indian corn are still standing among the recently decapitated stumps of trees, these dwellings exhibit as striking a contrast as can well be imagined to an English cottage with its little garden. Sometimes, however, as in England, you may see a neat, modest-looking cottage girl standing at the door, whose placid, cheerful countenance, seems to smile with good-natured satire on the external de-

corations of rank and fashion ; and even the black faces of the little slaves, the more frequent inhabitants of these primitive cabins, are often irradiated with a smile of playfulness and satisfaction.

Our gradual approach to the southward has been strongly indicated by a great increase in the proportion of the Black population. I believe you are aware that the importation of Slaves into the United States has been prohibited by law since the year 1808 ; and that in many of the Northern states, *slavery* is either extinguished already, or will be so on the arrival of certain fixed and early periods appointed by their respective legislatures. The states, however, to the south of Pennsylvania, with the exception, I believe, of Delaware, have made no provision for its extinction, and are termed *slave-holding states* ; and although their legislatures may profess to be, and perhaps are, opposed to slavery in the abstract, yet, conceiving that the climate renders the use of Negroes indispensable to cultivation, and that their emancipation would be attended with difficulties which have hitherto appeared insurmountable, they may be regarded as practically contemplating the perpetuation of slavery to the remotest period to which their political views extend. We will hope, however, that some ray of light will break in on this gloomy prospect, even though it should condemn to perpetual sterility the arid sands and pestilential swamps on which the Negroes are employed.

You will believe that it was not without the most painful emotions that I for the first time con-

templated the revolting spectacle of man in bondage to his fellow-man, and that I felt myself surrounded by unhappy victims for whom nature and humanity seemed in vain to urge the unanswerable plea, "Am I not a man and a brother?" Unhappy indeed we must regard them in their degraded condition!—although I have no doubt that they may sometimes pass through life with as little actual suffering as some of their free brethren. I have hitherto conversed with but few slaves, comparatively, *on the plantations*; but I have been surprised with the ease, cheerfulness, and intelligence of the *domestic* slaves. Their manners, and their mode of expressing themselves, have generally been decidedly superior to those of many of the lower classes in England. The servants at almost all the hotels in the Southern states are slaves; some belonging to the landlord, others to farmers in the neighbourhood, who let them out by the year. The first I talked with was at Washington, where he came into my bed-room to make my fire. On seeing me disposed to converse with him, he leaned his arm on the chimney-piece with considerable ease, and said he was to be free in three months, when he should be twenty-eight years of age; that he liked the thoughts of it, but did not suppose he should be better off than at present; that in fact, he should have to do precisely as he did now, except that he might change his master, if he had a bad one: to set against which was the consideration, that now his master was obliged to maintain him, and then he must starve if he was idle:—but that "he understood

the common people in *my* country were so oppressed that they were worse off than the slaves in America!" Here I endeavoured to extricate him from his egregious blunder.

Three out of four of the Black coachmen we had the other day (all slaves,) I found very intelligent. They said, All they wanted was good masters; but that their liability to be sold to bad ones, and to be separated from their families, was a cruel part of their condition;—that in that part of the country (Virginia) they had Sunday to themselves; one holiday in April, one in May, and four at Christmas;—that they had public worship on Sundays, and on one evening in the week;—that many of them could read; and that some of their preachers were Slaves. I cannot describe my feelings when sitting by the side of a fellow-creature and talking to him of his own price! Often did a little verse, with which our children are familiar, recur to my recollection, with some sense, I hope, of the gratitude which it ought to inspire.

" I was not born a little Slave,
To labour in the sun,
And wish I were but in my grave,
And all my labour done."

Highly as I have ever appreciated the privilege of claiming as my native country the most favoured corner of the globe, I think I never entertained so strong a sense of this blessing as since more extended observation has enabled me to *feel* its magnitude by comparison with other countries; and especially since I have had the opportunity of contemplating a class of my fellow-

creatures excluded from the benefits of the social compact—not voluntarily relinquishing a portion of their natural liberty to secure the free enjoyment of the remainder, but forcibly, and for ever, deprived of all; who see in law but a legalized oppressor, and in civil institutions a shelter indeed to those who repose under their shadow, but a hostile combination of physical and moral power against the proscribed and helpless victims beyond their pale. We are ready enough to boast of our privileges as Britons, but when shall we remember our responsibilities? These are awfully great. To us are peculiarly committed the “ten talents;” and the life of an Englishman should be a life of self-devotion to the interests of the unhappy in every clime.

And yet there is a bondage from which all our national privileges may be insufficient to secure us—as real, although less obvious, as galling, but not so transient, as the captivity of the poor Negro whom we commiserate;—a bondage which will press upon us with its heaviest chains at that awful hour of dissolution when the African will burst *his* manacles for ever. And there is a *freedom*, which connects many a despised slave with the spirits of just men made perfect; a freedom which their benevolent advocates in a land of liberty may overlook.

“He is the free man whom the Truth makes free,
And all are slaves besides :”

And of him it may be said, but in a far sublimer sense than was contemplated by the orator whose words I borrow, that “he is redeemed, re-

generated, disenthralled, by the Spirit of universal emancipation."

I had expected to be much pleased with Richmond, but was somewhat disappointed; although, had the weather been brighter, my impressions would probably have been more favourable. It is built, like its original, on the brow and at the foot of a very steep hill; and is washed by James River, which, when full, must be broader considerably than the Thames under Richmond Hill. A large bed of rocks just opposite the town, and extending, I believe, some miles beyond, renders the river unnavigable for some distance above, where the navigation is resumed by means of a canal. These rocks form what are called the Falls of the river, and in a flood must have a magnificent effect.

The Capitol, where the legislature assemble (you are aware that every state has its distinct legislature, for the management of its internal concerns, as well as its senators and representatives in the general Congress) is built on the model of the Parthenon at Athens, and is finely situated at the summit of the hill. The view from it is very extensive, but the surrounding country at this season is brown and uninteresting; not like the rich green English landscape which our Richmond Hill presents, where Art seems to have completed what Nature had begun, by removing whatever did not harmonize with her general expression; where the sombre and venerable aspect of our ancient forest and royal domains is finely contrasted with the fresh verdure of young

plantations, luxuriant meadows, and velvet lawns, washed by the sparkling waters of the silvery Thames; where you embrace in a *coup-d'œil* the pleasing and familiar images of rural simplicity, and the refined decorations of the most exquisite taste; where the same objects which delight the eye kindle the imagination, and awaken recollections which impart a classical interest to the enchanting scene.

I left Richmond in the stage at eleven o'clock, and arrived at Petersburg at six—twenty-five miles in seven hours. The road was a deep sandy clay, in some places barely passable, through woods of pine. A few miles from Petersburg the driver pointed out to me the old wooden church which the British made their head-quarters for some days, when harassed by General La Fayette in the revolutionary war.

Petersburgh is a little town, which has risen, like the phoenix, from its ashes, having been almost entirely consumed in 1815. It is situated on the Oppomaton, which falls into James River, and in summer must be pretty, but at present the adjoining country is brown and dreary. I am the more sensible of this defect, as my eyes have for the last six weeks been accustomed to a sparkling surface of the purest snow, which in many cases, I have no doubt, has concealed the nakedness of the land, and which in a woody country, and a climate as pure as this, greatly enhances the beauty of a winter prospect. I have already described the nature of the accommodations on the road; and as I do not intend to trouble you

with an account of our meals, I will once for all give you a general idea of a tavern, or inn, in the *Southern* towns. These are sometimes quite as large, often nearly so, as the York-House at Bath. On arriving, your luggage is immediately carried to the baggage-room, that the lobby may not be crowded; and the passengers afterwards either send it to their bed-rooms at their leisure, or allow it to remain locked up. You are then shown into a large room, which communicates with the bar, or into a reading-room, filled with newspapers from almost every state in the Union. Usually about half past eight o'clock the bell rings for breakfast, and you sit down, with sixty or eighty persons, to tea and coffee, and every variety of flesh, fowl, and fish, wheat bread, Indian-corn bread, buck-wheat cakes, &c. &c. Every one rises as soon as he has finished his meal, and the busy scene is usually over in ten minutes. At two or three o'clock the bell rings, and the door unlocks, for dinner. The stream *rushes* in and *dribbles* out as at breakfast, and the room is clear in less than a quarter of an hour. At dinner, there are frequently four or five turkeys on the table, and the greatest possible variety and profusion of meat, poultry, and pastry. The waiters, who are numerous, civil, and attentive, carve; few persons appearing to have leisure to assist their neighbours. There are decanters of brandy in a row down the table, which appeared to me to be used with great moderation, and for which no extra charge is made. Tea is a repetition of breakfast, with the omission of beef-steaks, but in other re-

spects with almost an equal profusion of meat, fowls, turkey-legs, &c. While on the subject of eating, which I do not intend to resume, (I mean, the *subject*,) I will mention, that I do not recollect to have dined a single day, from my arrival in America till I left Virginia, without a turkey on the table; often two, in gentlemen's houses. On Christmas-Eve, in the little town of Norfolk, Virginia, it was said that 6000 turkeys were in the market. The picture which I have given you of the meals at taverns is not an inviting one: they more resemble a school-boy's scramble than a social repast. The domestic economy of the bed-chamber is still less agreeable. If you do not make stipulations to the contrary, you are shown, as a thing of course, into a room with from three or four to six or seven beds. I have, however, never failed, since I left New-York, by early and earnest application, to secure a separate bed-chamber, for I cannot reconcile myself to these gregarious habits.

The streets of Petersburg were crowded with hogsheads of tobacco; and on the road we continually met with single hogsheads, drawn by two horses, coming eighty or a hundred miles from the interior. Two circular rims, like the circumference of a wheel, are fastened to them, and they turn on two pivots driven into the ends. It was not the season to see the tobacco growing. I understand that it is a most troublesome crop. It requires the best soil; and either new land must be cleared for it expressly, or the wheat and Indian-corn lands must be robbed of their manure

to provide a most inadequate supply. The high prices which tobacco has frequently obtained in Europe, have encouraged its cultivation, to an extent which it probably would never have attained, if its average value in relation to wheat and Indian-corn had been more apparent, and if it had been deprived of its attractions as an article of speculation. I was informed, by some members of an agricultural society in Virginia, that the injurious effects of the system of agriculture pursued by the tobacco planters had at length become too obvious to be overlooked; that many were gradually relinquishing the culture of this plant, and that some had abandoned it altogether.

The land in Virginia may be considered as occupied entirely by the proprietors of the soil, rents being almost unknown. The estates usually consist of from 1000 to 6000 or 10,000 acres each; and, *cæteris paribus*, those which have been least cleared are considered the most valuable. Oak, hickory, and dog-wood, denote the best land; cedar and pine the worst. When land has been worked out and left to itself, it is gradually clothed with wood again, though seldom of so large a growth as the original trees. I have been informed, but I do not consider my authority quite unequivocal, that oak is almost invariably succeeded by pine, and *vice versa*. Frequently, when passing through large woods of pine, whose hereditary title to the soil I had imagined had been handed down to them inviolate by their predecessors, I have detected marks of previous cultivation, and on inquiry have been informed that the land

which they occupied was formerly under tillage. This process, so reversing the order of things which we inhabitants of the old world expect to find in the new, at first puzzled me a little; but the Virginian mode of cultivation in some degree explained the secret.

I left Petersburg at one o'clock on the morning of the 3d, and arrived at Raleigh, the capital of North Carolina, at three in the afternoon of the 4th—137 miles in 38 hours. Raleigh, where we were detained by the want of a conveyance till the following day, is named after the celebrated Sir Walter Raleigh, who, as well as Pocohontas, the Indian queen, and General Washington, figures on the signs, and gives his name to innumerable taverns in those parts of the country in which signs are not considered superfluous. The streets, which all terminate in the surrounding forest, are, as in almost all the American towns and villages, very wide; and the white frame houses, with their neat Venetian blinds, which the heat renders almost indispensable to the smallest house, give the town a clean and interesting appearance. The state-house, in which the legislature meet, is soon to receive a statue of General Washington from the hand of Canova.

We left Raleigh on the 5th at noon, and proceeded to Fayetteville, where we arrived at seven the next morning, several hours later than we expected, having accomplished only sixty miles in eighteen hours. It was Sunday; and two or three very handsome spires, which we saw as we entered the town, made us congratulate ourselves

that we had fixed on that place as the spot where to pitch our tent for the Sabbath. There was service three times in the Episcopal church; and I was told that the Episcopal clergyman and the Presbyterian minister preach alternately on Thursday evening in each other's place of worship, and in their other arrangements evince a spirit of Christian charity and co-operation. The day was like one of our June days; and the sudden transition to summer was delightful, and brought with it a new train of feelings. People were sitting in their verandas reading; although three days previously, in Virginia, it was intensely cold, and the road so hard with frost that our heavy stage made no impression.

We left Fayetteville at five o'clock on the 8th, and, passing through Lumberton and Georgetown, reached Charleston at ten o'clock on the 10th—203 miles in 53 hours. This, you will say, is wretchedly slow travelling, in the only public conveyance between Washington and the Southern states. Yet this vehicle is dignified by the title of the United States mail, although it is only an open waggon and four, with curtains which unfurl; and the mail bags lie lumbering about your feet, among the trunks and packages which the passengers smuggle into the inside. Indeed, there is a strong temptation to make companions of your trunks; for, otherwise, as they are merely laid on behind, they are in imminent danger of being lost, although the driver dismounts every few miles to see that they are safe. As this kind of attention, however, seemed better adapted to

ascertain your loss than to secure your property, I bought a chain and padlock: one end of the chain my servant introduced into the stage: if he had a nibble, his attention was awakened; and a bite showed that it was high time to stop. We broke two chains, but brought our luggage safely. The principal reason why the conveyance is so wretched, is, that few persons travel from the Southern to the Northern states by land, except in their own carriages; and as the road runs through the poorest part of America, even the opulent families generally prefer the packets. I should be glad, for the sake of the candour of those English travellers who have so misrepresented America, if their range of observation had been confined to the road on the sea-coast from New-York to Georgia. Their inaccurate representations might then be accounted for, without impeaching either their motives or their good temper. From Petersburg to the borders of North Carolina, the inns, the people, the face of the country, all seemed to degenerate; and from Petersburg to Charleston we passed through only three small towns, and a few very small villages, although the distance is 400 miles. The log-huts were very thinly scattered; and the manners of the lower classes, both of the Black and White population, altered very sensibly for the worse. Their general demeanour became more rude and familiar, and their conversation more licentious and profane: their appearance, also, was dirty, ragged, and uncomfortable. The Virginian night-gales and mocking-birds have been our constant

companions ; and we were desired to look out for racoons and opossums, but did not see any. The number and variety of the squirrels were almost incredible ; I heard of several instances of from 2000 to 3000 being killed in a day in some of the large squirrel-hunts. I once observed a beautiful one perfectly white.

Although our route lay principally through the most barren tracts of Virginia and the Carolinas, I had the opportunity of seeing the clearing of land in almost every different stage. The process, I believe, is familiar to you, and I will not therefore describe it. You can have no idea, however, of the picture of desolation which is presented by a large tract of girdled trees, not only destitute of verdure, but entirely stripped of their bark ; some black to the top, with fire which has been applied to them ; some falling as you pass with a great crash ; and others going by fragments to decay. The prodigious size of the pine trees thus deformed, and the absence of any thing to relieve the eye, which at that season could wander only over a leafless forest, added greatly to the effect. In passing through the pine barrens of the Carolinas, we saw many trees with little excavations in them, for the purpose of collecting the turpentine from them at particular seasons of the year. When the turpentine begins to flow, the owner of the woods divides them into little districts, which are confided to the charge of his slaves. A Negro has usually the care of from 3000 to 5000 trees. I was told that 3000 trees often produce about seventy-five barrels of turpentine annually :

and that the excavations are emptied five or six times in the season, which lasts from about May to September. We also saw the tar-pits, where the tar is extracted from the dead wood of the pine trees in a particular state. In the night we frequently passed parties "camping out" in the woods, by large fires; and occasionally saw trees, accidentally set on fire by their embers, gradually consuming like a torch. I forgot to say, in speaking of the clearing of land, that we had a striking instance of the rapidity with which a settlement is occasionally effected. The mail stage stopped for breakfast one morning at a very comfortable log-house. The land was cleared for about the space of an acre, and, in addition to the house, there were two out-houses; a stable, in which were the four mail horses; and a granary. Thirteen days previously this was the middle of a wood, and not a tree was cut down!

My companions were delighted with the frog concerts in the woods, and hailed them, as we do the cuckoo, as the harbinger of spring. I opened my window the first night, supposing these choristers were birds, and it was a night or two before I was undeceived. I have not thought them musical since I discovered my mistake.

In the course of our route from Petersburg we have crossed many rivers and creeks, frequently by ferries in the middle of the night. In South Carolina we have passed through several large swamps, where the monotony of the pine barrens was relieved by a variety of beautiful green shrubs, among which the magnolia was most conspicu-

ous. As we approached the coast, I saw great abundance of the vegetable drapery which covers the trees like a fine cobweb, or hangs from them like streamers. Its botanical name, I believe, is *tellandria usneaoides*. It is frequently said to mark the limits within which the yellow fever confines its ravages, but this is incorrect, for it is found every where within the tropics.

We saw the first *rice* plantation at Georgetown, about sixty miles from Charleston, and began to be shocked with the vacant looks and ragged appearance of many of the slaves we met. But, abating the painful sensations excited by the appearance of slavery, our first approach to this city was calculated to give us very favourable impressions, after our long monotonous ride through the pine barrens. On arriving at the ferry opposite Charleston, a little after sun-rise on a clear fresh morning, we crossed an extensive bay, from which we had a fine view of the open sea, and in which several ships were riding at anchor, loaded with rice and coffee, ready to sail for England with the first fair wind. Small boats of various kinds, sailing in every direction, gave animation to the scene ; while the glittering spires increased our curiosity to see this metropolis of South Carolina, of which we had heard much. On entering the city, we seemed to be transported into a garden. Orange trees laden with ripe oranges, peach trees covered with blossoms, and flowering shrubs of a description which I had been accustomed to see only in hot houses, gave me impressions similar to those which I suppose

you experienced on visiting some of the cities on the Mediterranean. I had no sooner sat down to breakfast at the hotel, than I found one black slave at my elbow fanning away flies with a flapper, and three or four covering the table with a profusion of dishes. On sallying out after breakfast, I found the streets filled with well-dressed and genteel-looking people, and carriages driving about in every direction. But I must reserve a description of Charleston and its inhabitants till I have become better acquainted with them.

LETTER XII.

Charleston, South Carolina, 26th Feb. 1820.

I WROTE to you on the 19th inst. and soon afterwards received an invitation, which I gladly accepted, to accompany a gentleman to his rice plantation, about thirty miles distant. With the interesting character of this excellent and venerable friend, I have already made you acquainted. Descended from one of the old patrician families, who form as it were the nobility of Carolina, educated at one of our English public schools and universities, and enjoying a high reputation, acquired in arduous military and diplomatic situations, he would be regarded, I am persuaded, as second to a few in Europe, as a statesman, a scholar, and a gentleman. I took an early breakfast with him, at his handsome town-house, whence we proceeded to the ferry. After crossing the bay, we found the General's carriage waiting for

us, with a few periodical publications in it, and with led horses, in case we should wish to vary our mode of conveyance. We stopped at noon to rest the horses, and to take a little refreshment in the woods, and reached the plantation to a late dinner in the evening. The road lay through a pine barren, such as I have already described; and we scarcely passed a creature in the course of the day, except my friend's sister, an old lady, and her two nieces, who were on their way to Charleston, in a large family carriage and four, with a black servant on a mule behind, a negro woman and child on the footboard, and three or four baskets of country provisions hanging from the axle-tree. They inquired how far they were from *the spring*, where we had been resting, and where they proposed to take their *al fresco* repast.

In the morning, I strolled out before breakfast into the plantation, and saw about twelve *female* slaves, from eighteen to twenty-eight years of age, threshing rice on a sort of clay floor, in the same manner as our farmers thresh wheat. It was extremely hot, and the employment seemed very laborious. After breakfast, the General took me over the plantation; and in the course of our walk we visited the little dwellings of the Negroes. These were generally grouped together round something like a farm-yard; and behind each of them was a little garden, which they cultivate on their own account. The huts themselves are not unlike a poor Irish cabin, with the addition of a chimney. The bedding of the Negroes consists simply of blankets, and their clothing is generally

confined to a sort of flannel garments, made up in different forms. Those whom I saw at home were cowering over a fire, although the day was oppressively hot, and the little Negroes were *sunning* themselves with great satisfaction about the door. They all seemed glad to see my friend, who talked to them very familiarly, and most of them inquired after their mistress. I was told that their provisions were prepared for them, and that twice every day they had as much as they asked for of Indian corn, sweet potato, and broth, with the occasional addition of a little meat. Besides this, they frequently prepare for themselves a little supper from the produce of their garden, and fish which they catch in the river. On many plantations it is usual to give out their allowance once a week, and to let them cook it for themselves, their fuel costing them nothing but the trouble of gathering it. A nurse and doctor, both negroes I believe, are provided for them: and making allowance for the sick, the children, &c. I was told that on the rice plantations in that neighbourhood, half the *gang*, as they are hideously called, were effective hands.

I heard my benevolent friend order wine, oranges, &c. for some of the invalids; and I believe that I have seen a very favourable specimen of Negro slavery. Yet the picture must ever be a dark one, and, when presented to an eye not yet familiar with its horrors, must excite reflections the most painful and depressing. Humanity may mitigate the sufferings of the wretched victims of the slave system, and habit render them less sen-

sible to their degradation; but no tenderness can eradicate from slavery the evils inherent in its very nature, nor familiarity reconcile man to perpetual bondage, but by sinking him below the level of his kind.

The Negroes usually go to work at sunrise, and finish the task assigned to them at three or four, or sometimes five or six o'clock in the evening. They have Sunday to themselves, three days at Christmas, one day for sowing their little crop in spring, and another for reaping it in autumn. In the West Indies, I understand that the slaves work under the lash a certain number of hours in the day, instead of having task-work; and that they are not generally supplied with food by the masters, but have a certain portion of time to plant their own provisions, during which they are still under the driver's lash. The mode of treatment, however, varies greatly in the different islands.

In the course of the morning we saw several other plantations in their neighbourhood; and on some of which were very handsome residences, with grounds resembling an English park. The live oaks profusely scattered, and often standing alone, contributed greatly to this resemblance. These noble trees form a very striking and interesting feature in a Carolinian landscape, especially when at distant intervals they cast their broad shadows on the level spacious tracts of cleared land, which stretch to the distant forest without a fence, or the smallest perceptible undulation or variety of surface. They are not tall, but from twelve to eighteen feet in girth, and contain a prodigious

quantity of timber. At the distance of fifteen or eighteen feet from the ground, they divide into three or four immense limbs, which grow nearly in a horizontal direction, or rather with a gentle curve, to the length of forty or fifty paces. The wood is almost incorruptible; and on this account as well as from its furnishing, in its natural state, almost every curve which is required in the construction of a vessel, it is invaluable for naval purposes.

We dined at a neighbouring plantation, and after tea I had a pleasant *tete-a-tete* ride home through the woods with my venerable friend. We spent the evening very agreeably, in general conversation on American and European politics, and in examining various works on the botany and ornithology of America. My friend had an excellent library, comprising many recent and valuable British publications, and a more extensive collection of English Agricultural works than I ever saw in a private library before. The house is a very handsome one, and covers more ground than houses on a similar scale in England, as it is thought desirable in this climate to have only one room deep, with a profusion of windows, which do not put one in good humour with our window-tax. From the windows of the library and dining-room, the eye wandered over extensive rice-fields, the surface of which is levelled with almost mathematical exactness, as it is necessary to overflow them at particular periods from various canals which intersect them, and which communicate with rivers whose waters are

thrown back by the flowing of the tide. At six o'clock this morning I left my hospitable friend, who sent me in his carriage half-way back to Charleston, to a spot where my servant and horses met me.

The few days previous to this excursion had been spent principally in visiting the different families with whom I have already made you acquainted, and who were particularly attentive to me. The best society here, though not very extensive, is much superior to any which I have yet seen in America. It consists of a few old patrician families, who form a select circle, into which the "novi homines," unless distinguished by great personal merit, find it extremely difficult to gain admission. Strangers well introduced, and of personal respectability, are received with much liberality and attention. Many of the old gentlemen were educated at English colleges, and retain something of their original attachment to the mother country, notwithstanding their sensibility to recent calumny and misrepresentation. Their manners are extremely agreeable, resembling the more polished of our country gentlemen, and are formed on the model of what in England we call "the old school." They are, however, the last of their generation, and will leave a blank much to be deplored when they pass away. The young ladies of the patrician families are delicate, refined, and intelligent, rather distant and reserved to strangers, but frank and affable to those who are familiarly introduced to them by their fathers and brothers. They go very early into company, are

frequently married at sixteen or eighteen years of age, and generally under twenty, and have retired from the vortex of gay society, before even the fashionable part of my fair countrywomen would formerly have entered it. They often lament that the high standard of manners to which they have been accustomed, seems doomed to perish with the generation of their fathers. The fact is, that the absence of the privileges of primogeniture, and the repeated subdivision of property, are gradually effecting a change in the structure of society in South Carolina, and will shortly efface its most interesting and characteristic features.

I arrived at Charleston immediately after the races, which are a season of incessant gaiety. They usually take place in February, when all the principal families visit their town-houses in Charleston, for three or four weeks, collecting from their plantations, which are at a distance of from 30 to 150 miles. During this short interval, there is a perpetual round of visits. About the beginning of March, they return to the retirement of their plantations, often accompanied by the strangers with whom they have become acquainted. As a large proportion of the plantations are in the swamps, where a residence in the summer months would probably be fatal from a fever of a bilious nature, from which the natives themselves are not exempt, the families return about the beginning of June, to the city, where they remain till the first frost, which is looked for with great anxiety towards October. They then go back to their plantations until February. Some instead of com-

ing into the city in June, retire to the mountains, or to the springs of Ballston and Saratoga, in the state of New-York, where a large concourse of persons assemble from every part of the United States and from Canada, and by the reciprocation of civilities, and a better acquaintance with each other, gradually lose their sectional and colonial prejudices. Although these springs are from a thousand to fifteen hundred miles from the Southern States, the inhabitants of Georgia and Carolina speak of them with as much familiarity as our Londoners speak of Bath or Cheltenham. Some of the planters spend the hot months on Sullivan's Island, at the mouth of the bay, where even strangers may generally remain with impunity. When those who decide to spend the summer in the city are once settled there, it is considered in the highest degree hazardous to sleep a single night in the country. The experiment is sometimes made, and occasionally with impunity: but all my informants concurred in assuring me that fatal consequences would generally be expected; and a most respectable friend told me, that if his family suspected him of such an intention, they would almost attempt to prevent it by actual force. The natives, however, may pass to and fro between the city and Sullivan's Island without risk. Of late years it has been discovered that there are certain healthy spots, even in the country, during the most sickly months. These are in the pine barrens at a distance from the swamps. To be safe in them it is necessary that the land be as barren as possible, and that not a

tree be cut down except to leave room for the house. Even a little garden it is considered would entail some risk. I saw several of these retreats, which are occupied by the overseers of plantations.

The preceding remarks respecting liability to sickness, apply to the *natives*, who, you are aware are generally exempt after the age of from ten to fifteen years from the yellow or stranger's fever, their apprehensions being confined to what they term the "country fever," and "fever and ague." With regard to the yellow fever, I understand that, generally speaking, the probabilities would be greatly against a stranger escaping its fatal effects, who should remain in Charleston or Savannah during the sickly season.

There are two points connected with the yellow fever here, which are subjects of animated, and sometimes angry controversy: 1st, Whether it is contagious; and, 2d, Whether it is imported, or originates at home. With regard to the first point, I believe the negative is supported by the best authority. A most intelligent friend told me that he had slept in the same bed with a person who had the fever in the stage of black vomit, without suffering: and, Dr. —, who lived in Sir William Jones's family in India, informed me that he was in Philadelphia, under Dr. Rush, I think in 1798, and attended the hospital where upwards of 5000 patients were admitted, whom he visited daily, and that he never took the fever; that he once saw a young man swallow, with impunity, a tea-spoonful of black vomit, and take

arge quantities out of the stomachs of those who had died, and rub it over his arms, and that he had seen the patients eject it in large quantities on the nurses. With respect to the origin of the fever, I believe the weight of authority, both in numbers and respectability, is strongly against the idea of its being imported; but here I am on delicate and uncertain ground.

In passing through Charleston, at present so animated and gay, and with a climate at this season so delicious and so pure, it is melancholy to think of the stillness and desertion which will soon pervade its streets, when the heats will almost suspend all intercourse among the natives, and when the stranger who has been so rash as to remain in this infected region, will move with fearful and trembling steps, his imagination filled with apparitions of "the pestilence that walketh in darkness," and his heart sickened with the "destruction which wasteth at noon-day." Having visited Cadiz and Lisbon, you are no stranger to the melancholy feelings excited by a view of the graves of our countrymen who have fallen victims to an epidemic on a foreign shore.

"No voice well known, through many a day,
To speak the last, the parting word,
Which, when all other sounds decay,
Is still like distant music heard.
That tender farewell on the shore
Of this wide world, when all is o'er,
Which cheers the spirit, ere its bark
Puts off into the unknown dark."

But the real plague-spot of Charleston, is its 'slave population; and the mixture of gaiety and splendour with misery and degradation, is too in-

congruous not to arrest the attention even of the superficial. It always reminded me of the delicate pink peach-blossoms which surround the black hovels of the slaves on the plantations.

I shall never forget my feelings on being present for the first time, at the sale of human flesh, which took place here in a public street through which I was passing the other day. Turning from a fashionable promenade, enlivened by gay parties and glittering equipages, I came suddenly in sight of at least 80 or 100 Negroes sitting on a large heap of paving-stones; some with most melancholy and disconsolate faces, and others with an air of vacancy and apathy, apparently insensible to what was passing around them. Several merchants and planters were walking about, examining the unhappy creatures who were to be offered for sale. A poor woman, apparently about 28 years of age, with a child at her breast, her two little boys from four to six years old, and her little girl about eight, composed *the first lot*. They were mounted on a platform, (with the auctioneer,) taking hold of each other's hands, and the little boys looking up at their mother's face with an air of curiosity, as if they wondered what could make her look so sad. The mother then spoke a few words in a faltering voice to the auctioneer, who repeated them aloud, in which she expressed a strong desire to be purchased by some one who lived near Charleston, instead of being sent to a distant plantation. They were then put up like cattle, with all the ordinary auction slang, and finally knocked down at 350

dollars round. As soon as they came down from the platform, many of the Negroes crowded around the mother, inquiring if she knew who had bought her, or whither she was going: but, alas! all that she knew of her future destiny was, that a new owner had obtained possession of her and her offspring for 350 dollars each. I could not stay to see the repetition of the hateful process on the person of a field-labourer, who composed the next lot, and who appeared depressed and dejected beyond what I had conceived. The melancholy feelings with which I quitted this scene were not diminished by the reflection, that it was *my* country which first transported the poor African to these western shores; that it was when they were the shores of a British colony that slavery was first introduced, by British ships, British capital, and with the sanction and encouragement of a British parliament. Would that I could forget that in a single year (1753) no less than 30,000 slaves were introduced into America by a hundred and one vessels belonging to Liverpool alone; and that the efforts of many of the American states to abolish the importation of slaves, were long defeated by the royal negative which was put on those acts of the colonial legislature which had for their sole object the extinction of the slave Trade; and that Burke was but too well justified in stating in parliament, that "the refusal of America to deal any more in the inhuman traffic of Negro slaves, was one of the causes of her quarrel with Great Britain!" Would that I could forget that if America has still her slave-

holding states, we free Britons have also our slave-holding colonies; and that in neither the one nor the other has one step yet been taken towards the emancipation, however remote, of the injured Africans! Do not think me insane enough to overlook the difficult part of this subject. I am insensible neither to the consideration due to those whose property is invested under legislative sanctions, nor to the *cruelty* of liberating slaves till they are prepared for freedom; but surely no man, much less a freeborn Briton or an American republican, can rest satisfied in the horrible conclusion that slavery is to be regarded in any region of the globe, as necessary, irremediable, hopeless, and perpetual. The time I hope is not far distant when a better order of things will prevail in this respect, even where the prospects are now the darkest; when this blot will be effaced for ever from the fair creation of that common parent who "hath made of one blood all nations of men, for to dwell on all the face of the earth." Every day are the horrors of slavery rendered more apparent by contrast with the free institutions which are rising on every side in its immediate vicinity, and by the brighter light which the diffusion of the Gospel is shedding over the globe. Every day does slavery become more abhorrent from the common feelings of Christian communities, and more inconsistent with the spirit of the times. Thus by the blessing of God on the benevolent attention which is now attracted towards this subject, which will give birth to suggestions, plans, and experiments in different quarters of the globe.

every thing is to be hoped. But I forget how long a letter I am sending you, and yet I cannot resist the temptation of copying for you the following interesting extract from Humboldt's travels.

“ We observed with a lively interest the great number of scattered houses in the valley inhabited by freedmen. In the Spanish colonies, the institutions and the manners are more favourable to the liberty of the Blacks than in the other European settlements. In all these excursions we were agreeably surprised, not only at the progress of agriculture, but the increase of a few laborious population accustomed to toil, and too poor to rely on the assistance of slaves. White and Black farmers had every where small separate establishments. Our host, whose father had a revenue of 40,000 piastres, possessing more lands than he could clear, he distributed them in the valley of Aragua among poor families who chose to apply themselves to the cultivation of cotton. He endeavoured to surround his ample plantations with freemen, who, working as they chose, either on their own land or in the neighbouring plantations, supplied him with day-labourers at the time of harvest. Nobly occupied on the means best adapted generally to extinguish the slavery of the Blacks in these colonies, Count Torur flattered himself with the double hope of rendering slaves less necessary to the landholders, and furnishing the freedmen with opportunities of becoming farmers. On departing for Europe he had parcelled out, and let a part of the lands of Cura. Four

years after, at his return to America, he found on this spot, finely cultivated in cotton, a little hamlet of thirty or forty houses, which is called Punta Zamuro, and which we afterwards visited with him. The inhabitants of this hamlet are nearly all Mulattoes, Zumboes, or free Blacks. This example of letting out land has been happily followed by other great proprietors. The rent is ten piastres for a vanega of ground, and is paid in money or in cotton. As the small farmers are often in want, they sell their cotton at a very moderate price. They sell it even before the harvest; and the advances thus made by rich neighbours, place the debtor in a state of dependence, which frequently obliges him to offer his services as a labourer. The price of labour is cheaper here than in France. A freeman working as a day-labourer (Peor) is paid in the valleys of Aragua and in the Llanos four or five piastres a month, not including food, which is very cheap on account of the abundance of meat and vegetables. I love to dwell on these details of colonial industry, because they prove to the inhabitants of Europe, what to the enlightened inhabitants of the colonies has long ceased to be doubtful, that the continent of Spanish America can produce sugar and indigo by free hands, and that the unhappy slaves are capable of becoming peasants, farmers, and landholders."

I am sure you will thank me for this extract.

LETTER XIII.

Mobile, on the Gulf of Mexico, 3d April, 1820.

It was with much regret that I left several kind and interesting friends whom I had met with at Charleston. Our last day there was Sunday; and the diminution of carriages at the church door evinced that the fashionable society was dispersing, and that many families had already retired to their plantations after the races. The places of worship appeared well filled; but many of the streets were noisy, and exhibited as little of a Sabbath scene as Hyde Park or Piccadilly. I was told also that gambling was going on to a great extent, in a detached building belonging to the hotel where I was staying; but as I have sometimes heard the same rumour when staying at the York House in Bath, or an hotel in the west of London, let us hope (if we can) that it was in both cases, a libellous report. I was pleased to see the slaves apparently enjoying themselves on this day in their best attire, and was astonished in observing the efforts they make to preserve as a body that self-respect which they know is not felt for them by their proprietors. They generally use Sir and Madam in addressing each other, make the most formal and particular inquiries after each other's families. They frequently adopt the names of the families in which they live. Thus, the principal male servant in Col. F.'s family, is Col. F.; the principal female servant, Mrs. F.; while half a dozen Miss F.'s will give their names to as many chamber-

maids, if they have them. In the evening I visited the prison, as I have done in most towns where I had the opportunity; but the turnkey was intoxicated, and I could obtain little information as to the general plan of management. The prisoners, I understood from an assistant, have a liberal allowance of meat, bread, and broth daily; but no work, and no instruction except from occasional visits of the clergy, of whom the Black ministers are the most assiduous. I saw one earnestly engaged in prayer with the Black prisoners, one of whom was just committed for the murder of his master. The Black are separated from the White prisoners, the male from the female, the greater from the lesser criminals. I saw and conversed with the murderer of Dr. Ramsay, the historian. I was told that the crime occurred under the following circumstances. The man having shot a lawyer whom he had retained on some business, Dr. Ramsay had given evidence that he was insane; which the maniac learning, watched an opportunity, and shot him also. He has been confined in prison ever since, and is a pitiable object. If you are as well acquainted with the character of Mrs. Ramsay as, from its uncommon excellence, I hope you are, you will be interested by this allusion to her husband. If you have never met with her "Memoirs," let me entreat you to forego no longer the gratification and improvement you can hardly fail to derive from them. They exhibit a character which will not shrink from a comparison with that of the most eminent female Christians of any age or

country. Her father, Colonel Laurens, was President of the Congress during the revolutionary war; and it is delightful to read the liberal and pacific sentiments which his letters to his daughter breathe at the very moment when his plantations were overrun by the British soldiery, and the lives of himself and his family were in imminent danger. Surely it would tend greatly to increase our detestation of war and all its outrages, if we allowed our imagination to dwell more on the friendly sentiments which the liberal and Christian part of hostile nations often feel towards each other, at the very moment when public animosity and fury rage the loudest. In 1776, Colonel Laurens writes from Charleston, to his daughter, then in England—

“ Act your part well, my dear: love God, and all things will work together for your good. It is melancholy to see the abuse of many good houses in this town, which are now made barracks for the country militia, who strip the paper-hangings, chop wood upon parlour floors, and do a thousand improper acts. The men of war at Georgia have swept Mr. Arthur Middleton’s plantation, upon Savannah river, of about sixty-five Negroes.—Wright’s savannah is within three or four miles of it; probably some solitary escaping man may come within two or three days to inform me of like mischiefs done there, and at Altamaha, by those Sabeans and Chaldeans. Be it so, I will say, Blessed be the name of the Lord. We must expect a visit from the British very soon. In these circumstances every man here holds his

life by the most precarious tenure, and our friends abroad should prepare themselves for learning that we are numbered with the dead. You will in silence submit the future progress and final determination of events to the wise order of that superintending Being who holds the scales of justice in his hand. Your part will be to join with the sons and daughters of piety, and pray incessantly for peace: peace to all the world, especially the country in which you reside, (England,) and that to which you more particularly belong; and you will lament that it is your father's unhappy lot to be engaged in war, in civil war, God's severest scourge upon mankind."

These sentiments are worthy a Christian father when addressing his Christian child; and cold and base must be that heart which could feel hostile to an enemy who could breathe them at such a moment of suffering and irritation.

We set out from Charleston on the 28th February, and arrived at Savannah on the afternoon of the 29th, travelling all night, and completing in the *mail-stage* 110 miles in twenty-seven hours. On mounting our sorry vehicle, we found our equipage reduced to a peace establishment of two horses, and our stages were occasionally thirty miles long. We saw nothing particularly interesting in our route except the cotton plantations, where the Negroes were hard at work under a broiling sun and a driver's lash. Experience had taught us not to trust to this deceitful climate; and we found all our sea coats insufficient to protect us against the excessive cold of the night. In

passing through the swamps, we were enveloped in a thick mist, which, in summer, must be highly dangerous. Indeed our driver told us that on two stages on this road last autumn, they lost five drivers, who fell a sacrifice to fever. In the middle of the night I heard the howling of wolves, and when walking before the stage, as we approached Savannah, I started an alligator about six yards from me, which plunged off the road into some water. It was then as intensely hot as it had been cold a few nights before.

Savannah is situated on a river of the same name, and is laid out in long and very broad streets, which meet at right angles, and are lined with trees called "The Pride of India." These trees are great favourites with the inhabitants; but they are too strongly associated in my mind with yellow fever, to be agreeable. The streets are unpaved: and except in the middle path, which is a heavy disagreeable sand, they are covered with grass. The horses, as in most of the towns in the south, are unshod.

The late fire has given the town a most desolate appearance, yet the inhabitants are most unwittingly running up *wooden* houses again with great rapidity. Fires are continually occurring in this country. A large one happened while I was at Savannah; another at Charleston; and we had a serious alarm at Washington. Brick houses, however, are daily becoming more common. In Charleston a person is stationed every night on the steeple of one of the churches, to watch and give the alarm in case of fire, as the *inhabitants*

are never free from the apprehension of an insurrection of the Slaves in the confusion of a premeditated or accidental conflagration. The late fire in Savannah produced many instances of individual generosity, as well as proofs of general liberality in the other States. A letter of the Mayor, returning the New-York contribution, of nearly 3000*l.* because it was accompanied with a request that it might be impartially distributed among the *Black* and White sufferers, a request which implied a reflection which the southerners resented, was not generally approved. It shows, however, very strongly the sensitive state of feeling on the subject of slavery between the Northern and Southern States.

Of the society at Savannah I saw little, except of the merchants in their counting-houses; and, after spending a short time at an extensive rice plantation in the neighbourhood, I set off in the stage for Augusta on the 11th. My servant had gone forward the preceding day, when the stage was filled with gamblers returning in ill humour from Savannah, where the inhabitants, in consequence of their recent calamity, had decided that there should be no races.

In proceeding from the coast to Augusta, 200 miles in the interior, we pass for forty or fifty miles along a level plain: the greater part of which is covered with lofty forests of pine, oak, elm, tulip, plane, and walnut. About one third of this plain consists of immense swamps, which, interlocking with each other, form part of a long chain which stretches for several hundred miles along the coast of Georgia and the Carolinas, penetrating

from ten to thirty miles into the interior. In these swamps, in addition to the trees above mentioned, you meet with cypress trees of an enormous growth, beech, maple, the magnolia grandiflora, azaleas, andromedas, stalmins, and a variety of flowering shrubs, whose names I would send you if I were a botanist. Soon after leaving the plain, you reach what are called the Sandhills, 200 to 300 feet above the level of the sea, when extensive forest plains and green savannahs, and occasional ascents of more or less abrupt elevation, succeed each other, until you approach Augusta. There you find yourself surrounded by immense cotton plantations, and all ‘the pomp and circumstance’ of commerce; carts coming in from the country with cotton, and crowding the streets, or rather avenues, of this rural town; tradesmen and agents bustling about in different directions; wharves loaded with bales; and steam-boats darkening the air with their black exhalations. At the hotel where I lodged, there were seventy persons daily at table; but General —, who was there with his lady and staff, gave me a polite invitation to join his party, of which I occasionally availed myself. On the 13th, I went to visit a very extensive and opulent cotton planter, a few miles from Augusta. I found him quite alone, having come from Charleston to superintend his plantation for two or three weeks. He was a mile or two from home when I arrived, and a little Slave was sent to help me to find him in the woods. As the little fellow walked by the side of my horse, I asked him if there was any church that the Slaves attended on Sunday. He

said no, there was none near enough, and he had never seen one. I asked him if he knew where people went to when they died, and was much affected by the simple, earnest look with which he pointed to the sky, as he replied, "To Fader dere."

I remained with my host till the following day, and found him very sensible and intelligent, and full of information with respect to the present and former state of the country. I enjoyed my *tête-à-tête* visit greatly; although the side-saddles which I saw in the log-stable, and the ladies' names in the books which composed the little library, occasionally seduced my imagination from our disquisitions on the expense of producing rice and cotton, to the reading and riding parties which were to give interest and animation to these sylvan solitudes as soon as the summer should drive the female part of the family from the city. The fact is, this residence is a wooden house with a convenient establishment, erected in one of the healthy spots which I have described as occasionally found in the pine barrens; and, although there appeared to be only just room for the house to stand, my host was regretting that a few trees had been unnecessarily cut down in his absence, and he had planted others in their room. I observed too that the vegetable matter under the trees was carefully raked together, in order to be removed; and with these precautions my host told me his family were able to spend the summer months there, while others were driven to town. He said if I would come back in the summer, instead

of finding him an old bachelor, I should see him with a merry family of twelve or fifteen young people about him. Scenes like these have greatly impressed my mind with the equitable character of the arrangements of Divine Providence as respects soil, climate, and similar allotments, in which good and bad, convenience and inconvenience, are usually blended; and also to reconcile me to the atmospherical vicissitudes of Old England, where, if we have not the bright sky and luscious fruits of some of the south-western parts of the United States, neither have we pine barrens and jungle exhalations winged with fever, and putrescency, and death.

After purchasing a couple of horses for myself and my servant, I left Augusta on the 17th, with the intention of proceeding overland to Mobile or New-Orleans. We were a little disconcerted, on rising early that morning, to find the rain falling in torrents. As it cleared up, however, about twelve o'clock, we determined to set out; and with our long-tailed grays, our saddle-bags, our blankets, and our pistols, we made, I assure you, no despicable appearance. After travelling about twenty-eight miles, we stopped for the night at Mrs. Harris's tavern, a small country inn by the way side. Two female Negroes were hand-picking cotton by the kitchen fire, where I took my seat, till I was unexpectedly invited to another room, where a fire had been made for me. The first question my landlady asked me was the price of cotton at Augusta; a question which was eagerly repeated wherever I stopped. Indeed, the

fluctuations in this article came home to "the business and bosoms" of the poorest family, since every one is concerned more or less in its cultivation. While my hostess poured out my coffee, I asked her if there were any schools in the neighbourhood. She said, Oh, yes; that there was an academy to which her daughter went when cotton was thirty cents per pound; that she paid three hundred dollars per annum simply for board, and fifty more for learning the *pi-a-no*! but that, as cotton had fallen to fifteen cents, she could not afford to buy an instrument, and supposed her daughter must forget her music. I could not help thinking of the farmer Mrs. Hannah More mentions in her last work, who said he had "Frenched his daughter, and musicked her, and was now sending her to Paris."

We set off at six o'clock the next morning, and went twelve miles to breakfast. Here, as usual, I found several books on the chimney-piece; among which were a Bible, a Testament, a Hymn-book, a book of Geography, Kett's Elements, *Lord Byron's Poems*, and the *Life of Harriet Newell*,—the last of which I found, from a note in a blank page, was a gift from the minister of the neighbourhood to the landlord's wife. I mention these books, as they form a sort of average of those which you generally find lying about in the country inns, and which are frequently merely stragglers from no despicable library in the landlord's bed-room. A pleasing young woman, the innkeeper's wife, sate down to make breakfast for me; and I greatly enjoyed this quiet *tête-à-tête*

in the country, after the promiscuous assemblage of sixty or seventy persons at the taverns in the towns. In stopping to breakfast, however, in the Southern States, you must never calculate on a detention of less than two hours, as your entertainers *will* prepare dishes of meat or poultry for you, and both *make* and bake the bread after your arrival.

In the evening, about five o'clock, after travelling thirty-three miles, we arrived at Mr. Shirens's, a neat quiet house, on the Ogechee river. Mr. Shirens is a cotton planter, a miller, a farmer, and an innkeeper. I took a letter of introduction to him, which secured me a good reception. As the following day was Sunday, I remained with this good John Anderson and his help-meet, and their two generations of children, till Monday, but was disappointed to find there would be no service at their church. The minister preaches three *Saturdays* and *Sundays* at three churches a few miles distant; but, on the fourth, which was unfortunately the case when I was there, he is beyond their limits. I found out, however, a Negro congregation, who were to assemble in the woods, of which I have already sent an account. In returning from the spot where we had assembled, I passed the church, where, as is usual on those *Sundays* on which there is no service, there was a meeting of the young persons in the neighbourhood, for the purpose of singing psalms. I did not join them, but counted ninety-five horses under the trees, nearly one half of them with side-saddles; and yet the country, in passing through

it, seemed by no means thickly settled, our road being on a pine ridge; but the Americans, although enterprising and migratory, have a great aversion to walking.

In the evening three rough back-woodsmen arrived from the Mississippi with a wretched account of the roads; the bridges over the creeks having been almost all washed away, and the swamps being nearly impassable. Their horses were quite exhausted; and they strongly urged me not to attempt the expedition. Had I seen them before I set out, I should probably have been discouraged, as they appeared to be hardy, resolute, and experienced foresters; but I was now determined that nothing but very formidable obstacles should induce us to return. Heavy rains prevented our proceeding till eight o'clock the following morning; but we arrived at Milledgeville, the capital of Georgia, at half past five o'clock, thirty-six miles, after spending half an hour with Governor —, who has a good house a few miles distant. We found with him two travellers, quite exhausted, who told us that for many days they had to swim their horses over most of the flooded creeks on the road which we were going. The Governor said that the freshets had not been so great since the celebrated Yayoo freshet, more than twenty years ago. From my window at the inn at Milledgeville I saw the remains of a bridge which broke down a fortnight since with a waggon and six horses upon it, all of which were lost. The Oconee is here nearly

twice as broad as the Lune under Lancaster Bridge.

At Milledgeville there is a very handsome prison or penitentiary, which would do credit even to Gloucester; but the critical situation of the flooded creeks rendered it imprudent to stay to inspect it. And here I recollect that I omitted to mention, that in the Charleston and Savannah jails, besides numerous pirates, there were many slaves in confinement for not giving their masters the wages they had earned. In order that you may understand this, it is necessary to tell you, that when a person has more Negroes than he can employ, he frequently either lets them out on hire, or sends them to seek employment, bringing him a proportion of what they earn. Sometimes he will set them to obtain for him a certain sum per week, and allow them to keep the remainder. You will be surprised to learn, that *children* who are thus situated, generally prefer chimney sweeping, as they can earn more by this than by any other employment; at least, so I was informed at Mr. ——'s plantation, while reading to the ladies after supper the miseries of climbing boys in England, in the last Edinburgh Review,—not indeed to reconcile them to the miseries of slavery, but partly to show them that we do not expend all our critical castigation on their side of the Atlantic. This choice of the children does not speak much for slavery, in which chimney-sweeping is an object of competition, in order, perhaps, to avoid the stripes which would ensue if the required sum was not earned and paid in to the

master. Still the system of allowing the Slaves to select their own work, and to look out for employment for themselves, notwithstanding the frequent hardship and injustice attending it, is a great step toward emancipation, and an admirable preparative for it; and may we not regard it as one of the avenues through which the African will ultimately emerge from his degraded condition, and arrive at the full enjoyment of his violated rights. Surely the warmest and most prejudiced advocates of *perpetual slavery* will not contend that a man who is capable of taking care of his family while compelled to pay his owner a premium for permission to do so, will become less competent to manage his concerns when exonerated from the tax, or that he will relax in his efforts to improve his condition, because a stranger no longer divides with him the fruit of his toil. Experience will doubtless prove that slavery is a state which cannot very long consist with a general diffusion of that consciousness of their own strength with which the habit of self-dependence will inspire the Negroes, and which, when combined with a large numerical superiority, must ensure ultimate success to their struggles for freedom. Earnestly is it to be hoped, that long before the arrival of such a crisis, the humanity and justice, or, if not, the self-interest, of the master will spare all parties the horrors usually attendant on such struggles, by laying the foundation for a safe and beneficial emancipation.

We left Milledgeville at eight o'clock, on the 21st, and arrived at Fort Hawkins, 32 miles dis-

tant, at 4 o'clock in the afternoon. In the course of the day, we passed several settlements, and occasionally our eyes were regaled with a few acres of peach trees in full blossom. The cleared land, however, seldom extended into the forest above a few hundred yards from the road, and occurred but at distant intervals. Towards evening we passed six waggons, conveying ninety Slaves belonging to General ——, from his plantation in Georgia, to his settlement on the Cahawba in Alabama. I mention these little occurrences to put you more familiarly in possession of the habits of the country.

Fort Hawkins is a small quadrangle of wooden buildings, supposed, during the late war, to be of some importance in intimidating the Lower Creek Indians, some of whom took part with the British. The whole tract cleared for the fort, and a house of entertainment for travellers, is perhaps half a mile square; and from the fort the eye looks down on an unbroken mass of pine woods, which lose themselves on every side in the horizon about twenty miles distant.

We left Fort Hawkins at seven o'clock, on the 22d, having taken care to secure our breakfast, as we knew that we should not see a habitation till we arrived at our evening quarters. About a mile from Fort Hawkins we crossed the Oakmulgee, and entered the Indian nation of the Creeks. The Oakmulgee, in conjunction with the Oconee, forms the Altamaha, and is the last river we crossed which empties itself into the Atlantic. In the course of the day we passed some Indians with

their guns and blankets, and several waggons of emigrants from Georgia and Carolina to Alabama. We also saw many gangs of Slaves whom their masters were transporting to Alabama and Mississippi, and met one party returning from New-Orleans to Georgia. We were astonished to meet this solitary party going against the stream. Their driver told me that their master had removed them to New-Orleans, where they arrived three days before Christmas. In less than a fortnight he found he did not like the place, and ordered them back again to Georgia. They set out on the 1st January, and on the 22d March were only thus far on their way. In the course of the day we did not pass a single house or settlement; but our pine avenue was literally without interruption for thirty miles. We stopped at night on the banks of the Flint River, which, with the waters of the Chetahouche, forms the Apalachicola, which falls into the Gulf of Mexico. Of our very interesting route from this place through the Indian nation to the white settlements in Alabama, I have sent you a long account in other letters. I forgot, however, to mention, that our host at Fort Bainbridge told me that he was living with his Indian wife among the Indians when the celebrated Indian warrior, Jecumseh, came more than 1000 miles, from the borders of Canada, to induce the Lower Creeks to promise to take up the hatchet, in behalf of the British, against the Americans and the Upper Creeks, whenever he should require it; that he was present at the mid-night convocation of the chiefs which was held

on the occasion, and which terminated, after a most impressive speech from Jecumseh, with a unanimous determination to take up the hatchet whenever he should call upon them; that this was at least a year before the declaration of the last war: That when war was declared, Jecumseh came again in great agitation, and induced them to muster their warriors and rush upon the American troops. It was to quell these internal and insidious foes, that the campaign was undertaken, during which the small stockaded mounds which I have mentioned, were thrown up in the Indian country by the Americans. It was with mingled sentiments of shame and regret that I reflected on the miseries which *we* have at different periods introduced into the very centre of America and Africa, by exciting the Indian warrior and Negro king to precipitate their nations into the horrors of war; but I endeavoured to dispel these melancholy feelings by the recollection of our Bible and Missionary Societies, and of that faithful band of veterans who, through evil report and good report, amid occasional success and accumulated disappointment, still continue the undismayed, uncompromising advocates of injured Africa.

We bade adieu to the Indian nation on the evening of the 28th, crossing Lime Creek, the western boundary, in a boat. We had travelled that day about 40 miles, and had passed, as usual, many large parties of emigrants, from South Carolina and Georgia, and many gangs of slaves. Indeed, at the edges of the creeks, and on the banks

of the rivers, we usually found a curious collection of sans soucis, sulkies, carts, Jersey waggons, heavy waggons, little planters, Indians, Negro horses, mules, and oxen; the women and little children sitting down frequently for one, two, or three, and sometimes for five or six hours, to work or play, while the men were engaged in the almost hopeless task of dragging or swimming their vehicles and baggage to the opposite side. Often a light carriage, with a sallow planter and his lady, would bring up the rear of a long cavalcade, and indicate the removal of a family of some wealth, who, allured by the rich lands of Alabama, or the sugar plantations on the Mississippi, had bidden adieu to the scenes of their youth, and undertaken a long and painful pilgrimage through the wilderness.

We left Lime Creek early on the 29th, and, after riding a few miles, arrived at Point Comfort; a fine cotton plantation, whose populous neighbourhood, and highly cultivated fields, reminded us that we were no longer travelling through a nation of hunters. Indeed, the appearance of oaks in the place of our pine woods, was indicative of a material change in the soil; and we soon opened on some of the beautiful prairies which you have frequently seen described, and which, as they were not large, reminded me of our meadows in the well wooded parts of England. As travellers, however, we paid dearly for the advantages offered to the landholders by the rich soil over which we were passing. Our road, which had hitherto been generally excellent for travelling on

horseback, became as wretchedly bad; and we passed through three swamps, which I feared would ruin our horses. They were about a mile long each; but we estimated the fatigue of crossing any of them as equivalent to at least 15 or 20 miles of common travelling. They were overshadowed with beautiful but entangling trees, without any regular track through the verdure which covered the thick clay in which our horses frequently stuck, as much at a loss where to take the next step, as how to extricate themselves from the last. Sometimes they had to scramble out of the deep mire upon the trunk of a fallen tree, from which they could not descend without again sinking on the other side. Sometimes we were so completely entangled in the vines, that we were compelled to dismount to cut our way out of the vegetable meshes in which we seemed to be entrapped. These swamps are ten times more formidable than even the flooded creeks, over two of which, in less than three miles, we had this day to have our horses swum by Indians, whose agility in the water is beautiful. The traveller himself is either conveyed over in a boat, or, if the creek is very narrow, crosses it on a large tree, which has been so dexterously felled as to fall across and form a tolerable bridge. We slept that night at a poor cabin just erected, and setting off early on the 30th, and passing by Pine Barren Spring, and two very bad swamps, stopped to breakfast at a solitary house, where our host's talkative daughter made breakfast for us. She could not refrain the expression of her sur-

prise at the sight of a White servant, having never seen one before, and was much more astonished when I told her that the White and Black servants in my country eat at the same table.

We arrived in the evening at a few palings which have dignified the place with the appellation of Fort Dale, where travellers are accommodated tolerably on a flourishing plantation. Our landlord was an intelligent man; and among his books I saw the Bible, the Koran, a Hymn book, Nicholson's Encyclopedia, Sterne, Burns, Cowper, Cœlebs, Camilla, and the Acts of the Alabama Legislature, of which he was a member. The next morning we breakfasted at a retired house 20 miles distant, kept by one of three families who came out of Georgia two years since to settle and to protect each other. The husband of one of the party has since been shot by the Indians in the woods. He died in three hours after he was found weltering in his blood, and was attended by the woman who gave me the account. The wife of another of the party was murdered by the Indians a few days afterwards, when on a visit to some friends fifteen miles distant, where five women and four children were butchered and scalped; and the house of the narrator was soon afterwards burnt to the ground by the same enemy, provoked probably by some injury or insult offered by travellers through their nation, which they would retaliate on the Whites whenever they had an opportunity. We passed in the afternoon by "Indian Path;" and about twilight arrived at Murder Creek, a deep glen, where we

took up our abode for the night. The name sounded rather terrific, after the dismal stories we had heard in the day; but as the man and his wife, my servant, two travellers in a bed, and three in their blankets on the floor, all slept in the same room as myself, a single glance in any direction was sufficient, with the aid of the glimmering of our wood fire, to dispel any fearful visions of the night. This little creek and valley derive their name from the murder of 18 or 20 Whites by the Indians, fifteen years since. They were camping out when the Indians fell upon them; and the scene of the massacre is marked out by a black stump in the garden.

We left Murder Creek by moonlight, at four o'clock on the 1st inst.; and passing by Burnt Corn, where we quitted the usual road to Mobile, we took the nearer but more solitary route to Blakely. We breakfasted with a very pleasing family in the middle of the forest. They were the first whom I heard regret that they had quitted Georgia; they said that although they could do better here than in Georgia, the manners of their neighbours were rough and ill suited to their taste. They stated, however, that things were improving; that the laws respecting the observance of the Sabbath were enforced; and that they hoped much from the liberal provision made by Government, in the sale of the public lands, for an extensive school in the centre of every township of six miles square. Their children were attending *gratis* (as is customary) the school in their township, which is already established,

although the population is as yet very scanty. The master, who teaches Latin, and, I believe, French, has a salary of 700 dollars per annum, and the neighbours are providing him with assistant tutors. This liberal provision for schools in all the newly settled countries, does great credit to the American Government; and it is impossible to estimate too highly its probable ultimate effects. Our host and his family gave us a little provision for the night; as they told us that we must not expect to get "a bite" for ourselves or our horses in less than fifty miles, and we had already travelled thirteen. Our road again lay through a most solitary pine barren on a high ridge. The only thing which attracted my attention during the morning, was a finger-post of wood fastened to a tree and pointing down a grass path, and on which was written "To Pensacola." I felt more lonely and more distant from home at that moment, than at any time since I lost sight of my native shores. In the afternoon we were surprised by one of the most sublimely dreadful spectacles I ever beheld. Thousands of large pine trees lay torn and shattered on each other, only one in four or five having been left standing, by a dreadful hurricane which occurred a fortnight before, and the ravages of which extended nearly twelve miles. Some had been thrown down with such prodigious violence, that their thick trunks were broken in two or three pieces by the fall; others were splintered from the top nearly to the bottom, while others were lying on each other four or five feet thick, with their branches intertwin-

ed as if they had been torn up by the roots in a body. But it is in vain to attempt to describe the spectacle. I will only say, that the most dreadful tossing of the ocean never impressed me so strongly with the idea of uncontrollable power, as this magnificent scene of devastation. Our road was so completely buried that we had to hunt our track at some distance in the woods. My servant observed, "What a many hundred miles people in England would go to see such a sight!" It is such hurricanes as these that Volney describes, as twisting off and laying level the largest trees within the limits of their range; and he very aptly compares their course through the forest to that of a reaper through a field of wheat.

We had intended to stop at sunset, as in these latitudes there is little or no twilight; but as usual we could not persuade ourselves that the night would close upon us immediately, and the ground was so wet on the Table-land of the ridge, that we proceeded in order to discover a better place to rest for the night, till we found ourselves benighted among the swamps, our horses sinking and stumbling, and frequently passing through water two or three feet deep, out of which we could scarcely see our way. The damps of the night in this watery region, prevented our alighting to try to make a fire, till the moon should enable us to proceed; and indeed we did not think it prudent to dismount, on account of the alligators, which abound here: we had about sunset passed very near one. Our ears were

stunned with the frog concerts, which now and then arose, and depressed our spirits, by intimating that we were approaching another swamp, although it was too dark to see it. What different emotions the frog concerts in Africa excited in Mungo Park, who hailed them as symptoms of his approach to the water, for which he was panting. This was the first time I had really felt in an awkward situation, and my servant's spirits began to fail him. He told me afterwards, that for two hours, the perspiration was dropping from his face, and his knees were shaking as if he was in an ague; the more so as he was afraid that our pound of bacon, which was in his saddle-bag, would allure the alligators to him. We were suddenly surprised by a number of moving lights, which led us to suppose that some persons were scouring the forest; but we heard no noise: even when many of them appeared to be moving round us within a few yards distance, all was silent when we stopped our horses. At last it flashed across my mind that these moving lights must proceed from the beautiful fire-flies we had often heard of, but which I had supposed were confined to the East. Even at such a moment I was delighted with their beauty, evanescent as it was; for they soon disappeared. Occasionally we were again deluded by a solitary fire-fly at a distance, which twinkled like a light from a cottage window, and to which we several times bent our steps, our spirits depressed by every successive disappointment.

At last, just as the moon rose, we reached an

elevated spot, where we lighted our fire, toasted our bacon, and after securing our horses by a little fence of saplings, lay down on our blankets under the trees with no common satisfaction.

We started before four o'clock the next morning, and breakfasted at a house about ten miles distant. The settlement was established about fifteen years since—the Indians, contrary to their usual custom, having permitted it: but although the owner had more than 2000 head of cattle grazing in the woods, he had neither milk nor butter to give us to our coffee. This is an extreme case; but it is not uncommon, in this part of the country, to be unable to procure either milk or butter where eighteen or twenty cows are kept, solid animal food being much preferred. Humboldt, you recollect, in the account of his journey from the mountains of Parapara to the banks of the Apure, mentions arriving at a farm where he was told of herds of several thousand cows grazing in the steppes; and yet he asked in vain for a bowl of milk. At the house where we breakfasted, we saw the skin of a bear drying in the sun: seven miles farther we passed a large panther, or tiger, as it is called, which had been lately killed, and stuffed. At the next house was the skin of a rattlesnake, which the woman who lived there had killed a few nights before. At this retired house we were detained two or three hours, by a violent thunder-storm, with extremely heavy rain. As soon as the rain abated we set off again to Blakeley, which we were anxious to reach, as it was Saturday night. Indeed, for the last three

days we had travelled forty-five miles each day, in order to arrive before Sunday; but to our disappointment, we found there was no church or meeting there of any description: and we accordingly crossed the bay in the morning to go to church at this place, [Mobile,] where we were equally disappointed; for, to the disgrace of Protestant America, no place of worship is established here except a Catholic church, built by the French or Spanish.

I am, &c.

LETTER XIV.

Natchez, State of Mississippi, 6th May, 1820.

I MENTIONED in my last letter, that after crossing the bay on Sunday morning to go to church, I was disappointed to find no Protestant place of worship. I had travelled hard to reach Blakeley or Mobile on Saturday night; and could I have supposed that I should find no Protestant church in so numerous a society of American Protestants, I should have preferred a solitary Sabbath in the woods to the melancholy prospect of a community where its solemnities are despised. I understood, however, that a Protestant clergyman from the Eastern States had, for some Sundays preceding, been officiating, alternately at Mobile and Blakeley. These towns are situated on opposite sides of the bay, and are contending vehemently

for the privilege of becoming that great emporium which must shortly spring up in the vicinity of this outlet for the produce of the young fertile State of Alabama. The surface drained by the rivers Tombigbee, Black Warrior, Alabama, Coosa Tallapoosa, and Cahawba, all of which fall into Mobile Bay, exceeds twenty-six millions of acres, possessing a very great diversity of soil and climate, and enjoying commercial and agricultural advantages, which are attracting towards them, with unprecedented rapidity, the wealth and enterprise of the older states.

Blakeley is a real American town of yesterday, with a fine range of warehouses; the stumps of the trees which have been felled to make room for this young city, still standing in the streets. Mobile is an old Spanish town, with mingled traces of the manners and language of the French and Spaniards, and with an old fort, called Fort Condé, which is to be superseded by fortifications in a more formidable position.

The change from the quiet homely cabins in which we were entertained in the woods, to the noisy dirty tavern of Mobile, was by no means an agreeable one. I sat down with about thirty or forty persons to every meal; but I saw much more of *men* than of *manners*, and was convinced that there was some truth in what I had been told, that in travelling westward in this country, you may take your longitude by observing the decrements of the time occupied at meals. At Mobile, five or six minutes might possibly be the average, and yet we accuse the Americans of being indolent and

prodigal of time ! Generally speaking, the company at the taverns consists of agents and clerks, and the mass of the population is of a most miscellaneous kind. The aspect of society, as it presents itself to the superficial eye of a stranger, is such as might be expected where public worship is totally disregarded. Profaneness, licentiousness, and ferocity, seemed to be characteristic of the place ; and the latter, as manifested in barbarity to the Negro servants, was beyond even what I had anticipated. You continually hear the lash upon their backs, with language which would shock you, even if applied to brutes ; and the easy and intelligent expression which I had observed in the countenances of many of the Slaves in Carolina and Georgia, had here given place to the appearance of abject timidity or idiotic vacancy. I have seen men, after receiving a severe flogging, and uttering the most piercing cries, the moment their tyrant's back was turned, burst into a loud laugh, dancing about the room, and snapping their fingers, like a school-boy, who wishes to appear as if he " did not care."

The ravages of the fever here last year were perhaps proportionably more severe than at any other place. In July, the population was 1300 : soon after the appearance of the fever in September, it was reduced by migrations to 500, of which number, 274 died, including 115 permanent inhabitants. I never left a place with more satisfaction. We embarked on board a small schooner on the evening of the 4th, and remained on deck till it was dark. The islands in the middle of the

bay, covered with reeds four or five feet high, and their shores loaded with raft-wood, which was then floating down the bay in immense quantities, had a most desolate appearance. In the morning we found ourselves in the Gulf of Mexico, but within sight of land, and with a number of pelicans flying around us. As the wind was fair, we stood out longer than usual on the outside of a chain of low flat islands, which forms with the main land a channel, through which, vessels drawing not more than six feet water, may reach New-Orleans by Lake Borgne and Lake Portchartrain, without entering the Mississippi. On the 5th, we saw the sun rise and set with cloudless splendour in the Gulf of Mexico; and I could not help reflecting how ill the moral darkness of this abandoned region accorded with the clear sky which was spread over us, and the glassy surface of the vast expanse in which we were encircled. On the 6th we sailed between the islands I have alluded to and the main shore, which was a dead flat, of little interest, except towards the beautiful bay of St. Louis, to which the more opulent inhabitants of Louisiana retire during the sickly season. The shores are for the most part covered with fine forests, which stretch to the water's edge. Indeed it is observed by Derby, that considerably more than one half of all that part of the United States south of latitude 35 deg. east of the Mississippi river, and bounded south by the Gulf of Mexico and Florida, is covered with pines. It is a common opinion in many parts of America, that these pine lands are incapable of cultivation, and are

destined to continue for ever in their native condition. The fallacy of this opinion has been demonstrated by successful experiments in the northern states, where verdure and fertility now cover large tracts which had been thus hastily condemned to perpetual sterility. We had beautiful weather, and, after coasting along what is now the State of Mississippi, but was formerly part of West Florida, and passing the mouths of Raseagoala and Pearl rivers, we reached New-Orleans early on the 7th. There was nothing interesting in our passengers. One of them was from Bermuda. His ship and cargo were seized at Mobile, because he had brought a black servant, without a certificate of his parents' freedom. As the boy was originally from New-Orleans, his master was obliged to go thither to obtain the certificate, before he could release his vessel. I mention this merely as an instance of the vigilance with which the smuggling of slaves is watched; and I am happy to say, from all I can learn from the inhabitants of Florida on St. Mary's river, and from the commanders of vessels on that coast and in the Gulf of Mexico, that I believe slave-smuggling in this quarter is at present extremely limited. The piratical establishment at Galveston, which was one of the principal channels for the introduction of Slaves, has solicited and obtained permission to sail out of the Gulf.

My impressions of New-Orleans were of the most uncomfortable kind; but they were a little relieved by the beautiful orange-groves in the suburbs, and far more by the extensive meadows of

deep rich wild clover through which we approached the town from the Bayou St. John, after sailing through Lake Borgne and Lake Portchartrain. These meadows, with the numerous herds of cattle which were grazing in them, had a more English appearance than any views we have yet seen; the absence of a rich green surface, clear of wood, being to us one of the most constant peculiarities of the American scenery through which we have yet passed. The prairies were the nearest approach to our home views.—It was not until I had crossed the city, that I first caught a view of the noble Mississippi. It was in flood, rising and flowing rapidly, but majestically, to the ocean. I cannot describe my sensations when I found myself actually on the banks of a river which had so long and so powerfully impressed my imagination. At dinner we had the water of the river in the decanters; and, muddy as it was till it had deposited its copious sediment, I looked at it with no common interest, and was elated with the idea that I was drinking water from a stream which, rising in the northern regions in the same Table-lands from which more wintry currents flow to Hudson's Bay and Niagara, and actually freezing near its source on the bottom of the canoes in the middle of summer, traverses this western continent for nearly 3000 miles, and after watering the orange groves and sugar plantations of Louisiana, and spreading itself far and wide over an immense delta of alluvion, falls into the Gulf of Mexico under nearly the same latitude as the Nile.

After perambulating the city, my former unpleasant impressions returned in their full force, and were confirmed by every day's residence.

The first thing that struck me was the French names of most of the streets, an old French Theatre, and an old French or Spanish fort. The advertisements on most of the shops were in French: many of the shopkeepers spoke French only; and the dress of the ladies was French altogether. The population is of every complexion, from the most beautiful white and red, through all the various shades of brown and yellow, to jet black. Indeed, perhaps no city in the world exhibits a more miscellaneous collection of inhabitants:—Americans from every state, from Maine to Georgia; English, French, Spanish, Creole, Indian, and African;—and it is not always, as you will readily believe, the best of their respective nations who have chosen to place themselves on the forlorn hope in this pestilential region. My stay was too short to authorize me to pretend to describe the state of society. I will only say, therefore, that the impressions which I carried with me from England and the Northern States, were by no means effaced by the opportunity of actual observation.

I took up my abode at Madame ——'s, where there were several gentlemen whom I knew, Judge ——, General ——, and a Captain of the American Navy, whose liberal sentiments, general information, and gentlemanly manners, would have done no discredit to the captain of a British frigate. My quarters, therefore might have been very agreeable, if my landlady, who keeps by far

the best boarding-house in New-Orleans, had been of a different character. Unfortunately, my room adjoined hers; and I heard her at four or five o'clock in the morning, calling for her cow-skin to square the preceding day's account with her Negroes. She was in bulk like a large English landlady; and I have heard the heavy blows of her brawny arm, and the piercing cries of the wretched slave succeed each other till she was completely exhausted. Had I had reason to believe that I should avoid such disgusting occurrences by removing, I would have left immediately; but such exhibitions were too general to be escaped.

I have no doubt, however, that the moral aspect of the town is improving, although the gambling houses are sanctioned by Government, who farm out a general license to an individual, to be subdivided at pleasure—with more consistency certainly with the manners and institutions of the community, than can be pleaded by the patronizers of *our* public lotteries. The rapid prosperity of this rising city, is now attracting a class of settlers far more respectable than those whom bankrupt fortunes or battered characters formerly drove thither. There are now two Protestant congregations; and I have no doubt the whole structure of society will undergo a rapid change: but until lately public worship was generally neglected; and licentiousness, profaneness, and disregard to the Sabbath, have hitherto found there but too congenial a soil. Let those who feel any doubts of the efficacy of the public ordinances of religion, or of the necessity of missionary efforts.

once see to what depths of depravity human nature will slide even in civilized society, where there is no regular annunciation of Christian truths, and then declare if they are of the opinion that they can reconcile their indifference to the diffusion of religious instruction with an enlightened interest in the improvement of the human race.

I left New-Orleans on the 19th, in a steam-boat, and arrived here, 320 miles, early on the 23d, after a most interesting sail through the very singular country through which the Mississippi flows. For many miles above New-Orleans, the banks of the river are enlivened with cotton and sugar plantations, and ornamented with the beautiful gardens and orange-groves which surround the neat white frame-houses of the planters. The plantations stretch from half a mile to a mile into the forests with which they are hemmed in; and they are formed on the rich borders of alluvial soil, which have arisen from copious depositions of the river, while within the reach of its inundations. They are now protected from the annual flood by a large artificial embankment, thirty or forty yards from the natural bank of the river, four to six feet high, and six to nine feet broad at the base. This bank extends 130 miles on the eastern, and about 170 on the western side of the river; and its preservation is secured by the obligation which the law imposes on every individual to maintain in good repair that part which is before his own land—an obligation which is enforced by commissioners who are appointed to inspect and direct repairs. A breach in the sorce. or a *crevasse*, as it is called.

diffuses general alarm. Mr. Brackenbury thus describes it. "The waters rush from the river with indescribable impetuosity, with a noise like the roaring of a cataract, boiling and foaming, and bearing every thing before them. Like the breaking out of a fire in a town, it excites universal consternation. Every employment is abandoned for miles above and below, and every exertion is made night and day to stop the breach, which is sometimes successful, but more frequently the hostile element is suffered to take its course." In this case, "it sweeps with wide inundation over the most valuable tracts of cultivated ground, on which houses and buildings of every description are erected, and destroys in one moment, the improvement of years." Large tracts of waste country are annually flooded. It is estimated that below the thirty-third degree of north latitude, to the mouth of the Mississippi, a distance of about 600 miles, the country liable to be overflowed, is nearly 12,000, and the country actually submerged annually, 5000 miles.

One great peculiarity of the river, are its numerous outlets. The first of these which we observed was La Fourche, about 80 miles above New-Orleans. About thirty or forty miles higher is the Plaquemine, seventy yards wide. But the main outlet is the Atchafalaya, which leaves the Mississippi, about 200 miles above New-Orleans. It is said to be more than 100 yards wide where it diverges from the parent stream, and 180 miles in length; and the tides, which are never more than two and a half, or three feet in the gulf, flow

up the Atchafalaya, 150 miles. At a very short distance above this outlet, (I think both were in sight at once,) the Red River, after a course of 1500 miles, pours its broad stream into the Mississippi. The confluence of these two rivers is beautiful. There is little doubt that the Atchafalaya once formed the channel of the Red River, which then preserved its identity till it reached the ocean. Indeed one very peculiar feature of the country bordering on this part of the Mississippi, is the number of old channels which the river has left as memorials of its former course. It winds extremely; one bend of fifty miles bringing us within four miles, and another of thirty-five miles within one mile of our former course. It thus forms numerous peninsulas, till the neck of land becomes so narrow, that the river forces its way through, leaving its former circuitous channel either to be choked up with raft-wood, or to become a *lagune* of stagnant water, with which perhaps it again communicates during the floods. Where it has changed its course less suddenly, and new land has been gradually added to the side from which it has receded, it is curious to observe the comparative height of the new trees, rising in regular gradation from two or three, to sixty or seventy feet high. Hemmed in by the dark forests which overshadow the river on both sides when you have passed the limits of cultivation, you are not sorry to have the deep solemnity of the scene relieved occasionally by a younger growth. At night especially, sitting alone on deck, as I often did till morning, the solemnity would have been overpowering without the variety

afforded by those natural plantations, and the wooded islands which stud the lakes formed by the expanding current and sinuosities of this majestic stream. We had an unclouded moon while we ascended the Mississippi ; but her beams scarcely penetrated the forest, the dark recesses of which were often illuminated by beautiful fire-flies, sailing silently on the "liquid air," like the planetary orbs which we saw reflected from the bosom of the river.

During the day, many of the party amused themselves with shooting at the alligators, which abounded, and which we continually passed, as they were either swimming slowly on the surface, or lying half out of the water on logs of wood, which they much resemble. We employed ourselves also in looking out for what the navigators call *planters* and *sawyers*. The former are trees which, floating down the river, have fixed themselves at the bottom, with their tops pointing up the stream, and often concealed under water. The sawyers are trees, which have carried with them a large mass of earth when detached from the bank, by the weight of which the roots are kept at the bottom of the river, while the top pointing down the stream, preserves a vibrating motion, as the pressure of the current, and the reaction of the weight at the roots, alternately elevate and depress it. Bradbury observes, "that the period of its oscillatory motion is sometimes of several minutes duration. The steersman this instant sees all the surface of the river smooth and tranquil, and the next he is struck with horror on seeing the sawyer

before him raising his terrific arms, and so near that neither strength nor skill can save his vessel from destruction."

On my arrival at Natchez, I took up my abode at a comfortable boarding-house in the upper town; the lower town being a perfect Wapping, crowded with Kentucky boats, and an odd miscellaneous population of back-woodsmen and others from the western country. At the boarding-house, I found the Governor of the State; a worthy old gentleman of handsome property, and of a highly respectable family in Virginia. He took his meals at the common table, where there was a promiscuous assemblage of merchants, agents, and clerks; and I kept my letter of introduction to him in my pocket two days, little aware that I was in his company. I mention the circumstance, as a trait of the manners of this part of the country, which surprised me a little, as I had met at Washington Governors of other states, with far less solid titles to personal and hereditary respectability, aristocratical enough in their behaviour. When I had delivered my letters to him, he insisted on sending his servant and horses with me in my calls on some of the principal planters in the neighbourhood, for the roads through the forests are intricate, and you seldom meet any one to set you right, if you take a wrong direction.

Our boarding-house is near the Mississippi, which is now falling a foot every day; the spring flood having reached its height while I was at New-Orleans; but the flood from the Missouri has not yet arrived. Nearly opposite the win-

dows of the room in which I am writing, the river takes one of its noblest sweeps, under what are called the Bluffs, from which you look down over it upon a dense forest, which stretches to the horizon, and in which the sun seems to extinguish his latest rays. On these Bluffs I generally take my evening walk, and please myself with the idea that a few hours previously you may have been watching the setting of this glorious luminary behind our favourite hills; for in

“ These lands, beneath Hesperian skies,
Our daylight sojourns till your morrow rise.”

Indeed there is something in the vicinity of Natchez which perpetually reminds me of home. The thick clover, the scattered knolls with their wood-crowned summits, differing only from those most familiar to me in the magnificence of the foliage with which they are shaded, and the neat husbandry of the intervening plantations, give the whole country the appearance of an English park. An Irishman with whom I was riding last night remarked, that the roads strongly resemble those through the large domains in Ireland. I leave you to make due allowance for our anxiety to trace every little resemblance to our native land. At this distance from home we are not solicitous by too accurate a discrimination to dispel an illusion, if it be one, which affords us so much pleasure. You remember Humboldt's beautiful observation: “ If amid this exotic nature, the bellow of a cow or the roaring of a bull were heard from the depth of a valley, the remembrance of our country was awakened suddenly at the sound.

They were like distant voices resounding from beyond the ocean, and with magical force transporting us from one hemisphere to the other." But the gigantic plane and maple trees, a large proportion of the seventy or eighty different species of the American oak, the Sassafras, the Hickory, the Pride of India, the Catalpa, the Liquid Amber *Styraciflua*, the *Liriodendron Tulipifera*, above all, the *Magnolia Grandiflora*, one hundred feet high, with its deep green leaves and broad white flowers expanded like a full-blown rose, remind us that we are far from home, while at night the brilliancy of the stars, the delicious fragrance of the surrounding woods, and especially the fireflies which sparkle on every side, seem almost to transport us into the regions of eastern romance. We are also often gratified with the sight of many beautiful birds which are strangers to us, and sometimes catch a glimpse of the wild deer. A day or two since, I rode close past a rattlesnake in the woods which we afterwards killed, and cut off its rattle. It was about four and a half feet long. There is much in the plain friendly manners of many of the planters in this neighbourhood with which I have been greatly pleased; and if slavery were banished from their domestic and agricultural economy, I should envy their retired, unostentatious, and independent mode of existence.

The men are generally hospitable and well informed as respects the common concerns of life, and the women modest and obliging, although cold in their manners at first acquaintance. Ma-

ny persons with incomes of 2000*l.* to 3000*l.* per annum, live something in the style of our second and third rate farmers; the White joiners and artificers whom they may be employing eating with them, and forming part of the family. If you take them by surprise, they make you welcome, but offer no apology for their common fare. They generally, however, offer you a bed; and if you remain till the next day, assiduously furnish you with a most plentiful table. I visited an old couple who had settled nine children in their neighbourhood, (a term which here often comprises a large district,) giving each of them about 1000 acres of land and a stock of Negroes, and retaining for themselves only just sufficient for their wants, and to supply a little occupation. In the higher ranks of the plain planters, you find a state of society which I think must strongly resemble that of our second-rate country gentlemen or yeomanry seventy or eighty years since; the females being brought up strictly, with little knowledge, and great attention to personal neatness and propriety, and the men filling alternately the situation of soldiers, justices, and planters. There are, however, some families in the neighbourhood of Natchez, who live much in the style of the higher classes in England, possessing polished manners, and respectable literary acquisitions. Their houses are spacious and handsome, and their grounds are laid out like a forest park. In the society of some of these families I passed a few days very agreeably; and while listening to some of our own favourite melodies on the harp

and piano forte, I could have fancied myself on the banks of the Lune or the Mersey, rather than on those of the Mississippi.

The younger branches of many of these families have been educated, the young men at the colleges in the northern and eastern States: and the young ladies at boarding schools in Philadelphia; and some of them have formed matrimonial connexions with northern families. The tastes and feelings, as well as the accomplishments and literature, of the north, are thus gradually introduced into these southern regions; and one happy consequence is a degree of repugnance to the slave system on the part of some of the younger members of the community, and a growing desire to mitigate its severities on the part of others. Indeed, it is impossible that, assimilated as many of them must be in mental habits and moral feelings to the society in which they were educated, and in which slavery is an object of abhorrence, they should become reconciled at once to the violation of the natural rights of an unoffending class of their fellow-creatures, or capable of witnessing, without horror, the dreadful scenes occasionally exhibited here. The other day I passed a plantation whose owner a few months before had shot one of his slaves; and I conversed with a mild young planter, I think not twenty-two years old, who had also shot a slave within a year. The offence, in both cases, was stated to be running away, and no notice whatever was taken of either of the murders. A friend of mine who has resided here some time, told me that calling one morn-

ing on a most respectable planter, a man of eminently humane and amiable manners, he was surprised to see him sitting in his virandah with his gun in his hand, earnestly watching a slave in the court, who was looking up at him with great emotion, as if meditating an escape. By and by the overlooker came and took the slave away. My friend turned to the planter, and asked him what was the matter. He replied, "While I was at breakfast, that Negro came and delivered himself up, telling me that he had run away from my plantation, to avoid a threatened flogging, but that, as he had returned voluntarily, he hoped I would intercede with the overseer and get him excused. I told him I seldom interfered with the overseer, but would send and inquire into the circumstances. I sent for him, but the Negro in the mean time, apprehending the result, *looked* as if he would dart off into the woods. I ordered my gun, and if he had attempted to stir, I should have been obliged to shoot him dead; for there is no other way of enforcing obedience and subordination."

A very short time since, a cruel wealthy planter tried to work his slaves half the night as well as the whole of the day. They remonstrated with the overseer and became refractory, on which the planter undertook to control them.—He took his seat on the trunk of a tree to inspect them, with his *gun* in his hand, to shoot the first who should shrink. About twelve o'clock at night he fell asleep. The slaves seized his gun, shot him, and burnt him to ashes

on the fires which he was compelling them to make at midnight, of the wood they were employed in clearing. The case was so glaring, and the planter's cruelty so notorious, that the matter was hushed up as well as it could be, and the slaves were not punished; though while at Charleston I saw an account of a young Negro woman being burnt to death in South Carolina the week before, for murdering her master. An acquaintance of mine told me he was staying at the time at an inn in the neighbourhood, from which many of the company went to see the horrid spectacle. On so serious a subject as this, I am particularly guarded in mentioning to you nothing for which I have not unquestionable authority. The following fact rests on the evidence of my own senses. At a dining party of five or six gentlemen, I heard one of the guests, who is reputed a respectable planter, say, in the course of conversation, that he shot at one of his slaves last year with intent to kill him for running away; that on another occasion, finding that two runaway slaves had taken refuge on his plantation, he invited some of his friends out of town to dinner and a *frolic*; that after dinner they went out to hunt the slaves, and hearing a rustling in the reeds or canes in which they believed them to be concealed, "they all fired at their *game*, but unfortunately missed."—Does not your blood curdle? Yet he did not appear to be sensible that he was telling any thing extraordinary, nor to understand the silence of astonishment and horror. I could extend this sad recital: but why should

I harrow up your feelings? No incident could supply, indeed imagination could scarcely conceive, a more striking and decisive proof than is afforded by the last anecdote, of the degree to which the Negro is degraded in the public estimation. If any place is allotted to him in the scale of humanity, it is so low, and so distant from that occupied by his White brethren, as for the most part to exclude him from their sympathy. Experience proves, what reason would anticipate, that it is impossible to regard the same objects one moment as merchandise or cattle, and the next as fellow-men. The planter whom example and habit have led to believe, that he must render the Negro industrious by the use of the lash, and obedient by shooting the refractory, acts as you and I should probably have acted under similar circumstances; but is not that a horrible system which can so eradicate from men of education and liberal attainments all fellow-feeling for their kind? Nothing but familiarity with the degradation and sufferings of the Negroes could induce their White masters, many of whom are respectable, liberal, and humane in the ordinary relations of life, to tolerate the constant use of the *lash*. You continually see the overseer stalking about with his long lash whip, while the poor slaves are toiling with little rest or respite from morn to night—for here I observe they seem to work many hours longer than in Carolina. A friend told me, that while walking on the *Levéé* at New-Orleans, he has distinctly heard the successive lashes on the back of a poor slave on the oth-

er side of the Mississippi, which is half a-mile across. Another friend, who was riding with me here, told me, that one evening lately, spending a night at the house of a planter who was from home, the planter's wife said how glad she was to see him, as she was just going to flog one of her slaves, and he would be kind enough to save her the trouble. My friend, however, who was from the north, had not been accustomed to the office of executioner, and did not choose to take the hint, broad as it was. The lady resumed the subject before supper, and again as soon as the cloth was drawn, when my friend told her he could not think of complying with her wishes. She was extremely offended, and evinced her displeasure so openly, that had there been another house within a few miles, my friend would have withdrawn. Before bed-time, however, another traveller arrived, to whom the lady complained aloud of the ungentlemanly conduct of her first guest, who in common courtesy undertook to lacerate Cato's back, without inquiring into his offence. You will not wonder, after these details, that a White man considers it a degradation to eat with a Black one; and that if you take a White servant to a planter's or an inn, he is obliged to have separate meals; and, where it is practicable, an apartment separate from the Black servants. I remember that as the mail stopped in Virginia and Carolina, I generally saw a little White boy stuffed in one corner; and for a long time without being particularly struck with the circumstance. At last, something leading me to

inquire into the cause, I found there was a law prohibiting the mail bags being intrusted to a Black man. Now, as the coachmen were Negroes, this little lad was stuffed in, as a matter of form, as the nominal White guard of the United States mail bags!

And who are these fellow-creatures who are thus degraded below the level of their kind; and what is the crime which is visited with the atrocious cruelties I have detailed? Are they cannibals, who have invaded these peaceful regions to massacre and devour its inhabitants? monsters, whom no bonds of amity can restrain from rapine and devastation; whose hand is against every man, and every man's hand, therefore, of necessity and in self-defence, against them? No, my friend: they are the simple, docile, unoffending natives of a distant land, whose colour is their crime, and who have been torn from their kindred and their country by stratagem and force. They are the people of whom Mungo Park observes, after alluding to those traces of our general depravity which are to be found among the Negroes as much as in every other branch of the human family; "It is impossible for me to forget the disinterested charity and tender solicitude of many of these poor heathens, from the sovereign of Segoo to the poor women who received me at different times into their cottages when I was perishing with hunger, sympathized with me in my sufferings, relieved my distresses, and contributed to my safety. This acknowledgment, however, is more particularly due to the female part of the

nation. In all my wanderings and wretchedness, I have found *them* uniformly kind and compassionate; and I can truly say, as my predecessor, Mr. Ledyard, has eloquently said before me, To a Negro woman I never addressed myself in the language of decency and friendship without receiving a decent and friendly answer. If I was hungry and thirsty, wet or sick, they did not hesitate, like the men, to perform a generous action. In so free and kind a manner did they contribute to my relief, that if I was dry, I drank the sweetest draught, and if hungry, I eat the coarsest morsel, with a double relish."

These are the people whose progressive improvement will, I hope, ere long, vindicate the prophetic strain of one of our most beautiful and devotional poets:

—But his mother's eye
That gazes on him from her warmest sky,
Sees in his flexile limbs untutored grace,
Power on his forehead, beauty in his face;
Sees in his breast where lawless passions rove,
The heart of friendship, and the home of love;
Sees in his mind, where desolation reigns,
Fierce as his clime, uncultured as his plains,
A soil where virtue's fairest flowers *might* shoot,
And trees of science bend with glorious fruit;
Sees in his soul, involved in thickest night,
An emanation of eternal light,
Ordnained midst sinking worlds his dust to fire,
And shine for ever when the stars expire.

But I must lay down my pen for the present: though I have much more to say on the subject, and shall resume it before I leave this place.—I am, &c.

LETTER XV.

Natchez, State of Mississippi.

I NOW resume the afflicting subject on which I was addressing you. An extensive Slave-trade is carried on between these regions and those western parts of the States of Virginia, Maryland, the Carolinas, and Georgia, in which they find it more profitable to breed slaves for the market, than to raise the appropriate produce of the soil. I have already mentioned the numerous gangs which I continually fell in with in my route from the Atlantic to the Gulf of Mexico; and I have understood that from Maryland and Virginia alone, from 4000 to 5000 per annum are occasionally sent down to New-Orleans; a place, the very name of which seems to strike terror into the slaves and free Negroes of the Middle States. I was asked by a very intelligent free Black servant at the house where I lodged in Philadelphia, to tell him *really* whether the free Negroes whom the Colonization Society were professing to send to Africa, were not actually sent to New-Orleans; as it was said, that as soon as the vessel was out of sight of land, she steered her course thither; that he knew there were friends to the Negroes in the Society, who would not agree to deceive and sell them, but he thought they might be deceived themselves, and that nothing but this apprehension had prevented him from offering to go to Africa, as he much liked the plan.

Instances are not rare of Slaves destroying them-

selves, by cutting their throats, or other violent measures, to avoid being sent to Georgia or New-Orleans. An instance is on record of a poor Black woman, in the winter of 1815, torn from her husband, and destined for transportation to Georgia, throwing herself at daybreak from the third story of a tavern in Washington; and slaves are marched in open day in manacles, on their melancholy journey southward, past the very walls of the Capitol, where the Senate of this free Republic conduct their deliberations. Indeed, this trade between the Middle and Southern States has given rise to the horrible practice of kidnapping free black men, and has introduced into the heart of a country pre-eminently proud of her free institutions, a sort of tegria, or man-stealing, which one had hoped was confined to the deserts of Africa. It is stated by Mr. Torrey, an American physician, in a work which he has published, called "American Slave Trade," that under the existing laws, if a "Free Coloured man travels without passports certifying his right to his liberty, he is generally apprehended, and frequently plunged (with his progeny) into slavery by the operation of the laws." He observes; "The preceding facts clearly exemplify the safety with which the free-born (Black) inhabitants of the United States may be offered for sale, and sold, even in the metropolis of liberty, as oxen, even to those who are notified of the fact, and are perhaps convinced that they are free."

But why do I enter into these sad details? Is it to reproach America with a stain with which our own immaculate country is unsullied? I have not

so forgotten the nature of our own colonial bondage, nor the melancholy fact that Britons first introduced slavery on these western shores.

Is it, then, to place her capital in humiliating contrast with the metropolis of my native land? I can see no distinction in principle between selling a gang of Negroes in the city of Washington, and executing in the city of London a bill of sale of a similar gang in our own West India islands.

Is it then to stigmatize slave-holders in general, as lax in their moral principles, savage in their dispositions, and dead to every feeling of justice and humanity? Nothing is farther from my intention than to insinuate an imputation so belied by facts. Among those who have the misfortune to be slave-holders, I can number some of the most enlightened and benevolent individuals it has ever been my lot to know. And were it otherwise, can I forget that General Washington was a Virginian slave-holder?

Why, then, do I enter into these sad details? why but to disclose to you the innate deformity of slavery itself, the evils inherent in its very nature; to exhibit to your view the dark aspect which it assumes, and the horrid atrocities which it gives birth to, even under a government pre-eminently free; in the bosom of a young and enlightened people, and in the broad daylight and sunshine of benign and liberal institutions. And is this a system which England and America, pre-eminent among the nations, can justify and uphold? Is this a system which they are willing to perpetuate? Is this a system which in our day and generation, a

day and generation of Bible Societies and Missionary Societies, we can be content to hand down to posterity without one note of reprobation, one evidence of contrition, one step towards its ultimate, even though remote, extinction? Do we glory in having abolished our Slave-trade, and shall we smile with complacency on slavery itself? Shall we, the younger sons of our highly favoured island, glorious in arts and arms, resplendent with literature and science, but yet more resplendent with the flame of philanthropy, and most of all with the bright light of Christianity,—shall we deem it sufficient to glow with admiration of the labours of our illustrious compatriots, instead of stretching forward to catch their mantle, imbibe their spirit, and humbly, but resolutely, follow up their work?

If to reduce the African to slavery was a violation of his natural rights, to hold him in bondage one moment longer than is necessary to prepare him for freedom, is to perpetuate and participate in the injustice. And what though the sacrifice should be a costly one, and the task of emancipation perplexing and difficult? no sacrifice is so costly as the sacrifice of justice and humanity; no expectation more unfounded and puerile than that of returning without pain and effort from the dark and devious labyrinths of error.

“Facilis descensus Averni :
Sed revocare gradum superasque evadere ad auras,
Hoc opus ; hic labor est. ———.”

But even if principle did not require the sacrifice, an enlightened view of self-interest would suggest it. If the Gordian knot be not *untied*, it will be

cut. "I tremble for my country," said the late President, Mr. Jefferson; "I tremble for my country, when I reflect that God is just."

And who that views with a dispassionate eye the state of our West India colonies, and of the slaveholding states of America, can imagine that the present system of things there can be of very long duration? That emancipation is a most difficult and perplexing problem, I readily admit; but that it is visionary and impracticable no one can maintain who believes slavery to be at variance with the laws of our Creator, and obedience to his laws the duty of his creatures. And are there no instances on record to prove its practicability? none in the contemporaneous history of the South American provinces? none in the annals of the United States? none in the gradual revolutions of society in Europe? none in the progress of liberty in Great Britain herself?

In the New-England States, once polluted with slavery, not a trace now remains of that odious system; and even so long since as the year 1770, in a suit on the part of several Slaves in Massachusetts against their masters for their freedom, and for wages for past services, the Negroes obtained a verdict, which gave a death-blow to slavery there. In New-York and Pennsylvania, emancipation has been proceeding systematically for years, and in three or four years the fixed period will arrive when it will be complete. In other parts of America, slavery exhibits itself in those intermediate and transitive states, which are at

once a gradual approach to freedom, and an excellent preparation for it.

In England, slavery, which once blackened her fair fields, “was not ploughed up by revolution, or mown down by the scythe of legislative abolition, but was plucked up, stalk by stalk, by the progressive hand of private and voluntary enfranchisement. Slavery ceased in England only because the last Slave at length obtained his manumission, or died without a child. Why, then, should not the future extinction of slavery in the colonies be accomplished by the same happy means which formerly put an end to it in England—namely, by a benign, though insensible, revolution in opinions and manners; by the encouragement of particular manumissions, and the progressive melioration of the condition of the Slaves, till it should slide insensibly into freedom?” Not that the planters should be required to manumit their Negroes, especially on a sudden, without compensation. It would be robbery, under the garb of mercy, to compel one class of individuals to atone for the injustice of a nation. But the planters may, and ought, to be required to adopt such plans for improving the social, moral, and intellectual condition of their slaves, as may, and will, facilitate their ultimate emancipation. That much remains to be done in this respect *in America*, is evident from the facts I have detailed from a cursory glance at the Code Noir, and from the general neglect and discouragement (not, however, without many exceptions) of education and religious instruction among the Negroes. That still *more* remains to be done

in our own *West-India islands*, is evident from the non-increase, or scarcely perceptible increase, of the numbers of the Negroes, while in the country from which I am writing, in a climate much less favourable, and in occupations at least as deleterious, they multiply at the rate of three to five per cent. per annum. The annual returns now making will show the precise ratio.

Last Sunday at the church (till lately there was no church here,) two Methodist ministers from Ohio preached, having stopped here on their way down the river to New-Orleans with produce. At the close of the service one of them rose, and said, that they did not come there to interfere with the institutions of society, or to excite commotion or confusion, but that it was their wish to address the Black population in the evening, if the planters should make no objection; that they knew it would not be generally agreeable to the planters, but they called upon them solemnly to consider the dreadful responsibility they would incur if they prevented their Negroes from hearing the message sent by our gracious Creator to the whole family of the human race. A deep silence followed, no planter opposed, and, to the surprise of many present, the ministers were allowed to preach to the Slaves.

I lately saw in the newspapers a notice from the mayor of one of the principal cities in the South, presenting an extract from the law which prohibits the instruction of Slaves, expressing his regret to observe that this law had been infringed upon in several instances lately, by teaching the Slaves

to read and write; and declaring his intention to inflict the penalty if the offence should be repeated. And yet in the Northern States, among the most astonishing objects which I saw were the schools in which some hundreds of free Black Africans were receiving the elements of a somewhat liberal education, and where they exhibited both industry and intelligence.

I am sure I shall not have wearied, however much I may have afflicted you, with the foregoing communications; but it is time I should now turn to other subjects. You ask me to inform you at what price a planter can afford to sell his cotton. To this question it is difficult to reply without entering into many particulars; since, paradoxical as it may appear, the expenses of production depend in a great measure on the current value of cotton, and follow the more material fluctuations in its market price. Thus, when cotton rises, the value of negroes advances in about the same proportion. Indian corn, their principal article of subsistence, follows, but at a little distance, because it can be imported from other states; and land at a still greater, because almost every planter possesses more than he actually cultivates. Corresponding effects are produced by a fall of cotton in foreign markets. It is evident, therefore, that a planter may realize at very different prices of cotton the same interest in his capital, understanding by his capital the sum which his land and Negroes would command at the respective periods, or which it would be necessary to invest in land and Negroes, in order to produce the same

quantity of cotton. Alterations in the value of cotton, therefore, affect *the value of his capital*, but not the rate of interest, which he derives from it; and fifteen cents per lb., when the value is reduced one half, may afford him the average prices of stock in the country in which he resides, as certainly as thirty cents before the reduction. The expense of clothing the Negroes is almost the only element in the cost of production of cotton, which does not follow its fluctuations in value, and this is too insignificant to require notice. Could land and Negroes, therefore, in any particular country be applied to no other purpose than the production of the subsistence of the labourer and of cotton, the planter might afford to sell his cotton, or, in other words, have an inducement to cultivate it, at any price (three or four cents, for instance) at which his crop would leave a surplus after paying the expense of clothing his Negroes; a sale of his land and Negroes being on this supposition impracticable, and his only choice lying between a small profit and none. This, however, is no where *absolutely* the case; and in order, therefore, to judge of the probability of an increase or diminution in the culture of cotton, it is of less consequence to inquire into the cost of production at any particular time (which may be easily ascertained, the items which compose the cost of production being taken at their current rates) than to ascertain the lowest price at which cotton would yield as large a return as other articles which might be substituted in its place. The price of other articles, therefore, enters essentially into the ques-

tion, and any permanent rise or fall in the price of these would have the same effect in increasing or diminishing the growth of cotton, as a rise or fall in the price of cotton itself. For instance, if indigo at one dollar per lb. and cotton at fifteen cents per lb. afforded an equal remuneration to the planter, it might be a matter of indifference to him which he should cultivate; but if indigo permanently advanced to two dollars, or cotton permanently fell to ten cents per lb., the culture of indigo would be materially increased, and that of cotton proportionably diminished. Now to apply this to the actual situation of the United States—In South Carolina and Georgia, the principal articles of culture at present are rice, a little tobacco, Indian corn, and cotton. The tobacco and rice lands *are not generally* suitable for the culture of cotton, and it is not likely that any probable variation in their relative value would lead to any material alteration in the relative extent of their cultivation. The soil, however, most suitable for the culture of cotton, is very congenial to the growth of Indian corn. If, therefore, we could conceive of a foreign demand for Indian corn so extensive as to sustain it permanently at a price which would leave a greater profit than the culture of cotton, the cultivation of the latter would no doubt decline. This, however, cannot be anticipated, as the enormous quantity which would be raised would soon depress the price, and the foreign markets would ultimately be supplied by those states which possess as great, or greater advantages, for the cultivation of Indian corn, and are less

adapted for the production of other staples. It does not, therefore, appear probable (the cultivation of indigo having been abandoned, and that of hemp easily overdone,) that there are articles of produce which in Georgia or Carolina could be substituted for cotton, even though that article should decline considerably. It is possible, however, to transport the Negroes to other states; and it is necessary, therefore, to inquire whether any culture in the neighbouring states would afford an inducement to migration in case of a material decline in the price of cotton. Sugar, and perhaps sugar only, does afford such an inducement; but its growth is limited by a certain latitude, and there is a regular supply of Slaves from Virginia and North Carolina not previously employed in the cultivation of cotton, and more than equal to the annual demand for the culture of sugar. Some of the spare lands on the plantations is generally applied to the growth of Indian corn, for the subsistence of the Slaves. Their subsistence on a cotton plantation may be regarded as costing the planter little or nothing, since his Negroes could plant one third more cotton than they can pick. The Indian corn, therefore, is obtained from land which would otherwise be unoccupied, and labour which would otherwise be unemployed. A very high price of cotton, indeed, will tempt the planter to buy his Indian corn, and plant more cotton; but this requires a degree of cruelty, in overworking the Slaves in the picking season, which many are unwilling to exercise, and most are ashamed to avow. Many of the

small planters told me that they were always uncomfortable when cotton was high; as they put their families, as it were, on short allowance, and adopted a system of saving and scrambling, for the inconveniences of which their profits did not compensate. A very low price of cotton might, on the other hand, lessen the stimulus to exertion and privation; but the planters are very generally in debt, and are therefore compelled to activity in order to preserve their estates in their own hands. Those who wish an idle agricultural life, remove to the *cultivated* parts of the western country.

It is one of the inconveniences to which slaveholders are exposed (especially where the range of the articles to which the climate is favourable is limited) that they are constantly liable to a great extinction of capital by a reduction in the foreign market of the value of the articles they produce. The cost of production in that country, which can supply the articles at the cheapest rate and in sufficient quantity, fixes the price to which all the others must conform. Now if that price be insufficient to remunerate the cultivator by *free labour*, he discontinues the cultivation, and dismisses his labourers. The cultivator by *slave labour*, on the contrary, being compelled still to maintain his Slaves, continues also to employ them; but the value of the articles being reduced, the value of *man*, the machine which produces them, is depreciated nearly in the same proportion, and this depreciation may proceed so far, that the labour of a Slave is worth so little more

than his maintenance as to afford no recompence to his owner for care and superintendence. In the progress towards this state of things, manumissions would multiply rapidly, for they would cost little; experiments would be made favourable to the freedom of the Negro; many Slaves would become free labourers, and slavery would verge towards its termination.

Does not this view of the subject throw a gleam of hope on the dark picture of slavery? If the free labour of the East can produce cotton, rice, and sugar as cheaply as has been stated, may it not undermine, and gradually exterminate, the slave labour of the West? The indigo of Carolina, long the staple of that state, has for many years been entirely superseded by the cheaper indigo of India. Upland cotton in Carolina and Georgia has fallen, in less than four years, from thirty to fifteen cents per lb. and principally by competition, actual and prospective, with the cotton of Surat and Bengal. Sugar is now resorted to wherever the planter has sufficient capital, and his estate is within the latitude favourable to its production; but for this article legislative support has already been secured by protecting duties.

Nor is it from free labour only that the West-India and American planters have much to fear. They have already most formidable competitors in those colonies into which the importation of Slaves is still admitted. But I will not pursue the subject. I will only add, that the great revolu-

tions which the natural course of events is silently effecting in the West, are calculated to rivet the attention both of the planter and of the philanthropist, and to inspire each of them with feelings of the most intense interest, though not a little differing in their complexion.

I must not forget to tell you, long as my letter is, that this place derives its name from the Natchez, a celebrated tribe of Indians extinguished some time since with circumstances of peculiar cruelty. Dr. Robertson describes them as distinguished from all the other southern tribes by hereditary rank, and the *worship of the sun*. The Choctaws, of whom there are nearly 20,000 in this state, often pay us a visit. I have not mentioned, either, that in consequence of the fever last year, more than half of the families seem to be in mourning; and instances have been mentioned to me of great generosity on the part of the planters towards those whom the ravages of death have deprived of their natural protectors, and left orphans and destitute.

We hope to set out in a few days on horseback, through the Indian country, to Richmond, in Virginia.

LETTER XVI.

Richmond, Virginia, 20th June, 1820.

My letter of the 25th of May, brought us to the north-west corner of the state of Mississippi, or rather to the boundary between that state and Alabama. I propose now to give you a sketch of

our tour from the state of Mississippi across the Alleghany mountains to the capital of Virginia, from which I am writing. My narrative will be chiefly an itinerary; for, as I cannot consent to fabricate adventures at pleasure, I must give you the memoranda of my journal just as they occurred. I am not, however, without hopes, that if you will trace our progress with your map before you, my letter will at least convey to you a tolerable idea of an important tract of country, on the condition and future prospects of which the philanthropist, the politician, and the Christian, may speculate with considerable interest. I bargain with you before hand, to expect only a list of names and dates, of breakfastings and sleepings; so that all that you get in addition, whether in the shape of adventure or disquisition, you are to consider as pure gain.

After passing the boundary line which I have just mentioned, we were exhilarated and delighted with an extensive view, and a distant horizon, after travelling some hundred miles in a deep forest, almost without seeing the tops of the thickly interlacing trees. In the course of the day, we passed, not without regret, from the Chickasaw nation, into the White settlements, and towards evening reached the Big Spring, a little village of log cabins, on a beautiful clear stream. Here we cut the military road from New-Orleans to Nashville, and ought to have remained all night, but were anxious to make our forty miles, by proceeding six miles farther on a new road, to a house where we were told travellers were receiv-

ed. When we arrived there, however, after dark, we found we had been misinformed, as it was the residence of rather a genteel family, and there seemed to be a party there. The gentleman said something about house room; but not repeating it, or pressing us, I determined to proceed two miles farther, where he stated they did take in travellers. After some difficulty we found the house; but the owners said we had been misinformed: indeed he had only one room for his family and guests, male and female. I begged him to sell us some corn for our horses, and bread for ourselves, as we had not eaten since breakfast, and said we would then lie in the woods. He, however, gave us nothing more substantial than civil words, but assured us that a little farther on we should come to Col. —'s, who received travellers regularly. I told him we began to be a little incredulous; but as there was no alternative, with horses tired, and at least as much disappointed as ourselves, we proceeded, not exquisitely good humoured, to the Colonel's, who was preparing to retire to bed. He said he did not receive travellers, except when, like ourselves, they were without resources; that four had just arrived in a similar situation, and that he could not give us beds, but that he would cheerfully do the best he could. He then ordered us an excellent supper, had his carriage horses turned out to give us stable room, and would have contrived to provide us a lodging; but I could not think of intruding on him, and insisted on lying out as we had done the two preceding nights. His servant made us a large fire

under a tree, and we slept very soundly. His charge was moderate: and you will perhaps be surprised that he made any charge at all; but in these newly settled countries, it is the custom for almost every family to receive travellers, and to make a charge, this being, in many cases, the only way of disposing of the surplus of their Indian corn. The few families, however, on this road, seemed not to like the plan, and to be afraid of making a beginning, lest they should be overrun, and our Colonel shared in these feelings, though too warm-hearted to turn a stranger from his doors at night. In the state of Mississippi towards Natchez, strangers are received generally without charge; but this custom, of which we have heard so much, is disappearing fast, and is, in fact, congenial only with a particular stage of society. Where houses are thinly scattered, and there is too little travelling to afford encouragement to an inn, strangers may be taken in either with or without charges; and the latter may frequently be incompatible with the circumstances, though agreeable to the wishes of the owner, in this situation, persons are obliged to keep houses of entertainment in self-defence, however much the practice may infringe on their family comfort, and a habit will be acquired of expecting admission into private houses, even when necessity can be no longer pleaded. There is something pleasing enough in the reflection, that every house on the road is open to you as your home; but on the other hand, it is neither agreeable nor desirable for families to feel that their retirement may be

broken in upon, at any hour, by any noisy fellows who happen to be passing by. Judge ——, who lives near point Coupee, told us that he has adopted an excellent plan: he has had an inn opened near his house, since the road has been more generally travelled, and he sends his servants there with all strangers who beat up his quarters, with orders to defray the expenses of those who are not evidently in a situation to do it for themselves.

We breakfasted the following morning at the house of a very respectable couple, who had removed from Virginia. We were now in lands lately ceded by the Indians, and sold, I think, only in February, 1818. They have been settled less than two years; yet within a few miles of the house, there were no less than five schools, and four places of worship. In the course of the day we crossed the Tennessee river, just above the shoals: it was half a mile broad, overhung with beautiful trees, and studded with wooded islands. Where it expanded toward the shoals, it reminded me very much of our Cumberland lakes. Steam-boats come up from New-Orleans to the shoals. We took up our abode for the night a few miles on the other side, at a prosperous looking farm, which, a year and a half since, was a wilderness. The landlord is an intelligent active man, from Virginia, who keeps his carriage. Near the house he had one field, of one hundred acres in Indian corn, and another of one hundred in cotton; he cut down the first trees in January, 1819, and last year had a small crop of cotton and

Indian corn. The husbandry of both would generally do credit to our first-rate farmers; and Indian corn is far the most beautiful crop I ever saw. I was surprised at the rapidity with which the new lands have been brought into cultivation. The fields are generally from eighty to one hundred and twenty acres in extent, cleared of a fair proportion of their timber, and the remainder girdled. The land is remarkably good, sometimes producing one hundred bushels of Indian corn per acre, though fifty in some states is a large crop. Our host told me, that he has only to cultivate half the land for his family supply of Indian corn, which he required in Virginia; and it grows so much more rapidly in its early stages, that it renders far less labour necessary. Money is extremely scarce throughout the country, and hardly to be raised at all. Lands which sold at the public sales at 30 cents, would not bring 15 in many instances; and many are abandoning the idea of paying the second instalment, satisfied that they shall save money, by forfeiting the one-twentieth earnest, and the first instalment of one fourth, and buying their own or other forfeited lands at public sales. Great exertions are making to induce Government to remit part of the price.

Nothing can appear more delightful and independent than the situation of those who are comfortably settled on their new lands. Surrounded by beautiful woods, and cultivating the richest soils, they raise almost every thing they want with little labour. Many make their own cotton and woollen clothes, from cotton grown, and sheep

reared, by themselves, and their own soap, candles, and sugar. They also raise large quantities of sheep, pigs, and cattle in the woods, with no other trouble than putting a bell round their neck, and occasionally visiting them. Those who want to make money, must have recourse to slavery and cotton planting.

On the 27th, we proceeded on our route at half past four in the morning, passing through Athens, a *town* of twenty or thirty log cabins, to Cambridge, a *village* of four or five, where we breakfasted. Our host was from South Carolina. He said there were several ministers and a school in the neighbourhood; that at a camp-meeting of some *seceders* from the Methodists a week before, four thousand people were collected. We passed in the afternoon through Huntsville, a small town, full of stores, or shops. It is finely situated near the foot of the spurs of the Cumberland mountain. We then proceeded to a comfortable inn, commanding a delightful view. Here I had proposed to spend Sunday; but found our landlord such a sporting character, and was told the house was such a Sunday lounge, that I determined to proceed to one of a different stamp. While resting our horses, we saw a Negro boy, of ten years old, nearly killed in a fall from one of his master's, race-horses which he was training with another rode by one of his companions. It is very common to have private courses, and racers of the English breed. Our host of the preceding night was training three.

We set off again by moonlight, and reached

our resting place about midnight after the family were gone to bed. It was a pleasing family to spend Sunday with: but there was no regular service, except on three Sundays out of four, and this was the fourth. I found there was a school in the neighbourhood; indeed this district has been settled ten years.

We were now in the high road from Huntsville to Knoxville, which is really a *road*, the Kentucky trace being little more than a broad grass path. We left our hosts on the 29th, and in a few miles crossed into Tennessee. At night we reached the foot of the Cumberland mountain, taking rather a short cut to Knoxville by a horse path, which passes by Brainerd, one of the missionary settlements among the Cherokees.

We began to ascend the Cumberland mountain on the 30th, about noon. After riding and walking for two miles up a steep rocky path, we reached the summit and travelled on a level road for nearly sixteen miles, when we descended very precipitously into the valley on the other side. The trees which overhung the road, afforded us a tolerable protection from the rain which was falling at the time; but they also contracted the prospect and prevented our seeing, except at intervals, the clouds which were rolling beautifully along the distant hills: still our ride was very agreeable by the fragrance of the woods, the freshness of the dripping leaves, and the sounds of the mountain torrents falling into the river below. At the foot of the mountain we found a solitary log-hut, where a very neat old woman, upwards of

seventy years old, was busily engaged in spinning. She gave me a polite reception, and her manners and conversation would really have surprised you. In her chimney-corner was a young clergyman from New-York, who had been visiting Brainerd, and whose offers to conduct family worship were thankfully accepted by our hostess and her son. This young divine was making a long tour through the wilder parts of America to *harden* himself, as our hostess said before he took the charge of a regular congregation. It were to be wished that our clergy at home had also a little initiatory practice in the duties of their profession before they jump at once from the secular studies of a college, to the serious responsibilities of a cure of souls. We set off the next morning soon after four o'clock, and, after crossing the Sequotchy and the Tennessee rivers, entered the Cherokee nation, in the State of Georgia. We breakfasted at the house of a very intelligent farmer, whose wife was a half-breed Cherokee, and whose children were well-behaved, and better educated than those of some of our most respectable farmers. On his book-shelves I observed Robertson's America, the Spectator, and several periodical publications; a Bible, hymn-book, and other religious works. In the afternoon we crossed the Racoon and Look-out mountain; and for the first time I came to an open quarrel with my favourite woods, which prevented me from getting one tolerable view of the most magnificent scenery we have met with since our arrival in America. I was delighted, however, to find myself once more

in the midst of mountains, and would have ascended to the summit of the Look-out mountain by daybreak the following morning, if the weather had not rendered it almost impracticable. We slept at the foot of it, at the house of a Highlander, who married a Cherokee about thirty years since, and who lives very much like a gentleman. Here we found a good library, maps, and American and English newspapers—the latter most acceptable. The daughters who drank tea and breakfasted with us, were pleasing well-behaved girls, who had been educated at distant boarding-schools; the father from his manners and information, might have been living the last twenty years in England or Scotland, instead of among the Cherokees. Here I met a young invalid from Ohio, going to the South for his health—no great event you will say; but what greater events can you expect from a traveller through a wild, than whom he met, and whither they were going? He had been detained some days by the rain: which kept us till after breakfast, contrary to our usual custom. We then proceeded through the woods to Brainerd, six miles distant; where we stopped during the remainder of the day, the rain falling in torrents. Of my interesting visit there, I have sent you an account in a separate letter. We left Brainerd early on the 2nd of June, and at the distance of seven miles passed the boundary of the Cherokee nation, by crossing the Tennessee river for the third time. It is here six hundred yards broad, and very beautiful. We road thirty miles without stopping, and then took a cup of coffee at a nice

family's; where I saw on their book-shelves, Young's Night Thoughts, Newton's and Wesley's Sermons, &c. There is no school in the neighbourhood; but the children are sent to a boarding-school eight miles distant. One of the daughters made coffee for me; the wife or daughter undertaking the office wherever we go. You would be surprised at the respectable manners and appearance of those we meet with in this capacity, even in the log-cabins. We proceeded sixteen miles farther, to *Squire David's*, to sleep, and lay in the same room where the whole family, of six or seven, cooked, supped, and slept. If I had not been unwilling to hurt their feelings, I would have made a fire and slept under a tree; a plan we should generally have adopted, if it had not been necessary to obtain stable room for our horses. I often envy my servant, who frequently sleeps in the hay-loft. The following morning we breakfasted at a comfortable inn by the road side, where I found, among other books, Homer, Ovid, Virgil, Cicero, Dugald Stewart, Adam Smith, Ferguson's Astronomy, Ree's Encyclopedia, &c. &c. They belonged to the son of the landlord, and detained us an hour or two longer than usual. It was delightful to meet our old friend Dugald Stewart in such a place. We rode the whole day along a beautiful valley between the Cumberland mountain and Tennessee river, and at night stopped at a retired house, where our host and hostess soon afterwards arrived from meeting; it being the quarterly meeting of Presbyterian ministers, who preach for several successive days. The follow-

ing day, Sunday, I went to Kingston (four miles) to church; where I found the congregation adjourned into the woods, the numbers being too great to be otherwise accommodated. It was a sacramental occasion, and long tables were spread under the trees; the people flocking for miles in every direction, as in Scotland. This spectacle, so impressive in an American forest, was rendered still more interesting by the surrounding scenery, which was beautiful. Immediately below the wood there was a wide expanse of water, the confluence of the Holstein and the Clinch rivers, where they unite to form the Tennessee; and at a distance was a chain of mountains, strongly resembling the chain which comprises Coniston Fells and Langdale Pikes; while the surface of the ground, sometimes gently undulating, and sometimes broken into narrow, lofty, and precipitous ridges, was almost every where covered with stately trees, of a gigantic stature. We set off early the next morning, and reached Knoxville at night, delighted, yet almost exhausted, with the constant succession of magnificent mountain views. At Knoxville I staid at Ray's tavern, which, being built of bricks, and divided into convenient rooms, appeared like a palace, after our late accommodation. On my arrival I found several gentlemen sitting in the portico before the house, among whom was the resident agent of the United States among the Choctaws, who had been at Washington, and was bringing a handsome present from the Government to the missionary settlements at

Yaloo Busha. The following morning I rose early, and walked about the town, beautifully situated on the Holstein. At five o'clock most of the shops were open, the newspapers were in the course of delivery, and every thing bore the appearance of eight or nine o'clock in a more northern town. We rode for about seventeen miles, when we were compelled to halt by the heat of the day. In the evening, the fragrance of the woods and the melody of the birds were delightful; and the cool clear streams seemed to refresh our horses greatly after their toilsome journey, our detention in the morning having thrown us more into the heat of the day than usual. We now began to be more sensible than ever how much we had been indebted to the thick woods, which, till within a few days, had almost entirely protected us from the rays of the sun.

At eight o'clock we stopped at Myer's, a German, who treated us very civilly. Opposite the house they were making hay, the first we had seen cut; the smell of which transported me for a time to ———. Indeed, for several days I had been perpetually reminded of home by the general aspect of the surrounding scenery; the rich crops of wheat and barley, which in this section of the country had almost displaced the Indian corn; the "hum of children just let loose from school," who often accosted us with their little bows; and a style of manners resembling that of the country people in the neighbourhood of our lakes, in all its most valuable characteristics. Some of the customs, indeed, were different, as I

was still occasionally placed at the family supper-table with labourers in their shirt-sleeves; but that family, and those labourers, appeared as cordial, obliging, and accommodating, as those with whom I have ventured to compare them; in their own way, as respectful, and much more intelligent: in short, any thing, rather than what people generally mean when they say Americans.

I am, &c.

LETTER XVII.

Richmond, Virginia, June 20, 1820.

I CONCLUDED my letter this morning, because I did not wish to inflict more than two sheets upon you at once; but it did not bring me so far on my route as I intended. I however pass over a few days of my narrative, as they afforded no very peculiar occurrences. In speaking of East Tennessee, a delightful country, of which I have the most agreeable impressions, I forgot to say that the inhabitants are anticipating considerable advantage from improvements in the land communication between the Tennessee and the Black Warrior. They have also some prospect of the completion of two canals, which have long been projected, and appear in the maps of the United States, and which would connect the waters of the Tennessee with those of the Tombigbee and the Alabama, and afford a passage for the produce of East Tennessee to Mobile and the Gulf of

Mexico. This would supply a great stimulus to industry; as Mobile at present obtains a large proportion of her flour from New-Orleans, by way of Lake Borgne and Port Chartrain,—a channel of communication rendered so expensive by a heavy tonnage duty, that flour was selling at Mobile when I was there extravagantly higher than at New-Orleans.

We had for some days been almost insensibly ascending the Alleghany mountains; but to the 12th we saw nothing which indicated any extraordinary elevation. On that afternoon, however, we had a very extensive, though not a particularly interesting, view; and the air was so cool, that I was glad to ride in my great coat. Our mountain ride gave us an appetite before the end of our day's journey; and we stopped to take coffee at a small house on the ridge, where we were detained till it was nearly dark,—the universal custom of making and baking fresh bread for you being a sad detention to travellers, who ought never to order breakfast or tea unless they can afford to stay two hours. About nine o'clock we arrived at the bottom of one of the little valleys very common among the Alleghany mountains, and took up our abode for the night at the ferry-house on the Kanawa, a large river, which falls into the Ohio. We crossed it in a ferry-boat at half-past four o'clock the next morning (the 13th,) and breakfasted at Major ——'s, a fine friendly old gentleman who I found sitting in his neat white porch, and whose respectable appearance rendered me almost ashamed to ask if he entertain-

ed travellers; although I am now pretty well accustomed to consider neither the imposing aspect of a house, nor the sounding title of its inhabitants, whether Dr. ———, Colonel ———, Judge ———, or Parson ———, as any indication that they do not “*keep private entertainment.*” The old gentleman was much interested in hearing about England, the native land of his grandfather. His wife, who made breakfast for me, was a sensible well-read gentlewoman, who might fairly pass in any society, incredible as this may seem in the wilds of America within twelve miles from the summit of the Alleghany. One of the daughters, a nice modest girl, sat by Dr. Kingsbury, my missionary friend, who had called here on his way to Brainerd, and left the “*Life of Harriet Newell,*” which had greatly interested all the family. Soon after breakfast we reached the top of the Alleghany, where to our surprise we found a turnpike-gate, the first we had seen for many months. The view was extensive, though disappointing *as a whole*: the loss of *one* magnificent prospect, however, was far more than compensated by the succession of beautiful and interesting valleys, through which we continued to pass for several days, surrounded by ranges of lofty mountains at different distances. Soon after we began to descend, we stopped for some cold water at an attractive inn, where we found the people assiduously and cordially civil, like our honest and best kind of inn-keepers at home. They offered to fetch us some seed-water if we would wait a few minutes. The long steep descent from the top of

the Alleghany rendered us very sensible of the truth of an observation I had frequently heard here, that the land on the eastern side of the range is lower than that on the western. In the course of the day, we several times crossed the winding Roanoke, which we viewed with a sort of affection, as a distant link connecting us in some degree with our native home, it being the first river discharging its waters into the Atlantic which we had seen since we left the Oakmulgee on our Alabama route in March. In the evening we passed through Salem to the house of a well-meaning awkward German, (the German houses are always recognised by their flower-gardens,) intending to sleep there; but my intentions were frustrated by little assailants, who had no mercy on a tired traveller, but drove me at midnight into the porch, where I dozed a little before day-break. I was glad to feel myself on horseback again before sun-rise (14th,) though more tired than on my arrival the preceding night. At Lock's, where we staid and breakfasted, ten miles distant, I went to bed for an hour, as the country was far too beautiful to be wasted on a sleepy traveller. We were now fairly in the valley between the North mountain and the Blue ridge; the whole of which is often indiscriminately called the Valley of the Shenandoah, although the inhabitants confine the name to that part of it which is watered by the river, and which commences a little above Staunton. With the richness of this luxuriant valley I know you are already acquainted; and of the sublimity of its

mountain scenery, it would be in vain to attempt a description. Our host and his habitation were truly English; and it required no great stretch of imagination to fancy myself near Windermere. We left Fincastle a little to our right, and proceeded to Judge ——'s, to whom I had a letter of introduction from the Governor of the State of Mississippi. I found him without his coat in the middle of his corn-fields, gladdening his heart and relaxing his brows by contemplating the beneficence of nature, whose favours, or rather those of her Almighty Creator, appeared to be liberally scattered over his farm. As soon as I delivered my letter, he led me up to a large substantial brick-house, where he insisted on ordering dinner; for the family had dined. I found him a well-read reflecting old gentleman. He was engaged in studying the history of England at the period of the Revolution, and seemed to think we were now approaching an era at least as eventful. Thus you see the operations of our Radicals have penetrated even the tranquil valley of the Shenandoah, and awakened its more intelligent inhabitants to philosophical reflection on the destinies of our native land. The Judge was a little displeased that I would not stay all night; which I wished much to do, but found, on looking forward, that, in connexion with calling at Mr. Jefferson's at a proper hour, it would cost me an entire day.

I left his house about five o'clock, and rode for some distance, surrounded by the most magnificent scenery I had seen in America; the Blue

ridge with the peaks of Otter being very near. Towards night I crossed James's river, and soon after reached Captain ——'s, an innkeeper still of the English school. He has 1500 acres of land in this rich valley, (300 of which are this year under wheat, rye, and Indian corn,) with 200 sheep and 50 head of cattle. Yet he took off our saddlebags, his Black servant standing by, and carried them up stairs, and shewed all the civility you would wish to receive from a common landlord of an inn. We set off early in the morning (15th) to see the celebrated natural bridge, which was only two miles out of our way, and which Mr. Jefferson considers the greatest natural curiosity in America. It is certainly a wonderful scene, and one which it is impossible fully to embrace without seeing it several times. Having surveyed it in its different aspects, I left it with reluctance; and we proceeded sixteen miles to breakfast, having previously fortified ourselves with a single cup of coffee, which we begged from a Negro at a little cottage where his party were breakfasting near the bridge. In this part of the country the houses are generally of brick, substantial and convenient; but not in good taste, or in harmony with the rural beauty of the surrounding scenery. Occasionally we heard a clock, which at first startled me, as I had not seen one since we left Georgia, and scarcely one since we set out from Washington; every thing being regulated by the sun. If you ask what time it is, it either wants so many hours of noon, or it is so much before, or so much after *sun-down*. Meals are regulated by the sun even in families

where there is a watch, or a time-piece as it is called; and I have very often heard evening service announced at church to begin at *early* candle light. This want of precision would run away with all the spare hours in our country. Another thing which struck me in the valley was the large proportion of cleared land, and the absence of the stumps of trees, which are every where conspicuous amidst the crops in the countries settled within the last twenty years. On reaching East Tennessee, the sight of two fields in depth appeared so strange as to remind me strongly of England; cultivation seldom extending in a great part even of the cleared country above one field deep into the woods. A pair of stocks, which I saw on a village green in the valley, at last furnished a decisive proof that we were again within the pale of civilization.

I was most interested, however, in observing a great alteration in the relative numbers of the White and Black population, and a corresponding increase of free labour engaged in agriculture. This is probably owing to the poverty of the early settlers, which has secured to their posterity a greater blessing than the richest inheritance of blood and muscles. Not that these lovely scenes are unpolluted by slavery; there is scarcely a family without slaves, and almost every tavern is branded with the most disgusting advertisements for runaways; but the heart is less frequently sickened at the sight of large gangs (excuse this hideous but technical term,) broiling under a vertical sun, and goaded to preternatural labour by the

brutal lash. Here their masters, or other White labourers, occasionally work among them; and the several productions of this part of the country are less powerful stimulants to the avarice of their owners, than the sugar, rice, or cotton of more southern states.

I shall be truly glad when I can pass a day without seeing one fellow-creature in bondage. At present I do not recollect four places of all those at which I have stopped either to eat or sleep, since I left Washington in January, where there were no domestic slaves; and in two of these instances abject poverty was pleaded *as an apology!* At most even of the better houses of entertainment where you stay, you see black slovenly looking hovels round the yard, where the domestic Negroes live, and the young Black fry are crawling about the door, and, if the family are indulgent, about the house. The Black children are frequently quite naked, as sleek and glossy as may be; and I have often thought how you would laugh at their little rotund alderman-like figures. When very young, they seem to mix almost indiscriminately with the White children, who however occasionally demonstrate their assumed superiority, though less frequently and less peevishly than I should have expected, at least as far as fell under my observation. The very youngest of them appear to me to view a White gentleman with some distrust, and to be *daunted* with any thing like attention. With the aid of my watch, however, I have generally succeeded in setting them a little at ease, and have often found them very arch little

figures. Notwithstanding the painful feelings their situation must excite, there is something so very grotesque in the contour of these little Black cupids, that I cannot, to this moment, avoid smiling when I see them. When treated with kindness and confidence, as they often are, the older ones seem to make excellent and intelligent servants; and my first impressions of their well ordered manners and good language have been fully confirmed. Their desire to speak well, or rather their passion for it, and their love of long words, often lead them into humorous mistakes. A few mornings since, when I asked the ostler what time he generally opened the stables, he said he always slept there, "in order to congratulate gentlemen on urgent business." In the better kind of houses of entertainment, there are usually several juvenile slaves of different ages waiting on you at table, the little ones under the orders of the oldest. At this season of the year, one or two are employed in driving away the flies. At Mr. ——'s at Natchez, I found they had adopted the Indian mode of keeping you cool and driving the flies away, having a large fan suspended from the top of the room, wafted by a little Negro in the adjoining hall, who pulled a string. We were several times amused to see him continue his see-saw operation when apparently fast asleep; only starting a little occasionally when he made too deep a vibration.

On the 16th, about an hour before sun-set I reached Waynesborough, a peaceful village at the foot of the Blue ridge, very like one of the little villages in the north of England. Here I began

to ascend at Rock Fish Gap. After a steep ascent of two miles and a half, we reached the summit, and had a fine view of the valley between the Blue ridge and the North mountain. A hundred paces brought us into another world, as we began to descend into the deeper valley on the eastern side; and for some time I enjoyed one of the most magnificent views which can well be conceived. I think I never shall forget the half hour I spent in contemplating this scene; first, gilded by the rays of a glowing sun "going down to the inhabitants of the valley while it was yet day," and then losing every feature of sublimity and beauty in the indistinctness and obscurity of night. I thought of you all; of our summer evenings, and our mountain views; and rode to a quiet inn at the foot of the Blue ridge, the retirement of which allowed me to indulge my *home* recollections till I went to bed.

The next morning at four o'clock, I proceeded to Grock's, an excellent inn, to breakfast, where I saw some journals containing recent British news; and among other articles of intelligence, the sentence pronounced on Thistlewood and his associates. We shortly afterwards passed through Charlottesville, where General Tarleton was nearly capturing Mr. Jefferson and the Legislature in the Revolutionary War, being prevented only by a private intimation from a female relation of one of the officers a few miles distant, at whose house the General and his suite had invited themselves to breakfast. Here we saw an extensive university, which the State is erecting under Mr. Jefferson's auspices, and to which it is intended to invite

the ablest professors which Europe can supply. We arrived at Monticello, three miles farther, at eleven o'clock, ascending the southwest mountain, on which the house is situated, by a winding carriage-road through the woods. I sent in my letter to Mr. Jefferson, who came out, and gave me a very polite reception; but of my interesting visit to this philosophic legislator. I must give you the particulars when we meet. Crossing the Rivanna at the bottom of Mr. Jefferson's grounds, the water up to our saddle skirts, we proceeded to Mrs. Boyd's tavern, about eight miles distant. On the 19th (the 18th being Sunday,) we resumed our journey; and on the 20th reached Richmond. We breakfasted that morning at a very comfortable inn, with a rich tobacco planter and his wife, who were going to Richmond. The lady's Black maid rode on horseback behind; and I suppose nothing would have induced them to admit her into the carriage. The Black servants who drive their masters or mistresses in gigs generally sit on the steps, which has a most unpleasant and unsafe appearance. I was particularly struck with this at Charleston and Savannah.

Excuse a long rambling letter, written under a degree of heat more oppressive than I ever yet experienced. Yours, &c.

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

I now send you my concluding packet of letters written during my late journey through North America. It consists of three letters, comprising my route from Portland in New-Hampshire, to New-York. Had I originally had any intention of sending my epistolary communications to your repository, I might probably have been inclined to introduce into them a larger proportion of specific religious remark and allusion ; but I must now leave my readers to fill up this chasm for themselves. If I have not always detailed my more serious moralizings, I have endeavoured so far to act the part both of a Christian observer, and a Christian reporter, as to furnish a variety of facts and incidents replete with high moral and Christian interest, and which a well informed and religious mind may follow up with many salutary reflections. One very prominent object which I have had in contemplation has been to exhibit to the readers of your miscellany, somewhat of the bitter evils of slavery ; a subject respecting which, I fear even the religious part of the British public are not yet sufficiently informed or impressed. Earnestly and confidently would I hope that the efforts now in progress to awaken a general interest to this most important question, with a view to the adoption of a practical remedy, will not be long without complete success. Some of the facts which have been detailed in my letters written while passing through the slave-states of America,

must have appeared a little startling to such readers as have been seduced into a belief that the horrors of slavery are extinguished ; that, under the mild and mitigated systems which are said to have been generally adopted, the Negro slave has been elevated to a level with the European peasant, in all that respects his physical enjoyment, his social comfort, and his opportunities of intellectual and religious improvement ; that nothing is left of slavery but the name ; and that the waters of bitterness which the slaves are supposed by visionary philanthropists to drink, are rendered palatable at least, if not sweet and delicious, by the cordials poured into their cup by the overflowing kindness of their free and sympathizing brethren. Since sending you the above letters, I have received a fresh illustration of the erroneous nature of such ideas, and of the light in which slaves are regarded even in Maryland—a state whose northern limits form the line of demarkation between the free and slave-holding states of America ; within the influence, one would suppose, of those fresh and genial gales of freedom which the agitation of the pure atmosphere of Pennsylvania would occasionally waft over the boundary line (a line discernable only by a most striking contrast between a free and slave population,) and within sight of the capital of Washington, the temple of freedom, to which she sends her delegates to *represent* her, and whose walls I have so often heard resound with the declaration of the first principle of their government ; *All men are by nature free, equal, and independent.* The illustration to which I refer

occurs in a letter which I sometime since received from a friend at Baltimore. The subject of slavery is introduced quite incidentally by my benevolent correspondent, who is giving me an account of the proceedings of "The Young Men's Bible Society." I send you the extract with the more pleasure, because, while it illustrates the general feeling with respect to the Slaves, it indicates also the progress of benevolence, and affords evidence of those philanthropic efforts by which many of the inhabitants of Baltimore are eminently distinguished. My friend observes :

"I am very certain it will give you much pleasure to learn that the *coloured* part of our population are beginning to benefit by the very great and general exertions that are now making in this country to ameliorate the condition of the wretched. I can speak more particularly of the state of Maryland. As an instance, application was made at our board of directors of the Young Men's Bible Society, for a donation of Testaments for a Sunday-school in a distant country, under the following circumstances. A gentleman who had a number of slaves, determined to teach them to read the Scriptures, and for that purpose formed them into a Sunday-school, the superintendence of which he took on himself. So strong were the prejudices of his neighbours against him, that for some time he was compelled to go armed to his school for his own protection ; but persevering in his good work, of teaching his ignorant servants, and such others as could be received by him, he at length overcame all opposition ; and his neigh-

bours, from being inveterate opposers, became his most zealous supporters. His school increased to 150 learners, and more schools were organizing in the same and adjoining counties. It is unnecessary to say, that a very generous donation was made by our Bible Society."

While a master cannot teach his slaves without being armed against the attacks of his free White brethren, can we wonder at the suspicions of the acute aborigines, conveyed in the following interesting little narrative, recorded by Dr. Boudinot?

"The writer of these sheets," remarks Dr. Boudinot, "was many years ago, one of the corresponding members of a Society in Scotland for promoting the Gospel among the Indians. To further this great work, they educated two young men of very serious and religious dispositions, who were desirous of undertaking the mission for this purpose. When they were ordained and ready to depart, we wrote a letter in the Indian style to the Delaware Nation, then residing on the north-west of the Ohio, informing them, that we had, by the goodness of the Great Spirit, been favoured by a knowledge of his will as to the worship he required of his creatures, and the means he would bless to promote the happiness of men both in this life, and that which is to come; that thus enjoying so much happiness ourselves, we could not but think of our Red brethren in the wilderness, and wish to communicate the glad tidings to them, that they might be partakers with us. We had therefore sent them two ministers of the Gospel, who would teach them these great

things, and earnestly recommended them to their careful attention.

“ With proper passports, the missionaries set off, and arrived in safety at one of their principal towns. On their arrival, the chiefs of the natives were called together, who answered them, that they would take the subject into consideration; but in the mean time they might instruct the women, but must not speak to the men. They spent fourteen days in council, and then dismissed them very courteously, with an answer to us. This answer made great acknowledgments for the favour we had done them. They rejoiced exceedingly at our happiness in being thus favoured by the Great Spirit, and felt very grateful that we had condescended to remember our Red brethren in the wilderness. But they could not help recollecting that we had a people among us, who, because they differed from us in colour, we had made slaves of, and made them suffer great hardships, and lead miserable lives. Now they could not see any reason, if a people's being Black entitled us thus to deal with them, why a Red colour should not equally justify the same treatment. They therefore had determined to wait to see whether all the Black people amongst us were made thus happy and joyful, before they put confidence in our promise; for they thought a people who had suffered so much and so long, by our means, should be entitled to our first attention; that therefore they had sent back the two missionaries, with many thanks,—promising, that when they saw the Black people amongst us restored

to freedom and happiness, they would gladly receive our missionaries ”

Such was the moral lesson which these wild sons of the forest, these uncultivated heathens, read to enlightened Christians. We slighted their lesson, and, as if to silence these untutored monitors, and drown the voice of truth and nature, we overcame their virtues, we corrupted them by our example : and I found slaves held in bondage by the Indians themselves—in the nations of the Creeks, the Choctaws, the Chickasaws, and the Cherokees.

I am, &c.

LETTER XVI.

Portsmouth, New-Hampshire, 19th Feb. 1821.

My last letter mentioned our safe arrival at Portland. The house in which we obtained beds at last, was a second-rate tavern, filled with second, or rather fifth or sixth-rate legislators, who had left their appropriate callings in the field, the shop, or the laboratory, for the more splendid but not less arduous duties of legislation. Not indeed that they appeared to think them arduous, or to suppose that there was much mystery in the affair. Not one of our own Radicals could pronounce with more self-complacent familiarity on those difficult questions of law or government which the wisest statesmen and philosophers have approached with diffidence, and decided upon with hesitation. In the public room into which I

was shown, I found three or four of them sitting, who from their appearance, I supposed to be small farmers; and there was nothing in the professional titles which I soon heard echoed about, such as colonel, major, doctor, &c. to remove the idea. They were discussing the propriety of abolishing the Court of Common Pleas, and throwing all the business into the Supreme Court; some of them conceiving that a supreme and subordinate court savoured too much of aristocracy, and that by diminishing the number of courts, they should diminish the number of trials and clip the profits of the lawyers, who are at present in rather bad odour in the young state of Maine. One of them (I think it was the colonel) took the opposite side of the question. For his part, he said, "he did not like to throw great criminal cases and petty suits into *one hopper*; and that, as far as his information went, history presented no instance of it." His opponent replied, that "that was no reason at all why they should not do as they pleased." He rejoined, that he thought it was; for though they *were* an independent state at last, he did not see why they should set themselves up as wiser than all the other states: and that, though little causes ought to be settled with as much correctness as great ones, he, for one, should oppose their being thrown into *one hopper*!

Other questions were decided with equal profundity; and if the young man who was sent into a European cabinet to learn with how little wisdom the world is governed, were still alive, and required a second lesson, I would recommend

him to the "Portland tavern," in the state of Maine, "during the sitting of the legislature." In this same state of Maine I feel a particular interest, from having been present at the discussion at Washington on the subject of her admission into the Union, and from her name being intimately associated with the important decision on the Missouri question; and I grieve to see her in the hand of such young practitioners. If such men form the majority of her legislature, it must be "per varios casus per tot discrimina rerum," that she obtains political eminence, if she ever obtain it. To a traveller, there is something extremely grotesque in the aspect of the legislatures in the *newly formed* states, whose legislators must at first be of a very motley character: especially if the population be so scanty, or of such a cast, as to supply few men of liberal education. A friend told me, that at Corydon, the metropolis of Indiana, he attended the sitting of the legislature, when a member rose to propose the removal of the seat of government to some other place, on the plea that the price of board and lodging at Corydon was extravagant—18s. per week—and the fare bad. The representative from Corydon replied sharply, and told him that he got better living in that place than he ever got at home: and that if he would be satisfied with such food as he was accustomed to at home, the tavern-keeper would maintain him for half price. This important discussion continued so long that it was adjourned till the following day.

Such exhibitions are surely a very legitimate source of amusement; but then they should not lead us, as they too frequently do, to fix our attention upon them *exclusively*—to regard them as the rule, not as the exceptions—as the ordinary and prominent features of American Republicanism, rather than as accidental excrescences in the extremities, which are soon outgrown and disappear. They should be received also in connexion with the more dignified proceedings, the maturer counsels, and the higher order of talent to be found in the legislatures of many of the older states; and in connexion with the practical results of the free institutions of America, as evinced by her past and present prosperity. Not that I impute that prosperity exclusively to her form of government. Probably no other nation was ever blessed with such rich materials of national prosperity; and bad indeed must have been the government, and despicable the population, which had not flourished with such advantages. Whether a confederated republic is the best form of government for a country so extensive as America, and under circumstances so peculiar as hers, I do not pretend to decide; but I confess, for *our* country, I much prefer our own. The American government is however a beautiful theory; and, in its leading features, I think a very successful experiment in politics. I will merely mention one or two of the practical evils, which I think I have observed in passing, in this system of government.

One of these is the introduction into the state legislatures of members obviously incompetent to

the task of legislation. Natural sagacity alone is not sufficient, even if that were always to be found. Many of the topics which of necessity frequently occupy the attention, even of the state legislatures, demand a degree of information and habits of research very foreign indeed to the pursuits of a large proportion of the members. The consequence is, that ignorance, a spirit of opposition, an impatience even of intellectual superiority, and a desire to appear to their constituents *to be doing something*, frequently defeat the most important and judicious measures of the enlightened minority; while that minority is diminished by an unwillingness on the part of the members of the community who are best qualified for the station to enter the list with noisy demagogues, whose declamations too often drown the voice of truth. It is particularly unfortunate that the most difficult questions—those which arise in forming or establishing their constitution, and arranging the judiciary—are among the first which present themselves to the consideration of the legislatures of newly erected states, when it is reasonable to expect a more than ordinary proportion of raw and ignorant legislators, and a deficiency of practical skill even in the wisest. It really excites a smile to imagine the legislature of Indiana, after settling the question whether they should remove the seat of government to some town where the tavern-keeper would charge them 13s. 6d. instead of 18s. per week for their board, turning to the graver and more appropriate subjects of legislation,—inquiring what proportion of democracy they should infuse into their

constitution, and what collateral effects would result from each of the various modes of accomplishing their purpose—what should be the number and nature of their courts of justice, whether they should be established on the principle of concurrent or appellate jurisdiction, whether their judges should be removable at pleasure, their salary be liable to diminution, and numberless other intricate questions.

It is a happy circumstance for the newly erected states, that they may always have access to the more matured systems of their neighbours, and that the effects of their own errors are confined to themselves. Indeed, I think it is not one of the least advantages of the Confederation, that it admits of a course of experiments in legislation in each of the particular states, without the slightest danger of interrupting the movements of the general machine, and enables all, at the hazard only of their individual inconvenience, to contribute their quota of political experience to the common stock.

Another of the evils to which I referred, as flowing perhaps of necessity, from the democratical institutions of America, is the subserviency to popular opinion which they appear to entail on the legislative and executive officers. I had no idea of the degree in which popularity was made a primary and avowed object of pursuit here: nor of the extensive sacrifices of personal independence which are made at her shrine. In this free government, many of the senators and representatives are far

less the servant than the slaves of their constituents; and they must be fond indeed of public honours who are willing to buy them at the price they frequently cost. Eminent talents indeed, combined with patriotism and disinterestedness too unequivocal to be suspected, will *command* popularity; but common men, if they would attain popularity, must make it their pursuit. I have seen nothing to lead me to suppose that the influence of such a pursuit on individual character is at all more ennobling or elevating on the western than on the eastern shores of the Atlantic, or to convince me that public spirit and patriotism are the natural and necessary results of republican institutions.

But, independently of the injurious moral effects of an insatiable appetite for popularity in the individual, a constant reference to popular favour imposes very inconvenient trammels on the representative, in the discharge of his legislative duties. He is too apt to consider himself as addressing his constituents rather than the legislative assembly, and to think less of the effect his speech is likely to produce in favour of his argument in the capitol, than in favour of himself at home. As an incentive to activity, this may have a good effect; but the efforts to which it prompts, especially in the way of oratorical flourishes, do not always produce advantages to the public, commensurate with the care and trouble, "the anxious days and sleepless nights," they may have cost the individual. I was informed that it is common for the new members to make great exertion soon after the meeting of congress, to send home a *speech* to their con-

stituents in the National Intelligencer; and then, if they find that the genius of eloquence has not favoured them, they perhaps remain silent during the rest of the session. But this is hardly safe; for a silent representative is seldom a popular one. A friend informed me, that in passing through Pennsylvania, a Pennsylvanian, speaking to him of a member of congress, said, "He won't get in again, I guess: for we never see no speech of his in the papers; and we can't have a man that says nothing for his pay."

But, after all, I think it impossible for an unprejudiced stranger to visit the beautiful Senate-chamber and House of Representatives in the capitol at Washington without being struck with the intelligence and practical skill of congress; the regularity of their proceedings; their ready, perspicuous, forcible, business-like style of eloquence, and, with some exceptions, their habitual courtesy and attention to the feelings of opponents. He would sometimes witness, in American oratory, the freshness of youth, the fervour of boundless anticipation, and that consciousness of personal identity with the glory and prosperity of his country, which a popular government infuses into the meanest citizen; but he would seldom be dazzled with the corruscations of cultivated genius, or electrified with bursts of impassioned feeling, and would seek in vain in the American Congress for that indefinite but irresistible chain which classical associations, the refinements of polished society, and a history rich in all that is illustrious and venerable, imparts to the eloquence of a British Parliament.

LETTER XIX.

Hartford, Connecticut, 1st March, 1821.

IN my last letter I mentioned our arrival in Portland on the 16th ult. I will now give you a brief sketch of our journey from Portland to Hartford.

• At Portland I found, at a respectable boarding-house where I lodged, among other persons, the Governor of the state, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and eight or ten of the most respectable members. There was a common table at which all ordinarily assembled; and a common sitting-room, where they seemed to pass their leisure in reading the newspapers and smoking segars. For the very first time since my arrival in America, I had actually at this boarding-house a parlour to myself, which arose from the circumstance of its being, in the first instance, designed for my bed-room. It was a luxury indeed to feel alone, and likely to remain so, without shutting myself up in my bed-chamber, in which I have lived for the last year when not in society or on the road. My hopes of retirement in my parlour, however, were soon shaken; for the landlord brought a gentleman to me, who, after conversing a few minutes, said, he was come to take me into the dining-room, to introduce me to the company. He was a young lawyer, gentlemanly in his manners, and, I found afterwards, had been educated at Harvard College, Cambridge. As we sat down to dinner, at one o'clock,

he introduced me to most of the gentlemen by name, and, among others, to the Secretary of the State. The rest of the company, although I doubt not intelligent and acute, I certainly should not (at least on my first arrival in America) have *guessed* to be a body of legislators. The landlady presided, with Mrs. —, the wife of the speaker, on her right; and the landlord sat down towards the close of dinner, after having waited on his guests, and assisted the waiters till all the company were helped. He was very civil, and came into my room half-a-dozen times in the course of the evening to look at my fire, and see if I wanted any thing. An English landlord could not have been more respectful and attentive. In the course of the evening, the young lawyer also paid me a second visit, with real good nature, bringing in a friend "lest I should be lonely." I give you these little incidents to shew the habits of the country. As they found me busy writing, however, they stopped only half an hour, and retired, saying, they would not interrupt me, but would attend me to any church in the morning to which I liked to go.

In the morning, accordingly, the young lawyer accompanied me to the Episcopal church, where a young minister preached on the importance of contending for the faith once delivered to the saints; a subject suggested by the activity of Unitarian efforts, and by an act then before the legislature, which it was supposed would operate unfavourably on the interests of religion. The church was profusely adorned with festoons of

“Christmas;” and on one side of the pulpit was neatly printed, in large letters of spruce, “Unto us a Child is born;” on the other, “Unto us a Son is given.” The congregation was respectable in numbers and appearance. In the afternoon we went to the Calvinistic Congregationalist church (places of worship of all denominations are here called churches,) where we found a congregation still more numerous. An elderly minister gave us a logical, metaphysical, scriptural sermon, on “the immutability of God.” On my return home, among my landlord’s books I found Scott’s Bible, Burder’s Village Sermons, Baxter’s Saint’s Rest, Watt’s Hymn Book, and Saurin’s Sermons. I added to them the Dairyman’s daughter, a favourite travelling companion of mine; since, independently of the deep interest of its simple tale, and its exquisite and touching picture of rustic piety, it places so distinctly before me the village spires, rustic cottages, and sequestered lanes of my native country, and the hoary locks and venerable figures of her aged peasants. I think I told you how delighted I was at finding this little tract in a shop at Mobile, in that land of darkness, the shores of the Gulf of Mexico.

While in Portland I found the snow in many places two feet deep for a great distance, and perhaps fourteen inches deep where it was the thinnest. I counted twenty-two sleighs at the church door on Sunday. I saw the town under unfavourable circumstances; but it had a very respectable appearance, many of the houses being large and handsome, with extensive courts before

the doors, ornamented with shrubs and grass-plots. The bay and the adjacent scenery are very picturesque.

We left Portland, at five o'clock in the morning, on the 19th. The roads were so blocked up with snow, that the mail and passengers were obliged to be carried in an open sleigh: it was very cold: the thermometer, I should think, not being above zero: but the moon shone so brightly on the new fallen snow, that we should have been sorry to have missed this beautiful winter scene, by being cooped up in a close carriage. We reached Saco, fifteen miles, to breakfast, when it was determined to dispatch us in two sleighs, our unicorn equipage being found inconvenient in the snow drifts, from having two horses abreast. James and I were put up into a tandem sleigh, about as large as a parlour coal-box, or a little larger, the driver standing up to drive. Our two companions followed with one horse in a similar sleigh; and away we went over the snow-drifts, the music of our bells resembling a concert of Jews'-harps. Sometimes the bells of our companion suddenly ceased, or literally "*dropt*;" for, on looking behind, we used to find that their horse had partially disappeared,—his chin resting on a snow-drift, and his countenance exhibiting a most piteous expression of helplessness. At other times our horses fell through, and it was with great difficulty we extricated them; the snow being sufficiently frozen to be of a very inconvenient consistence, although not always hard enough to carry us rapidly on its surface. Our horses

were sometimes prostrate three or four times in twenty yards. Once we were obliged to be cut out, and at another time to have more than twenty men and several oxen to clear our way, the drifts on the road being from six to twelve feet deep. As we had excellent drivers, however, who drove with great rapidity where the road would admit of it, we reached Portsmouth, sixty miles from Portland, at four o'clock—eleven hours—after an amusing and agreeable, and in some degree adventurous, ride. The cold morning was succeeded, as is often the case in this fickle climate, by a beautiful warm day: and although the road, except in the vicinity of the pine hills, is rather level, the fir groves and large masses of rock often combine with the open sea, which is almost constantly in sight, to form rather interesting views. The country is tolerably well settled, and we passed through several little towns; but the houses being less frequently painted than in other parts of New-England, have neither the same neat nor flourishing aspect. The people, however, seem every where busy and robust.

Portsmouth is a noble harbour on the Piscataqua, which is so deep that the vessels discharge along the wharf; and so rapid, that even in this winter, the severest which has been known in America for at least forty years, its navigation has never been interrupted. A navy yard is established near the town, where "The Congress," and other ships of war were built, and where they are now building a seventy-four gun frigate. As the best boarding-house in Portsmouth was full, I

went to the stage inn, rather a dirty scrambling tavern; where I found at breakfast the next morning, amid a motley group, one of the judges and several lawyers. The supreme court was to be opened early in the morning; and as it was before my hours of commercial calls, I attended to hear the jury sworn in, and the judge's charge. Both the grand and petty jury, in the appearance of which I could discern no difference, seemed to be composed of respectable yeomanry, of about the same rank as our farmers of 300*l.* to 500*l.* per annum. They listened with great attention while the judges read (not spoke, which took greatly from its effect,) a plain sensible charge, much to the point. The aspect of the court in general pleased me, from the homely suitable appearance of those of whom it was composed; home-spun clothes, with large buttons and long waists, waistcoats with the old triangular indenture or pointed flaps, and hats with good broad respectable brims; the absence, in fact, of all affectation of fashion, or awkward attempts at city spruceness. This has pleased me particularly throughout New-England, and forms a contrast with the style of dress which meets the eye generally in passing along the road on the sea-board of the middle and southern states, where blue coats, black waistcoats, and blue pantaloons, produce a monotony far less agreeable and picturesque than a variety of dress adapted, or apparently adapted, to the various employments of the wearers.—I had little opportunity of seeing the society of Portsmouth, as my stay was so short: but I met with some whose man-

ners convinced me that I should have found a refined and polished circle there, if I had remained. From Portsmouth we reached Newburyport, where I walked down towards sun-set (or sun-down, as it is always called in this country,) to the mouth of the Merrimack, and had a noble view of the open sea. The roads in this part of the country are excellent, and the finger-posts are so like ours pointing to Salisbury, Ipswich, &c. that it was easy to imagine myself in the South of England. In most towns in New-England the houses generally stand alone in a court or garden, with lofty trees in their immediate vicinity. The inn was a large brick house, in which I had a spacious bed-room, as neatly furnished as at the principal inns at Bath or Cheltenham. I rose very early the next morning, and spent half an hour in a churchyard in the neighbourhood, in the hope of seeing the sun rise clear out of the Atlantic, a few hours after he had risen on you all in the East; but a little invidious cliff intervened. The ocean, however, was beautiful; and this quiet churchyard on a foreign shore gave rise to many solemn and very interesting reflections.—The 22d was Washington's birth-day, which, in the principal cities, generally gives rise to public dinners and balls. Here the afternoon seemed to be made a holiday, and the young men turned out in great numbers, very nicely dressed.

On the 23d I left Newburyport for Salem, twenty-five miles distant, where we arrived at noon. The surface of the ground was generally well cultivated; but I often observed immense

rocks, apparently *growing* in the fields, and evincing that the country immediately on the coast was more indebted to man than to nature for any appearance of fertility it might exhibit. Indeed, I think a great part of the road between Newburyport and Boston presents a more rocky region than I ever before saw in a state of cultivation; but every thing seems to yield to the proverbial perseverance of New-England. I have seen a New-Englander clearing what appeared to me a barren rock, for the sake of the narrow strips of soil in the crevices; and I could not help thinking with what a smile of contempt a Mississippi or Alabama planter would recall such a scene to his recollection, while standing with folded arms over his slaves as they hoed his rich alluvion. But both his contempt and pity would be sadly misplaced. The loose gray stone walls, instead of the rail fences so common throughout all America South of Rhode Island or New York, and the spreading tress standing single in the fields—for, except on the road side, we have long been accustomed to see them either grouped, as in our plantations, with no power to expand, or losing their individual character in the depth of forests—recalled my thoughts to Yorkshire or Derbyshire. Before we reached Salem we passed through Ipswich, venerable in this country for its age, for it was settled in 1632, twelve years after the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers.

From Salem I rode over to Marblehead, to see some old friends. They gave me a warm reception, and their welcome had in it much of Scotch

cordiality. Sterne says, he pities the man who can travel from Dan to Beersheba, and say it is all barren. I much pity his ill fortune, who can travel from Maine to Georgia, and say the Americans, men and women, have no hearts. He will indeed in taverns and bar-rooms meet with many whose manners are calculated to give him that impression; but a little acquaintance with American society must shew him that it is an erroneous one. Indeed, I deliberately think that a cursory traveller must be struck with the evidence of more good nature, and a greater spirit of accomodation in the stages here than with us, and certainly of more uniform and marked respect to female travellers, though often under the most cold and forbidding manners. *This* I was not prepared to expect; and often, in making these favourable representations, I have to cross-examine myself, and ask, "Are these things really so?" Sometimes where the case is doubtful, I bring my opinions to a severer test. I wait till the next time that I find myself in circumstances not particularly calculated to excite good humour; and if, when sitting in a bar-room, while they are lighting a fire in my chamber, (and I never sit there longer, though it is often the only sitting-room,) enveloped in segar smoke, and watching my companions pour down their throats the liquid flame that is to consume their vitals; if, when received in sufferance by a frigid landlord, who seems afraid to degrade himself by being civil (a case which *has* happened, though you will have seen from my letters not very frequently;) or if, when more than usually annoyed (for it is a daily

and grievous annoyance,) by the very general and most disgusting habit of spitting, without regard to time, place, or circumstance; if at such times I find my faith in my favourable sentiments unshaken, and feel convinced of their correctness, I place them as Mr. Cecil placed his tried characters, upon the shelf. But if fresh circumstances should arise to excite a suspicion that, after all, my impressions are erroneous, I wait till provoked by the malicious misrepresentations of the state of things in my own country, or by ill-natured remarks on acknowledged defects in her institutions; and if I still feel bound by sincerity and candour to make my former admissions, I seldom suffer myself again to call them into question.

Marblehead, the second town in the commonwealth before the revolution, is now comparatively "the top of a rock, a place for the spreading of nets in the midst of the sea." It is from this place principally, that the Newfoundland fishery is carried on. The trade, however, has latterly been very unproductive; and I saw the fishing craft, which was now drawn on shore, very generally advertised for sale or charter.

On the 27th I dined with an old friend at Salem. Our conversation turned a good deal on the remaining traces of the primitive manners of the Pilgrim Fathers. One of these I found was the substitution of a thanksgiving day in November, instead of Christmas day, and the renunciation of so *heretic* a dish as mince-pies, as connected with that day, as associated with ecclesiastic institutions which the Puritans held in abhorrence.

Christmas day, however, is now observed more and more generally every year, and mince-pies we find in every tavern. Another Puritanic custom (which I was informed still lingers in Boston also,) is the commencement of the Christian Sabbath on Saturday night, and its termination on Sunday evening, at five or six o'clock ("the evening and the morning were the first day.") My friend told me, that in a very strict family in Connecticut in which he was brought up, (a clergyman's family,) Saturday evening was observed with the greatest strictness and rigidity, and Sunday also till after tea, when the orthodox lady invariably brought out her knitting.—Before I leave Salem I should add, that it is a singular little town, of astonishing wealth, and formerly had sixty or seventy ships in the India trade, employed principally in carrying the produce of China and the Eastern Archipelago to the various parts of Europe. Indeed, most of the large commercial fortunes I have observed in America, some of them almost without a parallel in Europe, have been made in those branches of the East India trade which our East India Company never engaged in, but from which their monopoly entirely excludes British subjects.

We reached Boston at 10 o'clock at night, and lay on two chairs at the stage-house till two, when we set off for Northampton, 100 miles distant, where we arrived at ten o'clock in the evening, after passing through Worcester and Leicester. The following day we set out for Hartford. The part of the valley of Connecticut through which we passed is generally admitted to be one of the

finest portions of the cultivated regions of America, and the panoramic views from some of the eminences, will, I hope, be one day rendered more familiar to British imagination, either by the pencil or the pen. We rode a great part of the day on the very brink of the river, which appeared to be from a third to half a mile broad. The ground was covered with snow; but the day was bright, and every twig was enclosed in a sparkling icicle. On this day's route we saw some of the finest American elms we have observed in the country. They are very different from ours, far more lofty and expanded; and every branch is like a separate tree. I think I almost give them the preference over either the live oaks or magnolias of the Carolinas, or the tulip trees or sycamores of the western country. The timber on the Atlantic coast, with the exception of the pine, does not generally exceed ours in size; at which I was much disappointed at our first arrival; but as you proceed westward it improves in magnitude, till it reaches the stupendous size of those tulip or sycamore trees, at the sight of which we have often stopped our horses almost instinctively, and sat lost in astonishment. Indeed, a person travelling from Boston to Savannah along the coast, which is the ordinary road, will know as little of the fertility, beauty, or magnificence of this highly favoured country, as he will of the society, if his observations are confined to steam boats, stages, or hotels. How often have I wished for you in the autumn, to show you an American forest, in its coat of many colours! I do not exactly know the reason

(it is stated to be the early occurrence of frost); but the foliage here seems to assume its variegated autumnal appearance before the leaves begin to fall, and the beautiful tints and mellow hues, far deeper and more diversified than ours, often blended harmoniously in the same tree, or contrasted with the deepest green of a kindred branch, appear too healthy and vigorous to be precursors of dissolution or symptoms of decay. The late Dr. Dwight has remarked that he was surprised that this beautiful appearance was not described by Thomson in his seasons; but, upon inquiry, he found that it was unknown in Great Britain. The bright yellow of the walnut, the scarlet of the maple, the fresh green of the laurel, and the sombre brown of the cedar, are often the most prominent colours; but these are mingled with a variety of others more soft and delicate, which melt imperceptibly into each other, and throw a rich and luxuriant beauty over the gorgeous forest.

I have already said so much of the extreme clearness and transparency of the atmosphere in this country, that I dare scarcely allude to it again to tell you how much it adds to the beauty of the natural scenery. Indeed a common landscape is often rendered beautiful by the extreme distinctness with which every outline is defined, or the vivid colouring with which, at sunset, the air itself seems suffused. I do not know whether the purity of the atmosphere does not add still more to the beauty of a moonlight scene. A winter moonlight night in America, when the ground is covered with snow, is really like enchantment. On a beautiful autumnal day, with not a cloud to inter-

cept the rays of the sun, I have seen a planet quite distinctly at three o'clock in the afternoon at Boston.

I am not, however, enamoured of the climate ; or at least, I have deliberately decided in favour of our own,—the vicissitudes here being very sudden, and the extremes formidable ; but there *are* (and very frequently) days *so* beautiful that I feel as if I would pay almost any price for the enjoyment they bring. When at Montreal in August, we had the thermometer one day at 99 deg., and in Boston, in September, at five o'clock in the evening at 93 or 94 deg. ; it having risen 17 degrees in nine hours. At New-Haven, in Connecticut, when I was there last month, the thermometer was 12 deg. ; at Springfield 23 deg. ; and at Northampton 26 deg. below zero. In the Carolinas and Georgia, a variation of 20 degrees in 24 hours is common. In Charleston, on the 17th March, 1819, the thermometer fell 33 deg. in 12 hours ; in 1751, 46 deg. in 16 hours. At the same season of the year, the heat in different latitudes of this continent varies to a great extent. In February last, while we were oppressed with heat amidst the orange groves of Charleston, and eating green peas grown in the open air, they were *sleighing* in the streets of Philadelphia, and the mail from New-York was stopped two or three days by snow. On the 6th of February, the preceding year, the thermometer was 33 deg. *below* zero at Montreal, and 67 deg. *above* at Savannah.

I am, &c.

LETTER XX.

WE left Hartford in Connecticut, on the 2d of March 1821, in the Albany stage or sleigh, to visit the Missionary School at Cornwall; and at the distance of about six miles crossed what is called "the Mountain," from the summit of which we had a charming view of the Connecticut valley on the one side, and of another extensive and very beautiful valley on the other. The descent into it was very steep; and soon after we had crossed the high land which forms its opposite boundary, we passed through some very romantic glens, in one of which New-Hartford is situated. Here we dined; and as the road to Cornwall now branched off from the Albany road, we were obliged to obtain a private sleigh. It was an open one; and although the day was extremely cold, we were not sorry to have nothing to interrupt our view. The country became dreary and uninteresting as we approached Goshen; but on drawing near to Cornwall about sunset, we had some beautiful mountain scenery, very similar to some of the mountain scenery in Tennessee, near Brainerd. In one respect, indeed there was a striking contrast. In both cases the hills were clothed with wood; but the valleys, which in Tennessee were hidden under a sombre mantle of unbroken forest, were here enlivened with the appearance of cultivation, and animated with all the cheering indications of civilized life. To the eye of an Englishman—to whom the sight of woods

usually suggests ideas of shade and shelter, of rural beauty or of such sylvan solitudes only as are sedulously preserved to afford protection to game, to add variety to park scenery, or to contrast with rich cultivation in their immediate vicinity—the trees which generally cover the American mountains, even to their summits, detract somewhat from the sublimity. In the imagination of an American, on the contrary, they invest them with whatever of dreary desolation, desert magnificence, and savage nature, he has learned from infancy to associate with his interminable forests, and with the wild beasts and savage Indians which inhabit them. With him, woodland scenery, even of a milder character, partakes of the sublime; and if mere cultivation be not beauty, it is closely allied to it in his imagination; and from its intimate connexion with utility, which enters largely into his idea of beauty, it awakens many kindred associations. Every acre reclaimed from the wilderness is a conquest of “civilized man over uncivilized nature;” an addition to those resources which are to enable his country to stretch her moral empire to her geographical limits, and to diffuse over a vast continent the physical enjoyments, the social advantages, the political privileges, and the religious institutions, the extension of which is identified with all his visions of her future greatness.

As we descended into the little valley in which the Mission School is situated, the distant mountains were fading from our view; but we had just daylight enough to see the steeple of the church.

and the very few houses which seemed to compose this little village, or rather this little detached part of a little village. The snow contributed to prolong our twilight, and assisted us in discerning about a quarter of a mile before we reached the school, a retired burying ground, with many upright slabs of white marble, over which the evening star, the only one which had yet appeared, seemed to be shedding its mild light. Here, as we afterwards learned, lay the remains of the lamented Henry Obookiah, a pupil of peculiar promise, from the Sandwich Islands. His companions, Hopoo, Tennooe, and Honooree, returned some months since to their native island with the mission which was sent thither. Tamoree, King of Atooi, in a letter to his son at Cornwall, had expressed himself very desirous that missionaries should be provided, and great expectations are excited of the success of the mission.

Being informed that a Mr. —— though not keeping a regular inn, sometimes received those who visited the school, I applied to him in preference to taking up my quarters at a very uninviting tavern. We soon obtained admittance into a neat little chamber, where I sat up till a late hour, indulging the very interesting reflections naturally excited by my situation, in a deep retired romantic valley, where so many heathen youths were collected from different parts of the world to be instructed in the principles of the Christian religion, and qualified as far as human effort could qualify them, to diffuse the light of the Gospel over the benighted lands of their nativity. I

thought of the nights which I passed at the missionary settlements of Elliot and Brainerd, in the southern forest, where I heard this school mentioned with deep interest. Indeed some of the Indian children at those distant settlements had brothers or sisters here, with whom they maintained a constant and affectionate correspondence. I saw some of their letters, written with great feeling and simplicity, in which they were encouraging each other in their Christian course, and dwelling on the importance of improving their present advantages, in order to be prepared to become blessings to their native tribes, by introducing civilization and Christianity among those sons of the forest.

I rose early, and at six o'clock, when the bell rang, went to the school to prayers. A chapter in the New Testament was first read, each pupil, or rather several of them, taking a verse in succession; afterwards, David Brown, the Brother of Catherine Brown, a Cherokee, whose name you often see in the Missionary Reports, led the devotions of the assembly by an appropriate prayer: they then all dispersed to their own rooms.

I have obtained a list of their native names for you; but in the mean time must tell you that there were, among others, one Malay, one Otaheitan, two Mowhees, two Owyhees, one New Zealander, eight Cherokee Indians, two Choctaws, three Mich-he-con-nuks, one Oneida, one Tuscarora, and two Coughnewagas. Three of them, Awik (David Brown) a Cherokee, Kal-le-ga-nah (Elias Boudinot) a Cherokee, and Irepo-ah, an Owhyhee,

afterwards paid me a visit in my room, and sat with me half an hour. They could all speak English, and Irepo-ah told me he had seen my country, having lain a week off the Isle of Wight, in the vessel in which he was carried to China and Amsterdam on his way hither. The principal of the school told me that Kal-le-ga-nah had gone through a course of history, geography, and surveying, had read some books of Virgil, and was then engaged in studying Enfield's philosophy: over which, indeed, I afterwards found him when I visited the school. I also saw his trigonometrical copy-books. I had a letter of introduction to the Rev. Mr. Dagget, the principal, who is devoting the remainder of his life to the school. He called on me at eight o'clock, and I afterwards found him at the school, where I heard some of the pupils examined. He shewed me a large sheet of paper, on which were written the names of twenty or thirty common objects in English, and opposite to them the corresponding names in the different languages of all the pupils who had ever been in school. On coming away, he gave me a copy of the 19th Psalm in the language of the Muh-he-con-nuk, or Stockbridge tribe of Indians.

It would be difficult to conceive a more interesting sight than was presented by this school; and you will anticipate my reflections on bidding it a final adieu. It was opened in the spring of 1817, and the following is the object stated in the constitution:—"The education in America of heathen youth, in such manner as, with subsequent professional instructions, will qualify them

to become useful missionaries, physicians, school-masters, or interpreters, and to communicate to the heathen nations such knowledge in agriculture and the arts, as may prove the means of promoting Christianity and civilization." Is not this a truly noble object ?

My hostess was the grand-daughter of the former pastor of the village. Her eldest daughter, a pleasing young person of a serious disposition, seemed much interested with Mr. Leigh Richmond's "Little Jane," which I left with her. It was a great pleasure to me to read it in this little valley, with all the associations with which it seemed so well to harmonize. We left Cornwall at ten o'clock, on the 3d, in an open sleigh. Our road, for three or four miles, lay through a natural grove of hemlock, spruce, and cedar, which made an arch over our heads, and whose matted boughs and dark green leaves, formed a fine contrast with the new fallen snow which rested upon them in masses, or fell through, and gave a softer appearance to the frozen surface over which we travelled. A rapid brook, which we sometimes heard below dashing over the rocks, and to the brink of which the road occasionally descended, improved the scene.

Soon after crossing the Housatonic, we ascended a mountain, from which we took our last view of this consecrated spot, whose scenery, I reflected, would be carried to almost every part of the world, in the breasts of the young missionaries, associated in many instances with interesting recollections of early piety, and of vows which. made in

the first fervour of their devotion to the sacred cause, would often be recalled in far distant scenes, to sustain their fainting spirits, or re-animate their slackened efforts, in the meridian or evening of their days.

When we descended the mountain on the other side, we were gratified by a long succession of scenery which reminded me more of the high moorlands of our own country than any thing we had lately seen. The little valleys which lay between them were very level and richly cultivated, and the small farm-houses had more of the cottage and less of the parlour style in their appearance than is usual in New-England—perhaps I ought to say, more of the kitchen style, for the picturesque cottage of Old England is seen here as seldom as the miserable hovel or crumbling mud cabin.

Soon after passing Sharon, we entered the state of New-York; and it was not without regret that I bade adieu to New-England, where I had found so much to please and to interest me.

I first entered New-England, in the state of Vermont, which I crossed in the autumn, and with which I was much delighted. It well deserves its name; and I do not think that I have had a more interesting ride of the same length since my arrival in America, except *perhaps* in the valley of the Shenandoah,—and *there* there were some slaves at least, while *here* the “Green mountain boys” are as free and independent as in the times which Mrs. Grant describes, and perhaps a little more enlightened. We found schools in every township, and there are various colleges in the State.

The attention of the clergy to their duties is most exemplary, and *non-residence is said not to be known among them*. I scarcely saw an inn without a Bible in the parlour; and I several times found a volume of Scott's Bible in my bed-chamber. At one place where we changed horses, were the life of Harriot Newell, (a present from the minister to the innkeeper's daughter,) Whitfield's Sermon's, Young's Night Thoughts, &c.; and at another Walter Scott, the Pastor's Fire-side, Blair's Lectures, Paley's Philosophy, Darwin's Botanic Garden, French Grammar, and some others,—and this in one room in a country inn. The face of the country sometimes reminded me of the richest meadow land in Craven, sometimes of the most romantic part of Derbyshire, and very often of a valley to us more dear and beautiful than can be found in either. The houses, either when grouped in villages or standing alone, are clean white frame houses with Venetian blinds. The churches are of white frame also, with lofty spires; simple, pretty, and, better than all, very numerous. I remember as we crossed the Connecticut river, which there divides the states of Vermont and New-Hampshire, I asked the driver, a young man of about eighteen years of age, whether we should find the New-Hampshire people as civil as the "green mountain boys?" He said,—“No; you will not find them quite as civil, and certainly not so enlightened: as their land is so poor in general, that they have not the same opportunities of improvement, although there are schools in every district. and every one can read.” Indeed, the

number of schools which you observe as you pass along the roads in New-England, and the neat appearance and respectable civil manners of the children going or returning with their little books under their arms, are very pleasing.

Mr. Webster was quite correct in his remark on this subject, in his eloquent oration at the second centenary of the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers on the Plymouth Rock. "Although," said he, "the representatives of the kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland listened to a gentleman of distinguished character (Mr. Brougham) with astonishment and delight, when detailing his plan of national education, we hear no principles with which we ourselves have not been familiar from youth: we see nothing in the plan but an approach to that system which has been established in New-England for more than a century and a half. It is said, that in England not more than one child in fifteen possesses the means of being taught to read and write: in Wales, one in twenty; in France, until lately, when some improvement was made, not more than one in thirty-five. Now it is hardly too strong to say that in New-England *every* child possesses such means. That which is elsewhere left to chance or charity, we secure by law. For the purpose of public instruction, we hold every man subject to taxation in proportion to his property; and we look not to the question whether he himself have or have not children to be benefited by the education for which he pays. We regard it as a wise and liberal system of policy, by which property, and life, and the peace of society are se-

cured. We seek to prevent in some measure the extension of the penal code, by inspiring a salutary and conservative principle of virtue and of knowledge at an early age. We hope for a security beyond the law, and above the law, in the prevalence of enlightened and well-principled moral sentiment. We hope to continue and prolong the time when in the villages or farm-houses of New-England there may be undisturbed sleep within unbarred doors. And knowing that our government rests directly in the public will, that we may preserve it, we endeavour to give a safe and proper direction to that public will." All this is to be ascribed to the peculiar character of the first settlers of New-England. It has been well observed, "The scattered settlements along the shores of Massachusetts and Connecticut, which in the map of the now extensive empire of America can hardly be made visible, were not inhabited, as is often the case in a new colony, by men of forlorn prospects and ruined character, or by desperate expelled outcasts, but by gentlemen and yeomen of England, who, in a period of stern religious dissent, went into a voluntary distant exile to preserve what they considered the truth. These men, who had been bred in the antique cloisters of Oxford and Cambridge, united all the learning of the schools to the piety and zeal of confessors and martyrs." "Poetry," says Mr. Webster, "has fancied nothing in the wandering of heroes so distinct and characteristic. Here was man, unprotected indeed, and unprovided for on the shore of a rude and fearful wilderness; but it was politic, intelli-

gent, and educated man. Every thing was civilized but the physical world. Institutions, containing, in substance, all that ages had done for human government, were established in a forest. Cultivated mind was made to act on uncultivated nature; and, more than all, a government and a country were to commence with the very first foundation laid under the divine light of the Christian Religion.”

To the superior advantages of education transmitted by their learned forefathers to the inhabitants of the Eastern States, as well as to the poverty of their soil, is to be ascribed that spirit of emigration which has rendered New-England the *officina gentium* of North America. You remember how beautifully the connexion between superior intelligence in the population of a comparatively poor country and a spirit of adventure and emigration are portrayed by Dr. Currie, in his remarks on the Scottish peasants. But to return to my narrative—

A little circumstance which I will mention, will show you the difference between the state of manners in Connecticut and that part of the State of New-York on which we had just entered. The snow had so far disappeared from many parts of the road that, after tugging along in the mud, and availing ourselves of every little patch of snow on the road side, we were obliged to part with our sleigh and obtain a waggon. While they were preparing this little vehicle, I went into the house of the person who undertook to convey us; and, in speaking about his coming home the same night,

(it was Saturday,) or making an allowance for his staying at Poughkeepsie the following day, his wife said, "Oh, people don't think so much about the Sabbath here. In Connecticut they take any body up that travels on Sunday; but here we're in a loose township, where people think little about religion—I was not brought up so." Now in that part of Connecticut where I hired the sleigh it was considered quite a matter of course "to tarry on the Sabbath," as they termed it, and to include it in their calculation of expenses.

The owner and driver of the Jersey waggon was of German extraction, though a "*native born*" American, and was very conversible. He told me that his father and his brother had remained in Upper Canada, where they found the land excellent, and that he would go there too, but his "woman's father" was loth to lose his daughter; that he resigned a commission he held in the American army during the late war, on finding his company ordered to the Canadian frontiers, as it seemed unnatural to fight against his neighbours, and still more against his own *kin*. We stopped towards night to feed our horses at a place called Pleasant Valley, where there was a larger circle than usual sitting round the fire, and fewer persons standing about the bar, which I attributed to our being in a German neighbourhood. They were talking about "a caucus" which had been held, or was going to be held, for the appointment of some petty officer. I will explain this proceeding to you when we meet. We have long been familiar with it, as a preliminary movement in the election of president: but I

was not aware when I left England that it extended to the election of very subordinate officers. It was starlight for two hours before we reached Poughkeepsie, where I met with a very frigid reception from a very surly landlord, who seemed to suppose he was conferring a favour by allowing one to cross his threshold. I obtained a comfortable little room however, and saw my frosty friend only once while I staid. I rose early next morning, and found, to my satisfaction, that my window looked over the noble Hudson to the high land on the opposite side ; and, on going out, I found myself, as I expected, in sight of some of the finest mountains in North America. These are the Catskill, the fine northern range, in which the Alleghany and the Blue Mountains terminate : they are the most picturesque range that I have seen in America (except, perhaps, one range in Virginia, from the valley of the Shenandoah, and I do not know that I ought to except that.) Their rounded summits and towering peaks give them a strong resemblance to our mountain scenery, and form a striking contrast to the unbroken continuity and horizontal outline of the American mountains generally, and especially of the Alleghany. They are not higher than the fine range of the Lake Mountains which we see from Lancaster Castle, nor, I think, either more beautiful or sublime ; but it is difficult to compare objects, where the one is present to the eye, the other only to the imagination. It was a very fine morning, and the sun threw a rich red tinge over their snowy sides when he rose. To the south, the Fishkill Mountains.

which are also very remarkable ones, were distinctly visible, and in the vicinity of this fine scenery—by many persons considered the finest in North America—I had arranged to pass my last Sabbath on these western shores. To how many interesting reflections, prospective and retrospective, that single consideration gave rise, I must leave you to imagine.

In the Episcopal Church, a little plain building, we had a good sermon from the words, “All things are yours,” &c., and in the afternoon in the Baptists’ Meeting on a kindred subject from the text, “All things work together for good to them that love God, that are the called according to his purpose.”

We had a glorious sun-set, and as the sun went down I appeared to take leave of America; for I anticipated little time either to think or feel during the ensuing week of preparation.

New-York, March 7th.

We left Poughkeepsie at four o’clock the next morning in the stage. This is principally a Dutch town, as is very evident in the structure of the buildings and the construction of the men and women; the former of smaller, the latter of ampler, dimensions than are common in America. The ride to New-York, 80 miles, is one of the most striking in this country. In the space of 20 miles, through and over what are called the Highlands, or the Fishkill Mountains, I saw more of nature’s ruins than in my whole life before :

Rocks, mounds, and knolls, confusedly hurl'd,
The fragments of an earlier world.

Many of the smaller defiles resembled the Trossacks, but were far wilder. I will, however, attempt no description. I will only say that for two days I was revelling in magnificent scenery, and adding largely to those chambers of imagery from which I hope during life to be able to summon at pleasure the most sublime and beautiful forms of nature.

I had a very fine view of the passage which the Hudson has forced for itself through the Fishkill mountains, as the Potomac and Shenandoah through the Blue Mountains in Virginia. We were within a short distance of the Hudson during a great part of the day; frequently on its banks; and as the day was bright, and I sat by the coachman till it was dark, I saw the country to great advantage. I had before sailed through the Highlands by moonlight, on my way to Canada. We reached New-York after midnight (this morning;) and I am now writing my last letter to England in the house where I slept the night we landed, sixteen months since. I can hardly believe that only sixteen months have elapsed since I first hailed

“These lands beneath Hesperian skies,
Where daylight sojourns till our morrow rise.”

Every week indeed has glided rapidly away; but the new sources of interest which have opened to me on every side, and the various scenes through which I have passed, have given to the intervening period an apparent extension far beyond its real limits. In little more than a year I have visited

Upper and Lower Canada, and traversed the United States from their northern to their southern extremity, comprehending in my route the States of Maine, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode-Island, Connecticut, New-York, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Tennessee. I have crossed the Alleghany in Tennessee, the Blue Ridge in Virginia, and the Green Mountains in Vermont. I have sailed on those inland seas, and traversed those boundless forests, which are associated with our earliest conceptions of this Western world. I have seen the St. Lawrence precipitate its mighty torrent down the Falls of Niagara, reflect from its calm expanse the frowning battlements of Quebec, and then flow majestically to the wintry shores of Labrador; and the Mississippi, rising in the same table land as the St. Lawrence, rolling its turbid waters for three thousand miles to the orange groves of Louisiana, and, at last, falling into the Gulf of Mexico, under nearly the same latitude as the Nile. I have conversed with the polished circles of the Atlantic cities; the forlorn emigrant in the wilderness; the Negro on the plantation; and the Indian in his native forest. In successive intervals of *space* I have traced society through those various stages which in most countries are exhibited only in successive periods of *time*: I have seen the roving hunter acquiring the habit of the herdsman; the pastoral state merging into the agricultural, and the agricultural into the manufacturing and commercial. I am now on the eve of embarking for the old world.

Need I add that I shall return, if I am spared, with undiminished affection for the friends I left behind: with unshaken fidelity and attachment to the land of my nativity; and, if possible, with a deeper sense than ever of the glory and privilege of having been born "*a British*," as the interpreter of my Indian hunters would say? Indeed, you need never fear that my country will have too few attractions for me, while she produces so many male and female worthies. Who would renounce the honour of being compatriots of her living ornaments, to say nothing of her long line of illustrious dead? But even her woods, her rivers, and her mountains have not lost one charm by comparison. Our woods and rivers will appear more diminutive, perhaps, than before, but not less picturesque; and Ingleborough and Lunesdale, Coniston Fells, and our Lake scenery, are surpassed by nothing which I have seen. You must not be surprised, however, if I feel a strong emotion on bidding a last adieu to these western shores; to a country where I have passed many happy hours: where I have found so much to stimulate and gratify curiosity; and where I have experienced a degree of attention which I never can forget. In the interest which I must ever feel in the destinies of this favoured land, in her European, her African, and her Aboriginal population, I seem as if I were endowed with a new sense. I see in the Americans, a nation who are to show to generations yet unborn, what *British* energy can accomplish when unfettered by the artificial arrangements of less enlightened times, and the clumsy machinery of

the old complicated system of commercial policy ; when combining with the elastic vigour of renovated youth the experience of a long and spirited career of prosperity and glory ; and when bringing to the boundless regions of a new world, fair and fresh from the hand of its Creator, the intellectual treasures which have been accumulating for centuries in the old.

It is in this light that I wish to regard America ; as a scion from the old British oak—not as a rival, whose growing greatness is to excite jealousy and apprehension, but as the vigorous child of an illustrious parent, whose future glory may reflect lustre on the distinguished family from which she sprang, and who should be solicitous to prove herself worthy of her high descent. May her future career evince both her title and her sensibility to her hereditary honours ! May the child forget the supposed severity of the parent, and the parent the alleged obstinacy of the child ; and while, as two independent nations, they emulate each other in glorious deeds, may they combine their commanding influence to promote the lasting interest of the human race !

APPENDIX.

From the London Missionary Register for Nov. and Dec. 1821.

Journey among the Creeks, Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Cherokees.

IN our last survey under the head of North American Indians, we mentioned a journey which had been taken by a friend, among these Indians. This Gentleman (Adam Hodgson, Esq. of Liverpool, Treasurer of the West-Lan-
eashire Association of the Church Missionary Society) favoured us, a considerable time since, with a Narrative of his journey; and we regret that our limits, which we find increasingly inadequate to the important matter that presses on us from all quarters, have obliged us to defer so long an account of his tour. We have taken the liberty of giving that authenticity to his interesting narrative, which will attach to it from the insertion of his name.

Mr. Hodgson set out on this visit to the Indians on the 17th of March, 1820, from Augusta, in the north-east part of Georgia, bordering on South Carolina. He travelled on horseback accompanied only by a servant; and reached Mobile in East Florida, on the 15th day; having crossed the state of Georgia in a south-west direction, a distance of 450 miles. Taking his passage at Mobile on board a schooner for New-Orleans, he arrived at that city on the 7th of April; and proceeded thence up the Mississippi, in a steam-boat to Natchez. On the 10th of May, he left Natchez, on horseback, accompanied by his servant, with the intention of proceeding through the Wilderness, as it is termed—that is, the western and northern parts of Georgia

and the state of Tennessee—to Richmond, in Virginia, a distance of about 1240 miles. In this route he passed through the Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Cherokee Nations; and visited the Missionary Settlement of Elliot among the Choctaws, and that of Brainerd among the Cherokees. Soon after leaving Brainerd, Mr. Hodgson crossed the Tennessee, which there forms the boundary of the Cherokee Nation: quitting here the Indian Territory, he crossed the Alleghany Mountains, and reached Monticello, the seat of Mr. Jefferson, late President of the United States. On the 20th of June he arrived at Richmond, the horses having accomplished the 1240 miles from Natchez, in six weeks, without difficulty.

We extract Mr. Hodgson's account of his reception at Monticello, and the reflections there made by him on the journey which he had just accomplished:—

Monticello, the well-known seat of Mr. Jefferson, is finely situated on an eminence which commands a magnificent prospect. Here I experienced a very polite and hospitable reception, from this retired and philosophic Statesman; whose urbanity and intelligence can scarcely fail to make a favourable impression on a stranger. While conversing with him in a handsome saloon, surrounded by instruments of science, valuable specimens of the fine arts, and literary treasures of every nation and every age, I could not help contrasting my situation with some of those which I had occupied a few weeks before, when taking my cup of coffee with a Chickasaw or Choctaw host, or dandling on my knee a little Indian Chieftain in his national costume.

In less than five weeks, I had passed from the recesses of thick forests, whose silence had never been broken by the woodman's axe, to a richly cultivated country, where cattle were grazing in extensive meadows, and corn-fields waving in the wind; where Commerce was planting her Towns, Science founding her Universities, and Religion rearing her Heaven-directed Spires. In the same space, I had traced man through every stage of society; from the hunter, whose ideas were bounded by the narrow circle of his daily wants, to the philosophic statesman, who had learned to grasp the complicated interests of society, and penetrate the mysterious system of the universe.

We subjoin, with pleasure, Mr. Hodgson's remarks, made in the course of this and other journeys, on the character of the American people; as we trust that they will contribute to the increase of friendly feelings on both sides of the Atlantic:—

Although, in this narrative I have confined myself almost entirely to an account of my route through the Indian Nations. I cannot conclude without expressing my deep regret at the erroneous ideas which prevail in England on the subject of America generally.

With a decided preference to the manners and institutions and form of government of my own country (a preference only confirmed by opportunities of comparison,) it has been impossible to avoid perceiving, that those ideas are in many respects as unjust to the United States, as they are discreditable to Great Britain. To what cause we are to attribute the ignorance and prejudice of my enlightened and generous country on almost every topic connected with America, it is foreign to my purpose to inquire. The subject is a very interesting one; but it would lead to a discussion for which I have neither abilities nor leisure.

I should, however, do great injustice to my own feelings, if I did not state, that, in the course of a journey of between 5000 and 6000 miles, in which I passed through the States of Vermont, New-Hampshire, Massachusetts, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Tennessee, and mixed rather extensively with society, I received impressions of America and its inhabitants, very different from those which prevail among a large portion of my countrymen, or which are to be derived from our books of Travels or Reviews.

I appeal, therefore, to the candour of my countrymen, whether, if those representations were true, which in many cases are most erroneous, the tone and temper with which the subject of America is sometimes discussed among us, are either courteous or liberal—whether they are calculated to elicit or obscure the truth, to extinguish or inflame animosity—whether they are becoming the dignity and magnanimity of Great Britain—whether they are consistent with Christian Principles—and whether in their result, they are likely to confirm or to invalidate that combination of the benevolent efforts of the two countries, so favourable to the cause of Humanity and Religion?

It is with reluctance that we omit any part of Mr. Hodgson's Narrative ; but our limits oblige us to abridge it in a few places.

In the present Number we shall give his account of the Creeks : that of the Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Cherokees, will be reserved for the next Number.

Creek Indians.

In his journey across Georgia, from Augusta to Mobile, Mr. Hodgson passed through the territory of the Creek Indians, in the central parts of that State. On crossing the River Ockmulgee, he entered the Nation, and proceeded forward to the " Agency," or residence of the person who acts as Agent between the United States and the Indians of Georgia, which lies on the Flint River. Pine forests of many miles extent lie in the way, and stretch to the horizon on every side. Of the state of the people, and of the scenery, our readers will find a very interesting description.

Cabins are placed throughout the Creek Nation, at distances of about thirty miles, for the convenience of travellers. Of the first of these which he met with, Mr. Hodgson says :—

As we approached it, we saw some Indians in their wigwams on the road-side. One was lying asleep before the door, his head covered with a blanket ; and when I pointed to him, a woman, who was sitting over him, said, " Whiskey sick—Whiskey sick." Some had brought their little parcels of Indian corn from an Indian town about eight miles distant, and were selling it to the people of the inn. The young men were shooting at small birds with their bows and arrows ; and the little children who appeared very active, were trying to walk on their hands, as the children in England occasionally do.

The Maitre d'Hotel of our little cabin, was a white man, the partner of an Indian Chief ;—the Creek Indians allowing no white person to settle in their nation, except as their partners, as husbands of Indian women, or as, in some way or other, closely connected with themselves. He gave us some coffee, and Indian-corn bread, and bacon ; a plain substantial fare, which you seldom fail to obtain, throughout the nation, sometimes improved by the addition of su-

gar and cream and butter, and sometimes varied by the introduction of wild venison, or wild turkeys.

As we purposed sleeping in the woods that night, there being no cabin within a convenient distance, we had here to lay in provision for our horses. At four o'clock, we set out—my servant carrying a handkerchief full of Indian-corn leaves, the substitute for hay in this country, being tied behind me on my horse, half as high as my shoulders.

On the banks of several streams, we saw parties of Indians, who had settled themselves there for a few days, to assist travellers in swimming their horses; but, as the waters had subsided, we did not require their assistance. Their rude dwellings were formed of four upright saplings, and a rough covering of pine-bark, which they strip from the trees with a neatness and rapidity which we could not imitate. Before them, the women were sitting, dressing Indian corn or wild venison; the men lying by their side with intelligent and happy countenances, graceful in their attitudes, and grave and dignified in their address. Some of the parties whom we passed in the glens at sun-set, had a very picturesque appearance.

We rode nearly two hours by moonlight, before we could find water for our horses: at length observing some fires at a distance in the woods, we struck toward them; but they were surrounded by Indians, to whom we could not make ourselves intelligible. At last we discerned a stream of water, and near it two or three parties of travellers; who had already lighted their fires, by which they were toasting their bacon, and boiling their coffee. We invited ourselves to join one, consisting of a little Alabama cotton-planter and his daughter, whom we had met in the course of the day. He was in a situation of life corresponding, perhaps, with that of our second or third-rate farmers; and was bringing his daughter from school at Milledgeville in Georgia, from 300 to 400 miles from hence. They travelled in a little Jersey Waggon or (Dear-born, or Carry-all, or Carry-half, as this humble vehicle is variously denominated)—“Camping out” every night, and cooking their bacon and coffee three times a day.

Some stragglers from the other parties joined us, for a little chat before bed-time; and were consulting on the propriety of proceeding directly to the end of their journey, or staying for a season, as is very common, to “make a crop” on some of the unappropriated public lands. When they were gone, our Alabama friends sat reading by the

fire, for an hour or two before they retired to rest, when the little girl ascended the waggon and her father covered her with a blanket, and spread an umbrella over her, to protect her from the dew. As for ourselves, having secured our horses and given them their supper, and contributed our supply to the stock of wood for the night, we lay down in the blankets which we always put under the saddles, to prevent our horses' backs being galled; taking our saddle-bags for pillows, and placing our pistols by our side.

In the course of the night, a few Indians paid us a visit; walking round us, and examining us very attentively, but without speaking. The novelty of the scene, however, prevented my sleeping much. On my left hand, were my friend the Alabama planter, and his daughter, with her coffee-pot, and her "Tales of my Landlord," at her father's feet. About 100 yards from us were the Emigrants from Georgia and Carolina, with their five or six little fires; alternately decaying till they almost disappeared, and then bursting forth with a vivid flame which illuminated the intervening space, and flashed on the horses and waggons ranged around: on our right were the Indian wigwams; and before us, at a distance, some acres of pine woods on fire. Yet, notwithstanding the strong light which occasionally emanated from so many sources, and the features of the grotesque which the picture certainly contained, the stillness of the night, the deep blue of the sky above us, and the sombre colouring of the heavy forests in which we were enveloped, imparted to this novel scene a character of solemnity which preponderated over every other expression.

We set off as soon as it was light; and, passing several creeks, arrived at the extremity of a ridge, from which we looked down into a savannah, in which is situated the Indian town of Cosito, on the Chatahouchy. It appeared to consist of about 100 houses, many of them elevated on poles from two to six feet high, and built of unhewn logs, with roofs of bark, and little patches of Indian corn before the doors. The women were hard at work, digging the ground, pounding Indian corn, or carrying heavy loads of water from the river: the men were either setting out to the woods with their guns, or lying idle before the doors; and the children were amusing themselves in little groups. The whole scene reminded me strongly of some of the African towns, described by Mungo Park. In the centre of the town, we passed a large building, with a conical roof, supported by a circular wall about three feet high: close to it

was a quadrangular space, enclosed by four open buildings, with rows of benches rising above one another: the whole was appropriated, we were informed, to the Great Council of the town, who meet, under shelter, or in the open air, according to the weather. Near the spot was a high pole, like our May-poles, with a bird at the top, round which the Indians celebrate their Green-Corn Dance. The town or township of Cosito is said to be able to muster 700 warriors, while the number belonging to the whole Nation is not estimated at more than 3500.

About a mile from the town we came to the Chatahouchy, a beautiful river. We were ferried over by Indians, who sang in response; the Indian Muses, like their Eastern Sisters, appearing to "love alternatc song." Their dress frightened our horses; and, as we were pushing from the shore, a young hunter leapt into the boat, with no other covering than his shirt and belt, and his bow and arrows slung behind.

We arrived at Ouchee Bridge about one o'clock; and our horses being rather tired, we determined to rest the remainder of the day at a stand kept by a young man from Philadelphia, whose partner is a half-breed. I slept in a log-cabin, without windows; and supped with my host and several unwashed artificers, and unshaved labourers, who, according to the custom of this part of the country, even when not within Indian limits, sat down with us in their shirt-sleeves, fresh from their labours. Our host had killed a panther a few days previously, within twenty yards of the house.

Ouchee Creek, which is here to form the boundary between Alabama and Georgia, when the Indian title is extinguished, derives its name from the Ouchees, a conquered tribe of Indians; many of whom were long held in captivity by the victorious Creeks. We saw several of them, who exhibited in the subdued and dejected expression of their countenances, indications of their degraded condition.

We left Ouchee Bridge on the 26th of May; and early in the afternoon, arrived at Irish Bainbridge, where we found a stand in which the "Big Warrior" is a sleeping partner, and a head waiter from one of the principal inns in Washington, the efficient man. There is, however, another partner, whom I found highly interesting. He had lived fifteen years in the heart of the Indian country, having married an Indian wife, and adopted the manners of the natives. He appeared to unite great mildness and in-

telligence; and has contracted so ardent a love of solitude, by living in the woods, that he lately removed his stand from the most profitable situation, because there was a neighbour or two within four miles. As he was going out to hunt in the woods, for an hour or two, at sun-set, I accompanied him; glad of the opportunity of learning some particulars of the Creek Indians, from one so long and so intimately acquainted with them.

He told me that the "Big Warrior" and the "Little Prince" are the Chief Speakers of the Nation, or the Heads of the Civil Department. Their dignity is not strictly hereditary; although some of the family usually succeed, if there be no particular objection. The Chief Speakers are by no means necessarily the principal *orators*, but may employ a fluent Chief to convey their sentiments. Their office is to carry into effect the decisions of the Great Council of the Nation; a deliberative body, composed of Chiefs from the different towns.

The most popular and influential person, however, in the Nation, is Mackintosh, the Head Warrior, a half-breed, under forty years of age; who is consulted on every occasion, and who, in a great measure, directs the affairs of his country. I saw him at Washington, in the beginning of the year, on a deputation to the American Government. His suite were at the inn where I staid; and on inquiring from one of his Aides-du-Camp, as I believed (for they adopt our military terms,) if General Mackintosh had arrived, I was a little startled by his replying, "I am Mackintosh." He was very civil, and gave me an invitation to visit him if I passed through the Creek Nation, which at that time I did not contemplate.

My host regretted, in the most feeling terms, the injury which the morals of the Indians have sustained from intercourse with the Whites; and especially from the introduction of whiskey, which has been their bane. He said that female licentiousness before marriage is not attended with loss of character; but that conjugal infidelity is punished by whipping, shaving the head, and perpetual exile; the husband being liable to suffer the same severities, if he connive at the return of his offending wife. The murderer is now publicly executed; the law of private retaliation becoming gradually obsolete. Stealing is punished, for the first offence, by whipping; for the second, by the loss of the ears; for the third, by death—the amount stolen being disregarded. My host remembers when there was no law against stealing;

the crime itself being almost unknown—when the Indians would go a hunting, or “frolicking,” for one or two days, leaving their clothes on the bushes opposite their wigwams, in a populous neighbourhood, or their silver trinkets and ornaments hanging in their open huts. Confidence and generosity were then their characteristic virtues. A desire of gain, caught from the whites, has chilled their liberality; and abused credulity has taught them suspicion and deceit. He considers them still attached to the English, although disappointed in the little assistance which they derived from them in late wars. This, however, they attribute, rather to the distance of the British, which renders them less valuable allies than they expected, than to a treacherous violation of their promises. Whatever the first glow of British feeling may dictate, on hearing of their attachment, enlightened humanity will not repine, if, under their present circumstances, they are becoming daily more closely connected with the American government, which has evinced an active solicitude for their civilization.

Our recluse told us that they have a general idea of a Supreme Being; but no religious days, nor any religious rites, unless, as he is disposed to believe, their Green-Corn Dance be one. Before the corn turns yellow, the inhabitants of each town or district assemble; and a certain number enter the streets of what is more properly called the town, with the war-whoop and savage yells, firing their arrows in the air, and going several times round the pole. They then take emetics, and fast two days; dancing round the pole a great part of the night. All the fires in the township are then extinguished, and the hearths cleared, and new fires kindled by rubbing two sticks. After this, they parch some of the new corn, and, feasting a little, disperse to their several homes. Many of the old Chiefs are of opinion, that their ancestors intended this ceremony as a thank-offering to the Supreme Being, for the fruits of the earth, and for success in hunting or in war.

The more reflecting of the Creeks think much, but say little of the change which is taking place in their condition. They see plainly that, with respect to their future destiny, it is a question of civilization or extinction; and a question, the decision of which cannot be long postponed. They are therefore, become very solicitous for the establishment of Schools; and the introduction of the various arts, from which the whites derive their superiority. In some of these, they have already made considerable pro-

gress; and the nation at this time exhibits the very interesting spectacle of society in several of its earlier stages. The hunter, who still spends much of his time in his favourite pursuit, is the possessor of perhaps several hundred head of cattle; and, if the warrior do not literally turn his tomahawk and scalping-knife into pruning-hooks, he is satisfied to regard them as mere articles of dress, till hostilities shall again call him into the field; and is ambitious to attain distinction in agricultural pursuits. I saw several neat and flourishing little farms, as I passed through the nation; but my pleasure was alloyed by observing, that the labour generally devolved on either the African negro, or the Indian wife. As few of the Creeks are rich enough to purchase many negroes, all the drudgery is performed by the women; and it is melancholy to meet them, as we continually did, with an infant hanging on their necks, bending under a heavy burden, and leading their husband's horse, while he walked before them, erect and graceful, apparently without a care. This servitude has an unfavourable effect on the appearance of the women; those above a certain age being generally bent and clumsy, with a scowl on their wrinkled foreheads, and an expression of countenance at once vacant and dejected.

We did not leave our little cabin at Irish Bainbridge, until the 28th of May, the 27th being Sunday. It is situated on the ridge which separates the waters of the Chatahouchy from those of the Coosa and Jallapoasa. I was a little surprised to find there, the son of the owner of one of the principal inns in Preston in Lancashire, projecting the introduction of a woollen manufactory among the Creeks, under the sanction of the natives.

Soon after leaving our friends at Irish Bainbridge, we passed Caleebe and Cubahatchee Swamps; and, in the evening arrived at Lime Creek, which we were told forms, at that place, the present boundary line between the Creek Nation and Alabama.

Choctaw Indians.

In the morning of the third day after leaving Natchez, Mr. Hodgson entered the Choctaw Nation. He proceeded on what is called the "Natchez" or "Kentucky Train;" that is, the road by which the inhabitants of Kentucky or Tennessee return home from Natchez through

the Wilderness, when they have broken up the rude boats in which the produce of the Western Country is conveyed down the Mississippi. "Stands," as they are called, or houses of entertainment, are placed at the distance of thirty or forty miles from one another, throughout the Nation.

While resting at one of these places, on the first Sunday after he had entered the Nation, Mr. Hodgson says—

We were visited by many Indians, some of whom were rather importunate for whiskey or tobacco. In the woods, about half-a-mile distant, 50 or 60 were collected to revenge the death of a woman, who had been murdered a few days before as a witch; but matters appeared likely to be compromised without bloodshed: we afterward saw, however, by the newspapers, that the dispute terminated in a bloody conflict.

Toward evening, ten or twelve travellers dropped in—a noisy set. We all slept on bear-skins on the floor. Our host told me that there were not five nights in the year, in which some travellers did not sleep there, and that seventy or eighty occasionally called in a day. He removed from North Carolina about nine years ago, and has acquired considerable property.

Set off early on the 15th of May; and finding that at the cabin where we purposed to stop, they no longer received travellers, we had to go twenty-five miles to breakfast. Here we got some coffee in an Indian hut, where the inhabitants could not speak English.

As soon as it appeared to be twelve o'clock by the sun, three of the Indian women covered themselves with blankets, and approached a little spot in the garden, enclosed by six upright poles, on the highest of which were suspended several chaplets of vine leaves and tendrils: here they either sat or kneeled (the blankets preventing our seeing which) for about twenty minutes, uttering a low monotonous wailing. This mournful ceremony they repeat, at sun-rise, noon, and sun-set, for ninety days, or three moons, as the Egyptians mourned for Jacob threescore and ten days. I have since been informed, by a very intelligent Indian, that the period of mourning is sometimes extended to four or five moons, if the individual be deeply regretted, or of eminent rank; and that it is occasionally determined by the time occupied in killing the deer and other animals necessary for the great feast which is often given at the pulling up of the poles.

At the celebrated ceremony of the "pole-pulling," the family connexions assemble from a great distance; and, when they are particular in observing the ancient customs, they spend two or three days and nights in solemn preparation and previous rites. They then all endeavour to take hold of some part of the poles, which they pluck up and throw behind them without looking, moving backward toward the East. They then feast together, and disperse to their several homes. It was impossible to hear this simple recital without thinking of the account in Genesis, l. 1—14.

Till within ten or fifteen years, the Choctaws generally killed the favourite horses or dogs of the deceased, and buried them, with his gun and hatchet, in his grave. They still sometimes bury the gun; but it is too frequently stolen: and they now satisfy themselves with believing that the spirits of the horses and dogs will rejoin that of their master at their death. The settlement of White people among them, and occasional intermarriages, have undermined many of their customs. The Choctaws formerly scaffolded their dead, in a house appropriated for the purpose, in their different towns; and in these houses, the various families were kept distinct. Sometimes they bury them in their dwellings, like the ancient Egyptians.

Mr. Hodgson describes, at large, the Indian Dance and Ball Play. The game resembles cricket, and gives scope to such an exhibition of agility and strength, as would have been hailed with loud applause in an ancient amphitheatre.

All violence on these occasions is forgiven; and I was informed that it is the only case, in which life is not generally required for life.

The Law of Retaliation is still almost in full force among the Choctaws; the nearest relation of a fugitive murderer being liable to expiate the offence. An intelligent Indian told me, however, that the Choctaws are becoming more anxious than formerly, that the offender himself should suffer; and that his family and that of the deceased generally unite, if necessary, to prevail on him to kill himself. He said, that three or four instances of this kind usually happen in a year, in the circle of his acquaintance; but that it is more common for an Indian, who has killed another by accident or design, to remain with the body till he is found, lest his relations should suffer. He men-

tioned a circumstance of difficulty, which was then pending in the neighbourhood. A woman, being greatly insulted and defamed in the presence of her husband, and threatened with a blow from a knife, stabbed her assailant to the heart : doubts have arisen whether she is bound to kill herself, her family insisting that circumstances justified the deed.

We left the Indians in the middle of their game ; and rejoiced to think of the blessings which missionary efforts are preparing for them. We slept about 18 miles distant.

The following morning we set off, as usual, about four o'clock ; and breakfasted at the house of an Irishman, who left Waterford 30 years since, to carry on the Fur Trade, buying the furs from the Indians, and selling them at Mobile and Pensacola. The embargo interrupted his trade, and he is settled here with his Indian wife.

Mr. Hodgson here left the Kentucky Trace, with the intention of visiting the Missionary Settlement, among the Choctaws, at Elliot, about 60 miles from the road. Of this visit he gives the following narrative :—

Our course was through the woods, along a blazed path about a foot broad ; and, as it was necessary to procure a guide, our host rode with us till he had engaged an Indian, who, for a dollar, attended us 25 miles on his little horse. At night we reached the cabin of a half-breed, who took us in. We found him setting a trap for a wolf, which had attempted, a few hours before, to carry off a pig in sight of the family.

In the course of the evening, one of the missionary brethren arrived from Elliot, for some cattle, which were ranging in the woods ; he promised us a hearty welcome at the establishment.

The following day we set off early, our friends having procured us an Indian to take us the first twelve miles : he could not speak English ; but, having received his quarter of a dollar, and parted from us at the appointed place, he returned to draw our track in the sand, pointing out all the forks and little cross-paths, and again left us. After proceeding about a mile, where we were a little embarrassed, we were surprised to find him again at our side, making motions to direct our route. Again we shook hands and parted : but being again puzzled by a diverging path, half a mile distant, we looked round almost instinctively, and there was our faithful fellow still watching our steps : he

then came up and set us right—made signs that our road now lay in the direction of the sun—and then finally disappeared; leaving us much affected by his disinterested solicitude.

We had a delightful ride along our Indian Path, through a forest of fine oaks; which, within ten or twelve miles of Yaloo Busha, was occasionally interspersed with small natural prairies, and assumed the appearance of an English park. I felt as if I was approaching consecrated ground; and the confidence which I had in the kindness of those on whom I was going to intrude myself (christian kindness is not capricious) relieved me from any awkwardness about my reception. If I had felt any, it would soon have been dismissed by the simple hospitality of the Missionaries.

Soon after my arrival, we proceeded to the school, just as a half-breed, who has taken great interest in it, was preparing to give the children "a talk," previous to returning home, 60 miles distant. He is a very influential Chief, and a man of comprehensive views: he first translated into Choctaw, a letter to the children, from some benevolent friends in the north, who had sent it with a present of a box of clothes: he then gave them a long address in Choctaw. When he took leave, he shook hands with me—said he was glad to hear that the white people in England were interested in the welfare of their red brethren—that the Choctaws were sensible of their want of instruction, and that their teachers were pleased to say that they were not incapable of it—that they were grateful for what had been done; and were aware that it was their duty to cooperate, to the utmost of their ability, with those who were exerting themselves on their behalf.

As soon as school was over, the boys repaired to their agricultural labours; their instructor working with them, and communicating information in the most affectionate manner: the girls proceeded to their sewing and domestic employments, under the missionary sisters. They were afterwards at liberty, till the supper-bell rang; when we all sat down together to bread and milk, and various preparations of Indian corn; the missionaries presiding at the different tables, and confining themselves, as is their custom except in case of sickness, to precisely the same food as the scholars. After supper, a chapter in the Bible was read, with Scott's Practical Observations. This was followed by singing and prayer; and then all retired to their little rooms, in their log cabins.

In the morning, at daylight, the boys were at their agriculture, and the girls at their domestic employments. About seven o'clock, we assembled for reading, singing, and prayer; and, soon afterward, for breakfast. After an interval for play, the school opened with prayer and singing, a chapter in the Bible, and examination on the subject of the chapter of the preceding day. The children then proceeded to reading, writing, accounts, and English grammar, on a modification of the British system. The instructors say that they never knew white children learn with so much facility; and the specimens of writing exhibited unequivocal proofs of rapid progress. Many spoke English very well.

Toward evening I was gratified by the arrival of the Rev. Cyrus Kingsbury, who has the general superintendance of the mission. He had been determining the direction of a path, to be blazed to another settlement, on the Tombigbee river, in Alabama; and although he had slept in the woods in heavy rain the preceding night, he sat up in my room till after midnight, and the following morning rode with us seven miles, to see us safe across the Yaloo Busha.

The immediate object of the Settlement of Elliot (called by the Indians Yaloo Busha, from its proximity to a little river of that name which falls into the Yazoo)—is the religious instruction of the Indians. The missionaries are, however, aware, that this must necessarily be preceded or accompanied by their civilization; and that mere preaching to the adult Indians, though partially beneficial to the present generation, would not probably be attended with any general or permanent results. While, therefore, the religious interests of the children are the objects nearest to their hearts, they are anxious to put them in possession of those qualifications, which may secure to them an important influence in the councils of their nation, and enable them gradually to induce their roaming brethren to abandon their erratic habits for the occupations of civilized life. The general feelings of the nation, at this moment, are most auspicious to their undertaking. For the reasons which I assigned when speaking of the Creeks, the community at large is most solicitous for civilization. In this they have made some progress; many of them growing cotton, and spinning and weaving it into coarse clothing.

Of the three districts or towns into which its 15 or

20,000 souls are divided, one has appropriated to the use of schools, its annuity for seventeen years, of 2000 dollars per annum, received from the United States for ceded lands; another, its annuity of 1000 dollars per annum, with the prospect of 1000 more: and one has requested the United States, not only to forbid the introduction of ammunition into the nation, that the hunter may be compelled to work; but to send their annuity in implements of husbandry. At a recent general council of the Chiefs, 1300 dollars in money, and upwards of eighty cows and calves, were subscribed for the use of schools, and the total contribution of the Choctaws to this object exceeds 70,000 dollars.

Here is noble encouragement for active benevolence! and the industry, judgment, and piety, of the seven or eight brethren and sisters at Elliot seem to qualify them in a peculiar manner, for their responsible office. They have all distinct departments—the Rev. Mr. Kingsbury being the superintendent; another brother, the physician and steward; another, the instructor of the children; another, the manager of the farm: the females also have separate and definite duties. At present, they are over worked; and the Rev. Mr. Kingsbury greatly regretted that so much of his attention was necessarily engrossed by his secular concerns. But, coming into a wilderness, in which the first tree was felled but about eighteen months since, they have had something to do, to erect ten or eleven little log buildings, to bring into cultivation 40 or 50 acres of woodland, and to raise upward of 200 head of cattle. A deep sense, however, of the importance of their object, and an unfaltering confidence in God's blessing on their exertions, have supported them under the difficulties of an infant settlement; and under the still severer trials of a final separation from the circle of their dearest friends, and a total renunciation of every worldly pursuit.

And, indeed, their situation is an enviable one. In a happy exemption from most of the cares and many of the temptations of common life—conversant with the most delightful and elevated objects of contemplation—stimulated to perpetual activity, by an imperious sense of duty, and conscious of disinterested sacrifices in the noblest cause—can we wonder if they manifest a degree of cheerfulness and tranquillity, seldom exhibited even by eminent Christians, who are more in the world? I was particularly struck with their apparent humility, with the kindness of their manner toward one another, and the little attentions which they seemed solicitous to reciprocate.

They spoke very lightly of their privations, and of the trials which the world supposes to be their greatest ; sensible, as they said, that these are often experienced, in at least as great a degree, by the soldier, the sailor, or even the merchant. Yet, in this country, these trials are by no means trifling. Lying out, for two or three months, in the woods, with their little babes—in tents which cannot resist the rain, here falling in torrents such as I never saw in England—within sound of the nightly howling of wolves, and occasionally visited by panthers, which have approached almost to the door—the ladies must be allowed to require some courage ; while, during many seasons of the year, the gentlemen cannot go twenty miles from home (and they are sometimes obliged to go thirty or forty for provisions) without swimming their horses over four or five creeks. Yet, as all these inconveniences are suffered by others with cheerfulness, from wordly motives, they would wish them to be suppressed in the missionary reports if they were not calculated to deter many from engaging as missionaries, under the idea that it is an easy retired life.

Their real trials they stated to consist in their own imperfections ; and in those mental maladies, which the retirement of a desert cannot cure.

In the course of our walks, Mr. Williams pointed out to me a simple tomb, in which he had deposited the remains of a younger brother ; who lost his way in the desert when coming out to join them, and whose long exposure to rain and fasting laid the seeds of a fatal disease. It was almost in sight of one of those Indian mounds, which I have often met with in the woods, and of which the oldest Indians can give no account. They resemble the Cairns in Scotland ; and one of the missionaries mentioned having seen a skeleton dug out of one of them.

Three young ladies were staying at the settlement, and assisting in its establishment, until the husbands of two of them should return from the Arkansaw, where they are exploring the country, to fix on an eligible situation for a mission to those Cherokees, who have been induced to sell their lands in Georgia to the government of the United States, and to seek a subsistence in the wilder forests beyond the Mississippi.

I was highly gratified by my visit to Elliot—this garden in a moral wilderness ; and was pleased with the opportunity of seeing a missionary settlement in its infant state, before the wounds of recent separation from kindred and

friends had ceased to bleed, and habit had rendered the missionaries familiar with the peculiarities of their novel situation.

The sight of the children also, many of them still in Indian costume, was most interesting. I could not help imagining, that, before me, might be some Alfred of this western world, the future founder of institutions which were to enlighten and civilize his country—some Choctaw Swartz or Elliot, destined to disseminate the blessings of christianity, from the Mississippi to the Pacific, from the Gulf of Mexico to the Frozen Sea. I contrasted them in their social, their moral, and their religious condition, with the straggling hunters and their painted faces, who occasionally stared through the windows; or, with the half-naked savages, whom we had seen in the forests a few nights before, dancing round their midnight fires, with their tomahawks and scalping knives, rending the air with their fierce war whoop, or making the woods thrill with their savage yells. But they form a yet stronger contrast with the poor Indians, whom we had seen on the frontier—corrupted, degraded, and debased by their intercourse with English, Irish, or American traders.

It was not without emotion that I parted, in all human probability for ever in this world, from my kind and interesting friends, and prepared to return to the tumultuous scenes of a busy world; from which—if life be spared—my thoughts will often stray to the sacred solitudes of Yaloo Busha, as to a source of the most grateful and refreshing recollections. I was almost the first person from a distance, who had visited this remote settlement; and was charged with several letters to the friends of the missionaries. I believe they had pleasure in thinking that I should probably in a few weeks see those, the endearments of whose society they had renounced for this world: it seemed to bring them nearer the scenes to which they had recently bid a last adieu. I felt a strange emotion, in being thus made the link of communication between these self-devoted followers of our blessed Lord, and the world which they had for ever quitted; and when I saw with what affection they cherished the recollection of many, whose faces they expected to see no more in this life, I turned with peculiar pleasure to our Saviour's animating assurance—"There is no man that hath left house, or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, or wife, or lands, for my sake and the gospel's, but he shall receive a hundred-fold now in this time, and in the world to come life everlasting."

I left with them a late number of the *Missionary Register*, and another of the *Christian Observer*, which I had just received from England.

After parting with the Rev. Mr. Kingsbury on the banks of the Yaloo Busha, we proceeded through the woods, along an Indian path, till evening, when we reached the dwelling of a half-breed Choctaw, whose wife was a Chickasaw, and whose hut was on the frontier of the two nations. We found him sitting before the door, watching the gambols of fifty or sixty of his horses, which were frolicking before him; and of more than 200 very fine cattle, which at sunset were coming up as usual, of their own accord, from different parts of the surrounding forest, where they have a boundless and luxuriant range. The whole scene reminded me strongly of pastoral and patriarchal times. He had chosen this situation, he said, for its retirement (in some directions he had no neighbours for fifty or a hundred miles,) and because it afforded him excellent pasturage and water for his cattle: he added, that occupation would give him and his family a title to it as long as they chose. He had a few slaves to cultivate as much land as was necessary, and occasionally killed as many deer in as many hours. Near the house were some bones of the buffalo; but that animal has not been seen in this part of the country for many years. He gave us a hospitable reception; and spread a bearskin for each of us in his only room, which we occupied for two nights, the following day being Sunday.

As our host spoke English very well, and was very intelligent, our quiet meals gave me an opportunity of obtaining some information from him relative to the Indians.

His wife, a pleasing young woman, ate with us, but would not or could not speak English; and I often smiled to find myself sitting over a cup of coffee, between a Chickasaw and a Choctaw.

He told me, that great changes had taken place among Indians, even in his time—that in many tribes, when he was young, the children, as soon as they rose, were made to plunge in the water, and swim, in the coldest weather; and were then collected on the bank of the river, to learn the manners and customs of their ancestors, and hear the old men recite the traditions of their forefathers. They were assembled again, at sunset, for the same purpose; and were taught to regard as a sacred duty, the transmission to their posterity of the lessons thus acquired. “And

thou shalt teach them diligently unto thy children, and shalt talk of them when thou sittest in thy house, and when thou walkest by the way, and when thou liest down, and when thou risest up." He said, that this custom is now abandoned by all the tribes with which he is acquainted, except, to use his own words, "where there is, here and there, an old ancient fellow, who upholds the old way"—that many have talked of resuming their old customs, which the whites have gradually undermined; but are unable, from the loss of their traditions—that he supposes that these might be recovered, from distant tribes over the Mississippi; but that the Choctaws are acting more wisely in seeking civilization.

He told me that they had an obscure story, somewhat resembling that of Jacob wrestling with an angel; and that the full-blooded Indians always separate the sinew which shrank, and that it is never seen in the venison exposed for sale: he did not know what they did with it. His elder brother, whom I afterwards met, told me that they eat it as a rarity; but I have also heard, though on less respectable authority, that they refrain from it, like the ancient Jews. A gentleman, who had lived on the Indian frontier, or in the nation, for ten or fifteen years, told me that he had often been surprised that the Indians always detached this sinew; but it had never occurred to him to inquire the reason.

My half-breed Choctaw also informed me, that there were tribes or families among the Indians, somewhat similar to the Scottish clans; such as, the Panther Family, the Bird Family, the Racoon Family, the Wolf Family: he belonged to the Racoon Family, but his children to the family of his wife; families being perpetuated in the female line—an institution originating, perhaps, in polygamy. By marriage, the husband is considered as, in some degree, adopted into the family of his wife; and the wife's brothers are regarded as, in some respects, entitled to more influence over the children than their own father. The suitor always consults them (sending them the usual propitiating offering of a blanket) when he wishes to marry their niece; and if they approve, the father consents as a matter of course. I have since had this confirmed by information from many different sources.

Those of the same family or clan are not allowed to intermarry; although no relationship, however remote, can be traced between them; and although the ancestors of the two

parties may have been living, for centuries, in different and distant nations : a marriage between a brother and a sister would not excite a stronger sensation, or be more loudly condemned. Indeed, wherever any of the family or clan meet, they recognise one another as brothers and sisters ; and use one another's houses, though personally strangers, without reserve.

With respect to the religious belief of the Choctaws, he said that it is a prevailing opinion among them that there is a Great Spirit, who made the earth, and placed them on it, and who preserves them in their hunting journeys, and gives them their "luck in life;" that, however, they do not often think of Him—that they believe that all who die, go to the Spirit Country : but that some suppose it is divided into two nations ; the one abounding in fine woods, and deer, and buffaloes ; and the other destitute of both—that these imagine, that when the spirit of bad men leaves the body, it proceeds on the same road as that of good men, till the road forks, when it takes the way to the bad country, supposing it to be the other—that many expect a great day, when the world will be burnt and made over again, far pleasanter than it is now, when the spirits will return from the spirit country and settle again upon it ; and that near the place where they were buried, will be their future home. He here pointed to a sermon book which he received from his white father (for he can read,) and said the following sentence conveyed the opinion of many Indians—"Wheresoever the body is laid till the resurrection, thither, as to a dwelling-house, death brings us home,"—or, as an Indian would express himself, "the Great Fire brings us home."

On Sunday evening, two poor Indian hunters came in, with no covering but a little blanket round their loins. Our host immediately lighted his pipe, gave two or three puffs, and passed it to his Indian guests, who did the same ; when it was laid down again. Their tomahawks were so made as to serve as pipes ; the back of the hatchet-head having a little socket attached to it, and the handle being bored. As soon as the strangers heard that I was "a British," they seemed much pleased ; and indirectly confirmed what I had previously heard, both in the Creek and Choctaw nations, of the lingering attachment of many of the Indians to their ancient allies.

Before the hunters arrived, my host had been speaking on the subject ; and said that the older Indians had frequent-

ly inquired of him, where their white people were gone—that they had fine times formerly, when their white people were among them, who used to give them handsome presents for nothing; but they disappeared suddenly, and nobody had ever seen them since: “however, may-be they’ll come again.” He said that many large districts had suffered severely, especially during the late war, for refusing to fight against the British; and some individuals had been put to death, even by their own nation, after it had gone over to the Americans.

Our hunters mentioned two old kings, who were still living, whose lives had been attempted for their unshaken fidelity to the English;—a fidelity which induced them to decline any commission under the American government; declaring that they would rather die in their huts, than separate themselves from their old friends, though they might never see any of them again. They, of course, have been stripped of their rank, and reduced to poverty. One of them walked to New-Orleans, when he heard that the British were approaching, in order to throw himself into their camp; though one person he said could not “do much good.” He reached Lake Pont Chartrain just after the battle, and returned home much disappointed. My heart warmed at the recital; and if I might have consulted my own inclination, my course, the next morning, would have been to their dwellings, 100 or 150 miles distant. All I could do was, to send them a little tobacco, which I had brought with me to conciliate the Indians; with some messages, which the hunters said, would delight them as much as if they expected to see me after four sleeps (nights.)

I told them of the death of King George; who, among the Choctaws, is often spoke of with a degree of respect that must gratify a British heart; although enlightened humanity forbids us to wish that they should cherish their former feelings, under circumstances which must render them productive only of disappointment.

Our hunters, who conversed with us through the medium of our half-breed host, remained till late; an Indian never thinking of leaving any thing that he is interested in, merely because it is night, as they have no fixed engagements to prevent them sleeping wherever they please. We endeavoured to obtain one of them for a guide the next morning, as our track was a lonely one; but he had hurt his foot.

We accordingly set out alone, very early, as there was not a habitation of any kind for the distance of fifty miles;

which we were therefore to complete in the day, or lie in the woods; and as the day was wet, we preferred the former. We might perhaps have felt some apprehension also of wild beasts on such an unfrequented road; since, although we were informed that wolves, unless nearly famished, are scared by the scent of a human being, a hungry panther is sometimes not intimidated, even by a fire. The danger, however, of being molested is extremely small.

Our course, the whole day, was along an Indian path, about twelve or fourteen inches broad, through woods which protected us from the hot sun, when it gleamed between the showers. It was twice crossed by hunter's paths, a little narrower than itself; and we were admonished, that if we deviated into these, we should perhaps come to no habitation for 100 or 150 miles. Cow-paths which had occasionally misled us, particularly in the swamps, are found only near the settlements; or it would have been unwise to venture without a guide.

We arrived safe at the end of our journey about sunset; having seen only two Indian hunters, and two wolves, in the course of the day. I suppose our imaginations magnified these wolves; as they appeared larger than those which we had occasionally seen in the shows. They were of a tawny colour. Rising in the brushwood, about 60 yards from us, they made towards an adjoining swamp, leaving us well pleased with the direction which they had taken.

Chickasaw Indians.

Our host, that night, was the elder brother of our half-breed, and kept a stand on the Kentucky trace, which we here regained. The shade before the house (for in this part of the country every tolerable house or cabin has a long projecting shade on the east and west, in which the family generally sit, according to the situation of the sun) was hung with saddles and bridles, side-saddles, with smart scarlet housings, rifles, shot-pouches, powder-horns; and deer, buffalo, and bear skins. Several dogs were lying about, and a herd of cattle was coming up to be milked. Near the house were some cabins for the negroes, whom we saw working in the Indian-corn fields at a little distance.

We were now in the Chickasaw nation; but the description is applicable to the better houses of most of the richer half-breeds, both among the Choctaws and Chickasaws. Our host was wealthy; and within about 60 miles from this

farm, and within the Choctaw line, he had a cow-pen, with several hundred head of cattle. He was mild and dignified in his manner, very friendly, but spoke little English.

We slept on the kitchen floor, but could not obtain even two bear-skins; our host's niece, with her husband and family, having come to her uncle's to be nursed, as is the custom when indisposed. When we went in, she was sitting up, drest, on the only bed in the kitchen; and looked very melancholy with her eyes fixed on the ground. When a female friend came in and sat by her, however, she was merry enough, and laughed heartily, perhaps at our expense. I believe, however, this would be an unjust supposition, as I never saw more civility and propriety than among the Indians. The females, indeed, are distant; but I believe it is not the custom for them to converse even with Indian strangers, till some time after they have met.

One of our horses being so violently ill with the colic (here a very frequent and dangerous disease) as to awaken us all with his doleful groaning in the night, we set off late the following day, and rode slowly about 26 miles. We had intended to reach the stand, about 28 miles distant; but night came on so suddenly (for in this latitude there is little twilight) that we could not find our way through a dangerous swamp which intervened. We had accordingly to lie out, and could not raise a fire; though we seldom travelled unprovided with the means of obtaining a light.

As we were riding along toward sunset, we saw many parties of Chickasaws repairing to a dance and ball-play. The magnificence of their dresses exceeded any thing that we had yet seen; and the profusion of silver ornaments was far greater than among the Choctaws. Indeed they cut a splendid figure as they galloped through the woods.

The Chickasaws generally appeared to us neater in their persons, than our friends the Choctaws; on whom I mean no reflection, and I am aware that our opportunities of observation were too limited, to justify any general conclusion. The Chickasaws seem, however, to expend in ornaments, the savings and annuity of which the Choctaws appropriate a large proportion to their farms or cattle. Not that the Chickasaws entirely neglect agriculture or pastoral labours; but their little patches are worse cultivated, and their herds less considerable. I was informed that they have only one Chief; while the Choctaws are divided into three districts, under different Chiefs.

I was told that they bury their dead in their houses. While getting a cup of coffee at Amubee's, a full-blooded Chickasaw, a little negro girl, the only person about the house who could speak English, said, "Master's wife is lying behind you." On looking round, I saw nothing but a bed; when the little girl told me to look under it. When she observed that I was disappointed on perceiving nothing, she said, "Mistress is buried there; but don't speak loud, or master will cry."

We set off early on the 25th; and breakfasted at an Indian's, whose cabin has acquired the title of "the dear house;" a distinction well deserved, and indicative of no common merit in the Indian nation.

Soon after breakfast we crossed a swamp, which had been held up *in terrorem* before us for some days; and took the precaution of passing it in company with some gentlemen who were acquainted with its intricacies. Our prudence, however, was unnecessary; as the dry weather had rendered it far less difficult and troublesome, than several which we had previously crossed alone. In winter, it must be almost impassable; and one of our companions assured us, that he had to swim over many parts of it, and in others to plunge up to the saddle-skirts in mire at every step. The bottom is a stiff clay; and horses sometimes stick so fast that they cannot be extricated, but are left to die.

Although the weather for some days had been remarkably dry, we had frequently to dismount several times in an hour, to drive our horses through creeks and streams, which would have embarrassed a Leicestershire Fenhunter. One of my companions told me, that when travelling the route last spring, he had to swim his horse seven times in the course of a mile, and as frequently to unpack the pack-horse which carried his provisions. We were more fortunate, and our journey was attended with little difficulty or fatigue.

In the course of this day's ride, we crossed the last waters which fall into the Tombigbee; and some little streams which taking an opposite direction, empty themselves into the Tennessee. We also passed, though still in the Indian nation, the boundary line between the Mississippi and Alabama. The country became more hilly; and we were glad to exchange our muddy streams for clear pebbly brooks.

At night, we slept in the woods; and in the morning, crossed Bear Creek, a beautiful romantic river. A few

miles further, we came to the summit of a hill, from which we had an extensive view of the country below us. The surface was broken into lofty ridges, among which a river wound its course; and the mass of forest which lay between us and a very distant horizon, exhibited no trace of animated existence, but a solitary cabin and one patch of Indian corn. The view of this boundless solitude was naturally a sombre one; but, to us, emerging into light from the recesses of thick woods, in which for many days, our eyes had seldom been able to range beyond a narrow circle of a few hundred yards, it imparted sensations of cheerfulness which it would be difficult to describe. Not that we were tired of the wilderness. The fragrance of the woods, which enveloped us in a cool shade, and the melody of their warbling tenants, regaled the senses with a perpetual feast: while the gambols of the squirrels, the cooing of the doves, the variety of large snakes which often crossed our path, birds with the richest plumage which he had seen only in museums, and, above all, the magnificent forest-trees which here attain their largest growth—all presented an unending succession of objects to interest and amuse us. The delicious climate also of the state of Mississippi gave to the morning and evening hours an ethereal charm, which some of your readers will understand: to others, no description would convey any definite ideas, where the reality would make a faint and feeble impression:—

They know not how the deep'ning trees,
 Dark glens, and shadowy rocks, can please,
 The morning blush, the smile of even;
 What trees, and lawns, and mountains mean,
 The dying gale, the breathing scene,
 The midnight calm, the whisp'ring heav'n.

Besides, there is something so soothing in the retirement of these vast solitudes, that the mind is at first unwilling to be disturbed in its reveries, and to awaken from the deep, and perhaps, unprofitable musings into which it has suffered itself to be lulled. Yet although it would shrink from the glare of a daylight which would summon it to its ordinary cares and would start back from a sudden introduction into the din and bustle of a jarring world, it is refreshed by looking abroad on the face of nature, and is delighted to revive its sympathies with the rational creation, of which it forms a part, by glancing on the distant confines of civilized life.

Towards evening, we passed, and not without regret, the line which separates the present territory of the Chickasaw nation, from their last cession to the United States.

Cherokee Indians.

As I had previously learnt that my journey would not be extended by visiting the Missionary Settlement among the Cherokees, I determined to take Brainerd in my way; and proceeded through Alabama and East Tennessee, to the north-east corner of the State of Georgia, where it is situated.

It is not my intention to swell your pages by dwelling on this part of my route, interesting as it was to myself: I will only observe, that, in passing through the northern part of Alabama, I was particularly struck with the rapidity with which it has been settled. It is little more than two years since these public lands were sold. At that time not a tree was felled; and now the road is skirted with beautiful fields of cotton and Indian corn, from 80 to 120 miles in extent. Whenever I inquired, which I seldom failed to do as often as I stopped, I found that there were schools and opportunities for public worship within a convenient distance. I was gratified by receiving the same information throughout East Tennessee.

In passing the Cumberland, Racoon, and Look-out Mountains, we were delighted with a succession of romantic scenery—sometimes exhibiting the extended outline of a Highland prospect; at others, presenting many of the interesting features of a home view, in the neighbourhood of Windermere or Keswick. To the eye of an Englishman, however, the woods which crown the summits of the highest mountains in this part of America do not compensate for the blooming heath and naked granite of his rugged hills; nor the foliage which covers the valleys with a heavy mantle of dark green, for the white cottages and yellow corn-fields, the smiling meadows, and the flocks and herds, which diversify and animate his native vale.

At the foot of the Cumberland Mountains we slept in a solitary hut, where we found a neat old woman, of 70 or 80 years of age, very busily engaged in spinning. A young clergyman, who had been visiting Brainerd, was also driven in by heavy rain; and his offers to conduct family worship were thankfully accepted by our hostess and her son.

We reached Brainerd early on the 1st of June, and remained till the following morning. The manner of pro-

ceeding was so similar to that at Elliot, that it is unnecessary to describe it. Indeed, this institution was originally formed by some of the missionaries, who afterward went on to establish the settlement at Elliot.

The number of Cherokee children amounted to about 80; and, in addition to these, were two little Osage Indians, who had been rescued from captivity by benevolent interference. One of them was a little girl, whose owner, at the time she was found, was carrying the scalps of her father and mother. He was induced to part with her for about 30*l.* generously advanced for her ransom by a lady at New-Orleans. Her simple tale of sufferings was a long and melancholy one, and the little boy's constitution was nearly broken by ill usage.

I was informed here, that many of the Indians evinced, at first, an indisposition to labour in the field, especially as the females were entirely exempted from the task: but they soon acquiesced; and exhibited, on this occasion, the docility and good humour, of which their teachers (perhaps with excusable partiality) represent them as possessing a more than common share. One of the chiefs offered to find a slave who should work all day, if the missionaries would excuse his son from agricultural labour between school-hours; but he was easily convinced of his mistake, and apologized for his ill-judged request.

I was much gratified by hearing the children sing their Cherokee hymns: and many ancient prophecies came forcibly to my recollection, when joining, in this Indian country, with Americans, Indians, and Africans, in singing the following verse of one of our hymns—

Let every nation, every tribe,
On this terrestrial ball,
To him full majesty ascribe,
And crown him Lord of all.

Some Negroes attended family prayer; and many come from a considerable distance to public worship, on Sunday. I was told, indeed, that there were instances of their walking 20 miles over the mountains, and returning the same day.

What animation would an occasional glance at Elliot or Brainerd infuse into our missionary committees! and how cheering to many a pious collector of one shilling per week, would be the sight of her Indian sisters, rescued from their degraded condition, and instructed in the school of Christ! What, though we are but the hewers of wood or drawers of

water for our more honoured and enterprising brethren, our humble labours, feeble and desultory as they are, and ever attended by imperfections by which their efficiency is much impaired, are still a link in the chain of human agency, by which God is pleased to accomplish his purposes of mercy to a fallen world.

With respect to the degree in which the efforts of the missionaries have already been successful, in reference to the spiritual interests of their heathen brethren, they do not expect the harvest, when only beginning to break up the soil. They are aware, also, that, in a subject in which their hopes and fears are so sensibly alive, they are in danger of being misled by very equivocal symptoms: and even where they believe that they discern the fairest promise, they shrink from the idea of blazoning forth to the world, as decisive evidence of conversion, every favourable indication of a change of heart. Still, however, even in this respect, and at this early stage of their exertions, they have the gratification of believing that their labour has not been in vain.

Soon after leaving Brainerd, I crossed the river Tennessee, which here forms the boundary of the Cherokee nation.

Reflections on the state and prospects of the Indians.

I now bade a last adieu to Indian territory; and as I pursued my solitary ride through the woods, I insensibly fell into a train of melancholy reflections on the eventful history of this injured race.

Sovereigns, from time immemorial, of the interminable forests which overshadow this vast continent, they have gradually been driven, by the white usurpers of their soil, within the limits of their present precarious possessions. One after another of their favourite rivers has been reluctantly abandoned, until the range of the hunter is bounded by lines prescribed by his invader, and the independence of the warrior is no more. Even their present territory is partitioned out in reversion; and intersected with the prospective boundaries of surrounding states, which appear in the maps, as if Indian title were actually extinguished, and these ancient warriors were already driven from the land of their fathers.

Of the innumerable tribes, which a few centuries since, roamed fearless and independent, in their native forests, how many have been swept into oblivion, and are with the generations before the flood! Of others, not a trace re-

mains but in tradition, or in the person of some solitary wanderer, the last of his tribe, who hovers like a ghost among the sepulchres of his fathers—a spark still faintly glimmering in the ashes of an extinguished race.

From this gloomy review of the past history of these injured tribes, it was refreshing to turn to their future prospects; and to contemplate those missionary labours, which, under the blessing of God, are arresting the progress of that silent waste, by which they were fading rapidly from the map of nations. Partial success, indeed, had followed the occasional efforts of the American Government for the civilization of the Indians, but it was reserved for the perseverance of disinterested christian love, to prove, to the world at large, the practicability of an undertaking which had often been abandoned in despair.

Moral obstacles, which had bid defiance to worldly policy or interested enterprise, are yielding to a simple confidence in the promises of God, and a faithful compliance with the divine commands—“Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature.” Christians of different denominations, are sending labourers to the task; and it is animating, indeed, to contemplate the United States—in the name, as it were, and as the representative of the various nations who have participated in the wrongs inflicted on this injured race—preparing to offer the noblest compensation in their power, and to diffuse the gospel throughout the aborigines of this western world.

And, surely, if any arguments were necessary in support of missions, in addition to those derived from the force of divine commands, and the suggestions of diffusive charity, we should find them in the history of the early intercourse of christian Europe with Asia, Africa, and America. Or if, viewing the wide range and growing energies of British missions, a deep sense of our defective efforts should at any time be insufficient to repress every feeling of self-complacency, we have but to recollect how large a portion of the past labours of our missionaries has been consumed, in eradicating the vicious habits which we have introduced into some heathen nations, or in dispelling the prejudices which our inconsistent conduct has diffused through others.

It is not in our naval, our military, or our commercial character, that we have as yet appeared generally as a blessing to benighted nations. It is not when we press into the wars of christians, the tomahawk or scalping-knife of the Indians—it is not when, deluging his country with spi-

ritous liquors in the prosecution of an unequal traffic, we send forth a moral pestilence, before which the frail virtues of the savage fall, like the dry leaves of his forests in the blasts of autumn—it is not when thus engaged, that we either conciliate his affections, or elevate his moral tone. The men who fertilize the moral wilderness and evangelize the heathen world, are animated by a higher spirit than the desire of conquest, or the lure of gain—by the spirit of our Marsdens, our Careys, our Buchanans, and our Henry Martins. These are the men, who at once the benefactors of their species and the representatives of christian Britain, secure for their native country the veneration of far distant tribes, while preaching on their mountains the glad tidings of salvation, or filling their valleys with hymns of praise.

The time, I hope, will come, when not our missionaries only, but our naval and military commanders, our soldiers, our sailors, and our merchants, will all carry with them to every country where they hoist the British flag, unequivocal demonstrations that they come from a christian land ; and it is animating indeed, to regard our colonial establishments, our extended commerce, and our vast marine, as instruments, in the hands of Providence, to prepare paths for our missionaries, and to observe that sacred cause in which they count not even their lives dear.

In that cause, it is scarcely possible to be neutral. The question of missions is now brought home to every breast ; and the influence of individual opinion on the social and domestic circle, carries into the most retired situations an awful responsibility, as to the decisions which may be formed, and the sentiments which may be expressed, on a subject so deeply affecting the highest interests of the human race.

LETTER

TO

M. JEAN-BAPTISTE SAY,

On the Comparative Expense of Free and Slave Labour.

Sir,

It is with much concern that I observe, in your excellent and popular work on Political Economy, the sentiments you express on the subject of the comparative expense of free and slave labour. Accustomed to respect you highly as an enlightened advocate of liberal principles, and to admire the philanthropic spirit which pervades your writings, I cannot but regret deeply, that opinions so calculated to perpetuate slavery, should have the sanction of your authority; and that while you denounce the slave system as unjustifiable, you admit, that, in a pecuniary point of view, it may be the most profitable.

As this subject is of peculiar importance at the present moment, when efforts are making both in this country and in France, to effect the gradual abolition of slavery in the Colonies, I will not apologize for addressing you. The same regard to truth and candour, which secured your reluctant assent to an opinion, little in unison, I am sure, with your feelings, will lead you to examine, with impartiality, any facts or arguments which I may adduce in my attempt to controvert it. Many of them, I am aware, must be familiar to you, but possibly even these may appear in a new light, and derive some additional force, from their connexion with others which have not fallen under your observation.

The expense of slave-labour resolves itself into the annual sum, which, in the average term of the productive years of a slave's life, will liquidate the cost of purchase or rearing, and support in old age, if he attain it, with interest, and the sum annually expended in his maintenance.

If we omit the case of purchased slaves, and suppose

them to be bred on the estate, (and as breeding is now admitted to be, under ordinary circumstances, the cheapest mode of supply, your argument will gain by the supposition,) the expense of free labour will resolve itself into precisely the same elements, since the wages paid to free labourers of every kind, must be such as to enable them, one with another, to bring up a family, and continue their race.

Now it is observed by Adam Smith, "The wear and tear of a free servant, is equally at the expense of his master, and it generally costs him much less than that of a slave. The fund destined for replacing and repairing, if I may say so, the wear and tear of the slave, is commonly managed by a negligent master, or careless overseer. That destined for performing the same office with regard to the freeman, is managed by the freeman himself. The disorders which generally prevail in the economy of the rich, naturally introduce themselves into the management of the former; the strict frugality and parsimonious attention of the poor, as naturally establish themselves in that of the latter." The Russian political economist, Storch, who had carefully examined the system of slavery in that extensive empire, makes the same remark almost in the same words. Hume expresses a similar opinion in decided terms; and I have now before me a statement from one of the slave districts in the United States, in which it is estimated that, taking the purchase-money or the expense of rearing a slave, with the cost of his maintenance, at their actual rates, and allowing fifteen years of health and strength, during which to liquidate the first cost, his labour will be at least 25 per cent. dearer than that of the free labourer in the neighbouring districts.

It is observed by a planter, in a letter published by the Hon. Joshua Steele, a member of the council in Barbadoes, under the signature of Philo Xylon; "The truth is, that although we plant much more ground than should be sufficient to produce provisions to feed our labouring slaves, yet the negroes, feeling that they have no direct property in these crops, and that we must buy more to supply them if those crops fall short, the cultivation is negligently performed by them, and the produce is afterwards stolen by the Negro watchmen or their confederates, so that we seldom reap a third part of what should be the natural and probable produce. But if we could depend on their diligence and economy, in cultivating rented tenements, and

carefully storing their crops, they might undoubtedly be maintained better than they are, and at a much smaller expense than it costs us at present; not only by our wasting three times as much land as might be necessary for that purpose, but also by our cultivating it with a reluctant gang to our loss." From inquiries made with reference to this subject, it appears that the average weekly expense in the Liverpool Workhouse, for provisions, including ale, wine, spirits, tea, sugar, butter, &c. given to the sick, is 2s 6½d per head, exclusive of rent; while the average weekly expenditure of seven families, taken from among the labourers of a respectable commercial house, is only 1s 5½d per head, exclusive of rent.

From the preceding particulars, it appears highly probable, that the cost of rearing and maintaining a slave, would render his labour, under ordinary circumstances, at least as expensive as that of the free labourer. Let us next examine which is the most productive.

And here I shall again avail myself of the observations of Storch, the Russian economist: "As the slave is always labouring for another, and not for himself; as he is restricted to the bare necessaries of life, and sees no prospect of bettering his condition, he loses every characteristic of the effective labourer: he becomes a machine, and often a machine very stubborn and difficult to manage. A man who is not paid in proportion to the labour he performs, will perform as little as he can. This is an acknowledged truth, confirmed by the experience of every day. Let a free labourer work by the day, and he will be indolent; pay him by the piece, and he will often exert himself to the ruin of his health. If this observation is just with respect to the free labourer, it is infinitely more so in relation to the slave.

As long as the ancient Romans cultivated their fields with their own hands, Italy was famed for its fertility and abundant produce; but agriculture declined as soon as it was left to the slaves: then, instead of cultivating their lands, they turned them into pastures, and the inhabitants of this delightful country became dependent upon foreign provinces for subsistence. The petty landholders and farmers disappeared: and the very country that had once presented the smiling aspect of a multitude of villages, peopled with men free and happy, became one vast solitude, in which were scattered, here and there, a few magnificent palaces, that formed the most striking contrast with the

miserable cabins and subterranean cells which contained their slaves. These facts, related by the Roman historians, are attempted and explained by Pliny, Columella, and Varro. "What was the cause of these abundant harvests?" says Pliny, in speaking of the early times of the republic. "It was this—that men of rank employed themselves in the culture of the fields; whereas now it is left to wretches loaded with fetters, who carry in their countenances the shameful evidence of their slavery." That free labourers are superior to slaves, is granted even by masters themselves, when they have intelligence enough to perceive the difference, and candour enough to acknowledge it. Call to mind on this subject, the passage of Columella* that I have quoted below, in which he depicts the negligence and reluctance of slave-labourers. In the same chapter, this author lays it down as a fundamental principle, that, whatever be the species of culture, the labour of a free man is always preferable to that of a slave. Pliny is of the same opinion.

"Observe that these testimonies in favour of free labour, are rendered by Romans, by men who held slaves, and who were the greatest agriculturalists of their time." "In manufactures, the superiority of the free labourer over the slave, is still more perceptible than in the cultivation of lands." "The more manufactures extend in Russia, the more this truth continues to be felt. In 1805, M. Panteleyef, the agent of a cloth manufactory, in the district of Moscow, set at liberty all his slave-labourers, the number of whom amounted to 84. The same year M. Milioutin did the same."

Brougham in his Colonial Policy fully concurs in these sentiments: "It requires very little argument to prove, that the quantity of work which may be obtained from a labourer or drudge, is liable to be affected as much by the

* "Complaints as to the negligent and fraudulent conduct of slaves, are as ancient as slavery itself: read, for example, what Columella says of those of his times. 'Maximè vexant servi, qui hoves elocant, eosdemque et cætrae pecora malè pascunt, nec industriè terram vertunt, longèque plus imputant seminis jacti, quam quod sererint: sed nec quod terræ mandaverint, sic adjuvant ut rectè proveniat; idque cum in arcam contulerunt, per trituram quotidie minuunt, vel fraude vel negligentia. Nam et ipsi diripiunt, et ab aliis furibus non custodiunt. Sed nec conditum cum fide rationibus inferunt.' I have often heard the same complaints from the mouths of Livonian land-holders, and one may hear them constantly repeated in the West-Indies, in Hungary, and in the interior of Russia."

injurious treatment he receives, as by the idleness in which he may be permitted to indulge. When this drudge is a slave, no motive but fear can operate on his diligence and attention. A constant inspection is therefore absolutely necessary, and a perpetual terror of the lash is the only prevention of indolence. But there are certain bounds prescribed, even to the power of the lash; it may force the unhappy victim to move, because the line of distinction between motion and rest, action and repose, is definite; but no punishment can compel the labourer to strenuous exertions, because there is no measure or standard of activity. A state of despair, and not of industry, is the never-failing consequence of severe chastisement; and the constant repetition of the torture only serves to blunt the sensibility of the nerves, and disarm punishment of its terrors. The body is injured, and the mind becomes as little willing as the limbs are able to exert."

Hume remarks, "I shall add from the experience of our planters, that slavery is as little advantageous to the master as to the man. The fear of punishment will never draw so much labour from the slave, as the dread of being turned off, and not getting another service, will give a freeman."

Koster, in his travels in the Brazils, observes, "The slave-trade is impolitic on the broad principle, that a man in a state of bondage, will not be so serviceable to the community as one who acts for himself, and whose whole exertions are directed to the advancement of his own fortune; the creation of which, by regular means, adds to the general prosperity of the society to which he belongs. This undoubted and indisputable fact, must be still more strongly impressed on the mind of every one who has been in the habit of seeing the manner in which slaves perform their daily labour. Their indifference, and the extreme slowness of every movement, plainly points out the trifling interest which they have, in the advancement of the work. I have watched two parties labouring in the same field, one of free persons, the other of slaves, which occasionally, though very seldom, occurs. The former are singing, joking, and laughing, and are always actively turning hand and foot; whilst the latter are silent, and if they are viewed from a little distance, their movements are scarcely to be perceived."

Hall, adverting to the pernicious effects of slavery on the southern states of North America, observes, "Experience shows, that the quantity of labour performed by slaves, is much below that of an equal number of free cultivators."

An intelligent American gentleman, to whom queries on this subject were sent out, remarks, "I have in one of my answers, exposed the effect of slave-cultivation on the soil of our country, and on the value of real estate. I will here further observe, that independently of this, there is no fact more certainly believed by every sound mind in this country, than that slave-labour is abstractedly in itself, as it regards us, a great deal dearer than labour performed by free men; this is susceptible of clear proofs."

It is observed by Mr. Ramsay, who had twenty years' experience in the West Indies, "I am firmly of opinion, that a sugar plantation might be cultivated to more advantage, and at much less expense, by labourers who were free men, than by slaves. Dr. Dickson, who resided in Barbadoes as secretary to the late Hon. Edward Hay, the Governor of that island, observes in a letter published in his valuable work on the Mitigation of Slavery, "You need not be informed, that it has been known for many ages by men of reflection, that the labour of slaves, whether bought or bred, though apparently cheaper, is really far dearer in general than that of free men." The arguments which support this conclusion, as applicable to modern colonial slavery, were long ago assented to and exemplified by men intimately acquainted with and interested in the subject." In another letter in the same work, he gives "a calculation made under the guidance of M. Coulomb, an able mathematician and experienced engineer, who for many years conducted extensive military works both in France and the West Indies, and who has published the result of his observations." From this he infers, "that field slaves do only between a third and a half of the work dispatched by reluctant French soldiers, and probably not more than a third of what those very slaves would do, if urged by their own interest, instead of brute force, as Mr. Steele experienced." In speaking of Mr. Steele's experience, in another place he remarks, "He has ascertained as a fact, what was before known to the learned as a theory, and to practical men as a paradox, *That the paying of slaves for their labour, does actually produce a very great profit to their owners.*" Again, this able and experienced writer observes, "The planters do not take the right way to make human beings put forth their strength. They apply main force where they should apply moral motives, and punishments alone, where rewards should be judiciously intermixed. And yet, strange to tell, those very men affirm, and affirm truly, that a slave will do

more work for himself in an afternoon, than he can be made to do for his owner in a whole day or more. Now what is the plain inference? Mr. Steele, though a stranger in the West Indies, saw it at once, and resolved to turn it to account. He saw that the negroes, like all other human beings, were to be stimulated to permanent exertion only by a sense of their own interests, in providing for their own wants and those of their offspring. He therefore tried rewards, which immediately roused the most indolent to exertion. His experiments ended in regular wages, which the industry he had excited among his whole gang, enabled him to pay. Here was a natural, efficient, and profitable reciprocity of interests. His people became contented; his mind was freed from that perpetual vexation, and that load of anxiety, which are inseparable from the vulgar system, and in "*little better than four years, the annual nett clearance of his property was more than tripled.*"

"I must additionally refer," remarks the same intelligent writer in another place, "to an excellent pamphlet, entitled *Observations on Slavery*, (published in 1788, and now out of print,) by my late worthy friend Dr. James Anderson, who shows that the labour of a West India slave costs about thrice as much as it would cost, if executed by a freeman. Taking another case, he demonstrates that the labour of certain colliers in Scotland, who, till our own times were subjected to a mild kind of vassalage, regulated by law, was twice as dear as that of the freemen who wrought other coal-mines, in the same country, and thrice as dear as common day labour."

I think we might safely infer, from the preceding particulars, that under ordinary circumstances the labour of free men is cheaper than that of slaves; but there are many other considerations which strongly confirm this conclusion.

If slave labour were cheaper than free labour, we should naturally expect that, in a state where slavery was allowed, land, *ceteris paribus*, would be most valuable in the districts where that system prevailed; and that in two adjoining states, in the one of which slavery was allowed, and in the other prohibited, land would be least valuable in the latter; but the contrary is notoriously the fact. In a late communication from America on this subject, from an intelligent observer, it is remarked: "The system of slave cultivation, as practised in the United States of America, has likewise a most destructive effect on the soil of our country. The state of Maryland, though a slave state, has

comparatively but few slaves in the upper or western part of it ; the land in this upper district is generally more broken by hills and stones, and is not so fertile as that on the southern and eastern parts. The latter has also the advantage of being situated upon the navigable rivers that flow into the Chesapeake Bay, and its produce can be conveyed to market at one-third of the average expense of that from the upper parts of the state ; yet, with all these advantages of soil, situation, and climate, the land within the slave district will not, upon a general average, sell for half as much per acre as that in the upper districts, which is cultivated principally by freemen. This fact may be also further and more strikingly illustrated by the comparative value of land within the states of Virginia and Pennsylvania, the one lying on the south, and the other on the north side of Maryland ; the one a slave, the other a free state. In Virginia, land of the same natural soil and local advantages, will not sell for one-third as high a price as the same description of land will command in Pennsylvania. This single, plain, incontrovertible fact, speaks volumes upon the relative value of slave and free labour, and it is presumed renders any further illustration unnecessary."

If slave labour were cheaper than free labour, we might fairly infer that, in a state in which slavery was allowed, free labour would be reduced by competition to a level with the labour of slaves, and not slave labour to a level with the labour of freemen ; and that in two adjoining states, in the one of which slavery was allowed, and in the other prohibited, labour would be highest, *cæteris paribus*, in that in which slavery was proscribed. But experience proves the reverse. Storch observes, that those who hire slaves in Russia, are obliged to pay more than they who hire freemen, " Unless they live in a place where the competition of free labourers reduces the hire of slaves and the wages of freemen to a level : both the interior of Russia, and the capitals of that empire, furnish proofs of this assertion. In the cities, the competition of free labourers is greater ; for though wages there may be very high, the hire of slaves is, notwithstanding, less than in the interior ;" that is, that in Russia, slave labour, where slave labour is the lowest, is higher than free labour, where free labour is the highest, until reduced to the same level by competition with it. When in Norfolk, Virginia, in the winter of 1820, I was told, that many slaves gave their masters \$2, or 9s per week, for permission to work for themselves, and retain the surplus. I

also found, that the common wages of slaves who are hired, were 20s 3d per week and their food, at the very time when flour was 4 dollars, or 18s per barrel of 196lbs., and beef and mutton 3d to 4d per lb. Five days afterwards, in travelling through the rich agricultural districts of the free state of Pennsylvania, I found able-bodied white men willing to work for their food only. This, indeed, was in the winter months, and during a period of extraordinary pressure. I was told, however, that the average agricultural wages in this free state were five or six dollars per month, and food; while, in Norfolk, at the time I allude to, they were eighteen dollars per month, and food. If it should be replied, that, in the town of Norfolk, wages were likely to be much higher than in the country, I would ask, why they are not so in the principal towns of Russia?

If slave labour were cheaper than free labour, we should naturally expect to find it employed in the cultivation of those articles, in which extended competition had reduced profits to the lowest point. On the contrary, however, we find that slave labour is gradually exterminated when brought into competition with free labour, except where legislative protection, or peculiarity of soil and climate, establish such a monopoly as to admit of an expensive system of management. The cultivation of indigo by slaves in Carolina, has been abandoned, and the price of cotton reduced one-half, since these articles have had to compete in the European markets with the productions of free labour; and, notwithstanding an additional duty on East India sugar, of 10s per cwt., and a transportation of three times the distance, the West-India planters are beyond all doubt reduced to very great distress, and declare that they shall be ruined, if sugar from the East Indies shall be admitted on the same terms as from the West.

If slave labour were cheaper than free labour, we might reasonably infer, that, in proportion as the circumstances of the cultivators rendered economy indispensable, either from the difficulty of obtaining slaves, or other causes, the peculiar features of slavery would be more firmly established, and that every approach to freedom would be more sedulously shunned in the system of culture. But it is found by the experience of both ancient and modern times, that nothing has tended more to assimilate the condition of the slave to that of the free labourer, or actually to effect his emancipation, than the necessity imposed by circumstances of adopting the most economical mode of cultivation.

“In ancient times,” says Brougham, “a great part of the population of the most polished states, was the personal property of the rest. These slaves were chiefly captives, taken directly in war, or purchased from other warlike nations, who had obtained them in this way. The constant hostilities which at that time divided the people of all countries, rendered this a very fruitful source of supply. During the rise of Athens and Rome, accordingly, when many foreign nations were by rapid steps conquered, and when others, still unsubdued, could sell the persons of their weaker neighbours, there was never any scarcity of men in the great slave-markets. The cruelty of the treatment which those unhappy men experienced, was proportioned to the ease with which they were procured; and we have already remarked, how intolerable their lot was, among the very people who called every foreigner a barbarian. As war became less common, and the arts of peace were more cultivated, this supply of slaves, of course, decreased; and when the Roman Empire, tottering under its own weight, could think of nothing less than new conquests, there was an end of importing slaves. Accordingly, with the progress of real civilization, but still more with the diminution of wars and conquests, was introduced a milder system of domestic government, a greater humanity towards the slaves, and a more careful attention to breeding, when the stock could neither be kept up nor increased by other means. The laws added their sanction to this salutary change, which no laws could of themselves have wrought. The rights of slaves came to be recognised, the conduct of the master to be watched, and the practice of emancipation to be encouraged. By degrees, the slaves were incorporated with their masters, and formed part of the great free population, which was rather mixed with than subdued by the Goths.

“To the slavery of the ancients, succeeded the bondage and villanage of their Gothic conquerors. But the difference between the two was marked and important. The Greek and Roman slaves were imported; the Gothic slaves were the peasantry of the country, and born on the spot, unless during the wars which accompanied the first inroads of the northern tribes. Accordingly, we find no parallel between the rigour of the ancient and of the modern slave system; and a foundation was laid in this essential difference, for a much more rapid improvement of the whole society, than took place in Greece or Rome, notwithstand-

ing the superior refinement of the classic times. The slave first became attached to his master, not as his personal property, but as a part of his stock, and astricted to the soil, to use the language of the feudal ages. By degrees, the mutual interests of the lord and his villains, in the progress of national improvement, operated that important change in the state of manners, out of which the modern division of ranks, and the privileges of the lower orders, have arisen in the civilized quarters of the European community. First, the villain obtained the use of the land to which he had been annexed, and of the stock in which he had been comprehended, on condition that a certain proportion (generally one-half) of the produce should belong to the lord of the land, and proprietor of the stock. This great change, one of the most signal of those events which have laid the foundation of human improvement, by degrees too slow for the observation of historians, was owing entirely to the master discovering how much his interest was connected with the comfort of his slaves; how necessary it was to treat well that race whose toils supported the community in ease, and whose loss could not be repaired; how much more profitable it was to divide with the vassal the fruits of his free and strenuous exertions, than to monopolize the scanty produce of his compulsory toil. As soon as the right of property, and the secure enjoyment of the fruits of labour, were extended to the vassals, the progress of improvement became constant and visible. The proportion of the fruits paid to the lord, was diminished according to an indefinite standard; the peasant, having been permitted to acquire property, provided his own stock, and obtained the power of changing his residence, and commuting the nature of his service. By degrees, the rent came to be paid in money, according to the number of competitors for a farm; and they who could not farm land themselves, sold their labour to others for a certain price, or maintenance. Lastly, the legislature secured the lease of the farmer with the same certainty with which it secured the property of the landlord, and recognised the one as well as the other for useful and independent subjects."

"A similar progress will most probably be the result of that abolition, the supposition of which we are indulging—the abolition of the slave-trade. That this idea is not chimerical, the consideration of a few facts, very little known in the history of America, may convince us."

“The peculiar circumstances in the situation of the Spanish and Portuguese colonies of South America, have already partially operated some of those happy effects which we may expect from the abolition of the slave-trade. The high price of the negroes in the Spanish settlements, partly from absurd regulations of trade, partly from the deficiency of the Spaniards in the practice of commerce and naval affairs, causes that want of hands, which would prevail in its full extent, were the African trade stopt. From these circumstances, and partly, no doubt, from the peculiarly indolent character of the colonists in those parts, there has arisen a much better system of treatment than any other European colonies can boast of. Other views of interest have conspired to confirm and extend this system of mildness and equity towards the slaves; and the legislature has not failed, by every prudent interference, to assist the inferior race in the acquisition of rights and privileges.”

“Thus we meet with many very singular analogies, between the history of the negroes in South America, and that of the villains or bondsmen of Europe, in the earlier feudal times. All the gold and jewels in Brazil have, for many years, been collected, according to the same plan that the feudal lords adopted for the purpose of quickening the industry of their vassals. The master supplies the slave daily with a certain quantity of provisions and tools, and the slave is obliged to return a certain quantity of gold or jewels, according to the nature of the ground. Every thing that remains over this ration, the negro keeps himself, were the balance to be millions. The gold-mines of Popayan and Choco, in Spanish America, are wrought in the very same way. The finest pearl fisheries in South America, those of Panama for example, are in the hands of negro tenants, as it were. These are bound to give a certain number of pearls every week. The negroes in the towns are allowed to hire themselves out to services of different kinds, on condition of returning to their masters a certain portion of their wages; the rest they may spend or hoard up for their own use.”

“After a slave has, in any of these various ways, acquired property, he endeavours to purchase his freedom. If the master is exorbitant in his demands, he may apply to a magistrate, who appoints sworn appraisers, to fix the price at which the slave shall be allowed to buy his freedom. Even during his slavery, the behaviour of the master to-

wards him is strictly watched ; he may complain to the magistrate, and obtain redress, which generally consists in a decree, obliging the master to sell him at a certain rate. The consequences of all these laws and customs are extremely beneficial to the Spanish and Portuguese power in America. While the slaves are faithful and laborious, the free negroes are numerous, and in general much more quiet, useful, and industrious, than in the other colonies. Most of the artificers are of this class ; and some of the best troops in the New World are composed entirely of negroes, who, by their own labour and frugality, have acquired their liberty.”

“ It is hardly necessary to remark the striking analogy between the state of the Spanish and Portuguese negroes, and that of the European bondsmen, at a certain period of their progress towards liberty. We find the same gentleness of treatment, the same protection from the laws, the same acknowledgments of rights, the same power of acquiring property, granted to the American slave, which prepared the complete emancipation of the European vassal. In some particulars we observe another step of the same progress ; for in many parts the negroes are precisely in the situation of the *coloni partiarii*, or metayers of the feudal times. In one respect the negro is even in a more favourable situation : his reddendo, (if I may use the expression,) is fixed and definite ; all the overplus of his industry belongs to himself. The metayer was bound to divide every gain with his lord. The former, then, has a much stronger incentive to industry than the latter had. As this difference, however, arises, not from the progress of society, but from the nature of the returns themselves, easily concealed, and with difficulty procured ; so, in some other respects, the negro is not in so favourable circumstances. But the great steps of the process of improvement are materially the same in both cases. Both have in common the great points of a bargain between the master and the slave ; privileges possessed by the slave independent of, nay in opposition to, his master ; the rights of property enjoyed by the slave, and the power of purchasing his freedom at a just price. This resemblance, in circumstances so important, may fairly be expected to render the progress of the two orders also similar. In the negro, as in the feudal system, we may look for the consequences of those great improvements in voluntary industry, more productive labour, and the miti-

gation and final abolition of slavery, when the slave shall have been gradually prepared to become a free subject.

“Some of the good effects that have flowed from the national character, and peculiar circumstances of the Spanish and Portuguese, have been produced also in Dutch America, by that great competition of capitals, and those complicated difficulties, which lay the Dutch colonies under the necessity of attending to the smallest savings. If, from this source, combined with the facility of importation, has arisen a cruelty unknown in other colonies, it may be doubted whether a compensation for the evil is not afforded by another effect of the same circumstances :—the general introduction of task work, which the keen-sighted spirit of a necessary avarice has taught the planter of Dutch Guiana to view as the most profitable manner of working his slaves. Nothing, indeed, can conduce more immediately to the excitement of industry, than the introduction of task-work. It seems the natural and easy transition from labour to industry : it forms in the mind of the slave, those habits which are necessary for the character of the free-man : it thus prepares him for enjoying, by a gradual change, those rights and privileges which belong to freedom.”

Of that modification of slavery, under which the slave pays a tax or tribute to his master for permission to work on his own account, and to which such important effects are ascribed in the preceding extracts, Storch observes, “This modification of slavery, has been permitted by different nations ; but I doubt whether it ever existed any where to that extent in which it is found in Russia. It is there one of the most effectual means of softening the direful consequences of slavery : and if its abolition should ever be seriously intended, this system would present the means, the most simple, and the least subject to inconveniences.” Now it would be difficult to find a stronger proof of the paralyzing influence of slavery on human exertion, than the beneficial results which have followed the substitution in its place of a system so oppressive as even this mitigated form of bondage is represented to be by intelligent travellers. Mr. Heber remarks, “The peasants belonging to the nobles in Russia, have their abrock raised by their means of getting money. It then becomes not a rent of land, but a downright tax upon their industry. Each male peasant is obliged by law to labour three days in each week for his proprietor. If the proprietor chooses to employ him the

other days, he may ; as, for instance, in a manufactory, but he then finds him in food and clothing. If a slave exercises any trade which brings him in more money than agricultural labour, he pays a higher abrock. The peasants employed as drivers at the post-houses, pay an abrock out of the drink-money they receive for being permitted to drive ; as otherwise, the master might employ them in other less profitable labour, on his own account. Sometimes they pay an abrock for permission to beg." "In despite," says Dr. Clarke, "of all the pretended regulations made in favour of the peasant, the tax he is called upon to pay on the labour he is compelled to bestow, depends wholly on the caprice of his tyrant."

Task-work, another important although earlier step in the progress from slavery to freedom, than a participation of earnings with a master, and another instance of the substitution of a cheaper for a more expensive system of cultivation, I found to be almost universal in the Atlantic States of America, where tobacco, cotton and rice, are the staple articles of production ; but I never heard of an instance of it in the sugar plantations of Louisiana, where great profits render economy less necessary.

If slave labour were cheaper than free labour, we might confidently presume that estates would be rendered less productive than the emancipation of the slaves which cultivated them ; but the presumption is contradicted by experience. "A few Polish nobles, (observes Coxe in his travels in Poland,) of benevolent hearts, and enlightened understandings, have acted upon different principles, and have ventured upon the expedient of giving liberty to their vassals. The event has shown this to be no less judicious than humane, no less friendly to their own interests than to the happiness of the peasants ; for it appears that in the districts in which the new arrangement has been introduced, the population of their villages has been considerably increased, and the revenues of their estates augmented in a triple proportion. The first noble who granted freedom to his peasants, was Zamoiski, formerly great chancellor, who, in 1761, enfranchised six villages, in the palatinate of Masorin. In 1777, the receipts of this particular district were nearly triple ; and Zamoiski, pleased with the thriving state of the six villages, has enfranchised the peasants on all his estates.

The example of Zamoiski has been followed by Chrep-towitz, Vice-Chancellor of Lithuania, and the Abbe Bry-

zolowski, with similar success. Prince Stanislaus, the king of Poland, has warmly patronised the plan of giving liberty to the peasants. He has enfranchised four villages not far from Warsaw, in which he has not only emancipated the peasants from their slavery, but even condescends to direct their affairs. He explained to me in the most satisfactory manner, that the grant of freedom was no less advantageous to the lord than to the peasant, provided the former is willing to superintend their conduct for a few years, and to put them in the way of acting for themselves. He intends giving the public a particular account of his arrangements, and will show how much he has increased the value of his estate, as well as the happiness of his peasants."

If, then, it has appeared that we should be naturally led to infer, from the very constitution of human nature, that slave labour is more expensive than the labour of freemen; if it has appeared that such has been the opinion of the most eminent philosophers and enlightened travellers in different ages and countries; if it has appeared that in a state where slavery is allowed, land is the most valuable in those districts where the slave system prevails the least, notwithstanding great disadvantages of locality; and that in adjoining states, with precisely the same soil and climate, in the one of which slavery is allowed, and in the other prohibited, land is the most valuable in that state in which it is proscribed; if it has appeared that slave labour has never been able to maintain its ground in competition with free labour, except where monopoly has secured high profits, or prohibitory duties afforded artificial support; if it has appeared that, in every quarter of the globe, in proportion as the circumstances of the planter rendered attention to economy more indispensable, the harsher features of the slave-system have disappeared, and the condition of the slave has been gradually assimilated to that of the free labourer; and if it has appeared that the mitigation of slavery has been found by experience to substitute the alacrity of voluntary labour, for the reluctance of compulsory toil; and that emancipation has rendered the estates on which it has taken place, greatly and rapidly more productive—I need not, I think, adduce additional proofs of the truth of the general position, that slave labour is more expensive than the labour of freemen.

And here perhaps I might safely leave the question; yet since your arguments, although of a general nature, and not restricted in their application to any peculiarity of circum-

stances or situation, seem to be derived from a somewhat partial view of the state of things in the West Indies, I shall proceed to examine whether they afford any presumption that those islands present an exception to the general rule.

The comparison which you have made between the price of slaves and free labour in the Antilles, appears to me by no means to warrant the conclusion you have drawn from it. Where the proportion of free labourers is extremely small, and labour is rendered degrading, or at least disreputable, by being confined principally to slaves, it is natural that the wages of free labour should be high; and the question is not, whether at a given time and place, free or slave labour is the highest, but whether both are not higher than labour would be if all the community were free, and the principle of population were allowed to produce its natural effect on the price of labour, by maintaining the supply and competition of free labourers.

The other argument which you adduce, appears to me equally inconclusive. You observe, that, "the obstinacy with which the planters defend slavery, is of itself sufficient to prove that it is advantageous to them."

And does man, indeed, then, always act with an enlightened view to self-interest? Is he uniformly vigilant to observe, and prompt to pursue his real good, however remote, and requiring whatever sacrifices of present ease and gratification? Does prejudice or passion never blind or mislead him? nor habit render him slow to follow the dictates of his better judgment? The conversion of the slaves in the colonies into free labourers, must be a very gradual work, demanding much patience and assiduity,—involving, possibly, some present risk, and requiring, it may be, for its complete success, the consentaneous efforts of the planters. And is such a task likely to be undertaken spontaneously, by the body of West India proprietors whose concerns are managed by hired overseers? who consider their capital as invested, if not in a lottery, at least rather in a mercantile speculation, from which it is speedily to be disengaged, than in landed property, which is to descend with all its improvements, to their children's children? Is not the whole history of colonial cultivation; is not the long and violent opposition of the planters to the abolition of the slave-trade; is not the reluctance they evinced to breed, instead of purchase their slaves, when the latter plan was so notoriously the most expensive; is not their unwillingness to adopt the enlightened and profitable suggestions of their able counsellor and ex-

perienced associate, "The Professional Planter;" are not all these irrefragable proofs, that the practice of a planter, like that of other men, may be at variance with his interest, especially if in unison with his prejudices and his inclinations? If you should require additional evidence, I refer you to Brougham's Colonial Policy, where the fact is illustrated and explained, in language somewhat less courteous indeed, than I am willing to adopt, but with the usual force and ability of that powerful writer.

Ganilh expresses his surprise, that an author so intelligent as yourself, and so well acquainted with the progress of society in Europe, should maintain the general position, that slave labour is cheaper than the labour of freemen; but he insinuates some doubt, whether the position may not be true when applied to the colonies. He gives no reasons, however, for this idea, (for he scarcely offers it as an opinion,) which do not apply with the same force and propriety to the European system; and after a careful examination of his argument, I can really discern as little connexion between the principles he lays down, and the inference he seems disposed to deduce from them. as between the solemn and repeated declarations of France, that she has, *bona fide*, abolished the slave trade, and her extension of this traffic, in the eyes of Europe, to the very utmost limits of which her capital will admit.

He observes, "as soon, therefore, as education has formed man for a particular mode of living, it is the height of imprudence to impose upon a freeman, all at once, the ideas, the feelings, and the inclinations of a slave; or, upon a slave, the ideas, feelings, and inclinations of a freeman. In this respect, *although it appears to us evident, that the labour of a freeman is more profitable than that of the slave*, perhaps it is equally true of the colonial system, as it now exists, that the labour of the slave is more profitable than that of the freeman." Now this argument against the abolition of slavery in the West Indies, applies equally to the abolition of slavery every where; or rather, it is applicable only to *sudden* emancipation any where. "By educating a man as a slave, you unfit him for freedom." Educate him then, as a freeman, and you unfit him for slavery. If the present generation of the West India slaves, are so tainted with the poison of slavery, that their moral constitutions cannot be regenerated, guard the next generation from the malignant influence of this viscious system, and you supply the islands with more productive labourers, agreeably to Ganilh's own admission.

If he had founded his exception of the Colonies from the operation of the general principle, that the labour of freemen is cheaper than that of slaves, on some radical distinction between the European and the African race, or between European and Colonial bondage, his argument would have been intelligible at least, if not conclusive. But he asserts, and I think most justly, "that the nature of man—white, yellow, or black, is every where the same; that the passions exercise the same empire over each colour, and that all equally obey the influence of moral and physical causes;" and with respect to any difference between European and Colonial bondage, he has not even alluded to the subject.

I admit, however, that some striking distinctions exist between them; distinctions so little creditable either to your country or my own, that I rejoice that my subject does not compel me to insist upon them. The argument I am pursuing, leads me to dwell less on those points in which the two systems differ, than on those in which they agree; and I trust it will appear from their coincidence in the few particulars in which I shall institute a comparison between them, that the principles from which slavery derives its malignant influence on human character, are common to both, and that the happy results which have followed its abolition in the one case, may reasonably be anticipated from it in the other.

If in the West Indies and America, the wealth of a planter is estimated, not by the number of acres which he possesses, but by the number of his slaves, so it is in Europe. "Peasants belonging to individuals in Russia," says Coxe, "are the private property of the landholder, as much as implements of agriculture, or herds of cattle, and the value of an estate is estimated by the number of boors, and not by the number of acres." "The peasants of Poland," observes the same writer, "as in all feudal governments, are serfs or slaves; and the value of an estate is not estimated so much from its extent, as from the number of its peasants, who are transferred from one master to another, like so many herds of cattle."

If in the West Indies and America, the slave can possess no property, except at the will of the master, who may choose to appropriate it, neither can he in many parts of Europe. "A man," says Storch, "who belongs to another man, cannot possess any thing of his own. All that he produces, and all that he acquires, is produced, and ac-

quired for his master." "With regard to any capital," Coxe observes, "which the Russian peasants may have acquired by their industry, it may be seized, and there can be no redress, as according to the old feudal law, which still exists, a slave cannot institute a process against his master. Hence it occasionally happens, that several peasants who have gained a large capital, cannot purchase their liberty for any sum, because they are subject, as long as they continue slaves, to be pillaged by their masters." "If the slave," says Dr. Clarke, "have sufficient ingenuity to gain money without his knowledge, it becomes a dangerous possession, and when discovered, it falls instantly into the hands of his lord." "The Russian boors," Tooke remarks, have no civil liberty; their children belong not to them, but to their manorial lord, on whose will they depend; they also, with their children, may be alienated, sold, and exchanged. They possess no immoveable property; but they themselves are treated sometimes as the moveable, sometimes as the immoveable property of another."

If in the West Indies and America, the power of the master has too frequently, in practice at least, extended to the life of the slave, such has often been the case in Europe. In the state of Mississippi, in 1820, a young planter was pointed out to me who had shot a runaway slave the preceding year, without the smallest notice being taken of it; and a similar circumstance had occurred on a neighbouring plantation about the same time. "In the west of Europe," says Storch, "under the feudal system, the condition of the slaves was much harder than it is in reality in Russia, as the master had the power of life and death over his slaves." Coxe, in his travels in Poland, observes, "Peasants belonging to individuals, are at the absolute disposal of the master, and have scarcely any positive security, either for their properties or their lives. Until 1768, statutes of Poland only exacted a fine from a lord who had killed his slave; but in that year a decree was passed by which the murder of a peasant was made a capital crime; yet, as the law in question requires such an accumulation of evidence as is seldom to be obtained, it has more the appearance of protection than the reality." The same traveller observes, in his travels in Russia, "The lord, according to the ancient laws, had no power over the lives of the peasants, for if a slave was beat by order of his master, and died within the space of three days, the latter was guilty of murder, unless other reasons could be

assigned for his demise. But was not almost this a mockery of justice? For surely a man might be terribly chastised without suffering death in three days, and if his vassal died within that space, and his master was a man of consequence, who was to bring him to justice?"

If in the West-Indies and America, marriage may be rendered impracticable, or its sacred ties torn asunder at the caprice of a master, so they may in Europe. "If the slave marries" says Storch, "it is because his master either wishes it, or allows it; if he becomes a father, his children are born slaves, like himself: his authority over his wife and children is subordinate to that which his master exercises over them: he is first a slave, and then a man." "A peasant in the village of Celo Molody, near Moscow," observes Dr. Clarke, "who had been fortunate enough to scrape together a little wealth, wished to marry his daughter to a tradesman of the city, and offered fifteen thousand roubles for her freedom—a most unusual price, and a much greater sum than persons of his class, situated as he was, will be found to possess. The tyrant took the ransom, and then told the father that both the girl and the money belonged to him; and therefore, she must continue among the number of his slaves."

If the negroes, (often active and energetic in their own country,) are accused of indolence and apathy in the colonies, so are the lively Russians themselves when benumbed by slavery. "Other nations," says Dr. Clarke, "speak of Russian indolence, which is remarkable, as no people are naturally more lively, or more disposed to employment. We may perhaps assign a cause for their inactivity. It is necessary. Can there exist excitement to labour, when it is certain that a tyrant will bereave industry of all its reward. The only property a Russian nobleman allows his slave to possess, is the food he cannot or will not eat himself. The bark of trees, chaff, and other refuse, grass, and fish oil." "With regard," says Mr. Herber, "to the idleness of the lower classes in Russia, of which we have heard great complaints, it appears that when they have an interest in exertion, they by no means want industry. Great proprietors, who never raise their abrock, such as Count Sheremotoff, have very rich and prosperous peasants." Again, "We observed a striking difference between the peasants of the crown, and those of individuals. The former are almost all in comparatively easy circumstances. Their abrock or rent is fixed, and

as they are sure it will never be raised, they are more industrious.

If the miseries of slavery in the Colonies occasionally exasperate the slaves to desperation, and impel them to atrocities, which diffuse general apprehension and alarm, the same thing occurs in Russia. "In such instances," observes Dr. Clarke, "the peasants take the law into their own hands, and assassinate their lords. To prevent this, the latter live in cities, remote from their own people, and altogether unmindful of all that concerns their slaves, except the tribute they are to pay." Mr. Birkbeck relates the following anecdote of a planter, whom he met in a tavern in Virginia, and Dr. Clarke informs us that Russia can supply many parallel cases. "One gentleman," says Mr. Birkbeck, "in a poor state of health, dared not encounter the rain, but was wretched at the thoughts of his family's being for one night without his protection, from his own slaves. He was suffering under the effects of a poisonous potion, administered by a negro who was his personal servant." Dr. Clarke observes, "Many of the Russian nobles dare not venture near their own villages, through fear of the vengeance they have merited by their crimes." It has occurred to myself, while in the state of Mississippi, to hear a well authenticated instance of a planter, who was compelling his slaves to work during a great part of the night, having been surprised asleep on the trunk of a tree, on which he had set down to inspect them, shot with his own rifle, and then burnt in the ashes of their midnight fires; and Mr. Herber remarks when in Russia, "The brother of a lady of our acquaintance, who had a great distillery, disappeared suddenly, and was pretty easily guessed to have been thrown into a boiling copper by his slaves." He adds, "domestic servants (slaves) sometimes revenge themselves in a terrible manner."

If travellers in America find the prisons in the slave-states filled with slaves, (as I do almost universally,) Mr. Herber remarks, "the prisons of Moscow and Kastroma were chiefly filled with runaway slaves, who were for the most part in irons."

If in passing from a free into a slave-state in America, the change is instantly visible, even to the most careless eye, and nature herself seems to droop and sicken under the withering influence of slavery; the case is precisely the same in Europe. "The houses," says Hall, in his travels, "in America universally shaded with large verandahs,

seem to give notice of a southern climate ; the huts around them, open to the elements, tell a less pleasing tale : they inform the traveller he has entered on a land of freemen and slaves, and he beholds the scene marred with wretched dwellings, and wretched faces ! And if the miserable condition of the negro leave him mind for reflection, he might laugh in his chains, to see how slavery has stricken the land with ugliness. The smiling villages and happy population of the eastern and central states, give place to the splendid equipages of a few planters, and a wretched negro population, crawling among filthy hovels. For villages, after crossing the Susquehanna, there are scarcely any : there are only plantations—the very name speaks volumes !” My own personal observation enables me to subscribe to the fidelity of this picture, and from a recent communication which now lies before me from America, in reply to some inquiries transmitted to that country on the subject, I extract the following remarks : “ It is believed that no country can furnish a more full and clear opportunity, than the United States of America do at this time, of testing the effect of domestic slavery upon the industry and prosperity of a nation, and the relative value or profit of free and slave labour. The States of Maine, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Vermont, New-York, New-Jersey, and Pennsylvania, are now cultivated almost entirely by freemen. These States lie under a more rigorous climate, and possess a less fertile soil than the southern states, yet the prosperous situation of the country, the general comfort of the inhabitants, and the improved condition of agriculture in those free states, compared with the slave states, are so obvious as to strike the traveller immediately, as he passes from the one district to the other. In the one we find the whole country divided into small farms of from 100 to 500 acres of land ; on each of these tracts is generally erected a comfortable dwelling-house, with the necessary out-buildings, which are surrounded by well cultivated fields, in good order. In this district, the farmers, with but few exceptions, annually realize a small profit, by which they are enabled, as their children attain to manhood, to make respectable provision for their establishment in business. In the other, we meet here and there, thinly scattered over a wretchedly cultivated district of country, a mansion-house, commonly in bad repair, surrounded by a number of dirty beggarly huts, crowded with ragged negroes and mulattoes, and the whole bearing the

strongest marks of oppression and suffering, in which the half-starved neglected cattle, and other domestic animals, evidently participate. In other words, in those districts where the system of slavery is in full operation, the population is composed of the two extreme conditions of society, viz. : the rich and the poor : and we meet with scarcely any of that middling class which in all countries constitutes its most valuable members. and its most efficient strength." It is observed of a slave district in Russia, in the "Memoirs of the Court of St. Petersburg," "A few cities enjoy the pleasures of life, and exhibit palaces, because whole provinces lie desolate, or contain only wretched hovels, in which you would expect to find bears rather than men." Coxe observes, in his journey from Stockholm to Carlscrona, "After having witnessed the slavery of the peasants in Russia and Poland, it was a pleasing satisfaction to find myself again among freemen, in a kingdom where there is a more equal division of property, where there is no vassalage ; where the lowest order enjoy a security of person and property, and where the advantages resulting from this right, are visible to the commonest observer. Norway is blessed with a particular code, called the 'Norway Law.' "By this law—the palladium of Norway, the peasants are free ; a few only excepted on certain noble estates near Frederickstadt. The benefits of the Norway code are so visible, as to the general effect on the happiness, and on the appearance of the peasants, that a traveller must be blind who does not instantly perceive the difference between the free peasants of Norway, and the enslaved vassals of Denmark, though both living under the same government."

If in the West Indies and America, you are often surprised and grieved by the strange assertion that the condition of the slaves is as good as that of the labourers in England, as if mere animal sustenance were all that is necessary for the happiness of a rational and immortal being, the same proof is often afforded in Russia, of the degree in which familiarity with slavery may degrade man in the estimate of his fellow-man, and render a feudal lord insensible to all that constitutes the essence of freedom. "There is," said one of the Russian princes to Dr. Clarke, addressing himself to him with an air of triumph, "more of the *reality* " of slavery in England than in Russia."

And if in the West Indies, there is a general prejudice against emancipation, and the idea of imparting to slaves the privileges of freedom is regarded as theoretical and vi.

sionary ; similar errors and prejudices have prevailed, and perhaps still prevail in many parts of Europe. "The generality of the Polish nobles," observes Coxe, "are not inclined either to establish or give efficacy to any regulations in favour of the peasants, whom they consider as not entitled to the common rights of humanity!" "I was much surprised to find that," says the same author, "upon inquiry, that no noble in Russia had franchised his vassals; but I may venture to predict that the time is not far distant, although an almost general prejudice seems to prevail, with respect to the incapacity of the peasants for receiving their liberty. And this perhaps may be true in the literal sense, as many of them, unless properly instructed, would scarcely be enabled to derive a solid advantage from their freedom, which might be considered by some as an exemption from labour, and permission for licentiousness. *A century ago. perhaps no one in Russia would have ventured to debate the question, whether peasants ought to be free.*"

And yet emancipation has proceeded rapidly in Europe, with what brilliant success let Ganilh himself inform us: "The emancipation of the people of Europe, has been followed by the clearing and culture of the soil; by the conversion of cabins into cottages, of hamlets into villages, of villages into towns, and of towns into cities; by the encouragement of industry and trade; by public order and social strength. The nations which have made the most shining figure, are the very ones which have first substituted the labour of the freeman for that of the slave; and other nations have not been able to raise themselves to the same height of prosperity, but by imitating their example; would the era of financial and political improvement in modern Europe may be dated from the abolition of actual and personal servitude."

And why may not the same glorious consequences follow the abolition of slavery in the West? is it in Europe only that the mind can awaken from the torpor of slavery to life and intelligence? What shall we say, then, to the abolition of slavery, under British auspices, in Ceylon, in Java, in Sumatra, and in St. Helena? Or is it the African alone who imbibes a poison from the bitter cup which no antidote can cure, but which flows in the veins, and attains the blood of his latest posterity? To you, Sir, it would be most unjust to impute such an opinion; but if it should be entertained by any of your countrymen, I would refer them to the experiment lately made in Colombia, where a

great body of slaves have been emancipated, who are said "to have conducted themselves with a degree of industry, sobriety, and order, highly creditable to them." I would refer them to the instance of the American slaves who joined the British standard in the last war, and who are now settled in Trinidad; where, under the protection of Sir Ralph Woodford, the Governor, "they are earning their subsistence," Mr. Wilberforce informs us, "with so much industry and good conduct, as to have put to silence all the calumnies which were first urged against the measure." I would refer them to the testimony of a traveller, whose authority they will not dispute, the enterprising and philosophical Humboldt: "In all these excursions," he observes, "we were agreeably surprised, not only at the progress of agriculture, but the increase of a free laborious population, accustomed to toil, and too poor to rely on the assistance of slaves. White and black farmers had every where separate establishments." I love to dwell on these details of colonial industry, because they prove to the inhabitants of Europe, what to the enlightened inhabitants of the colonies has long ceased to be doubtful, that the continent of Spanish America can produce sugar and indigo by free hands, and that the antipathy slaves are capable of becoming peasants, farmers, and landholders." I would refer them to the interesting and flourishing colony of Sierra Leone, that morning star of Africa, which beams so brightly on her sable brow. Or, lastly, I would refer them to a dark page in your colonial history, where the refutation of their opinion is written in characters of fire.

Why, then, I would ask again, may not the same glorious consequences which followed the abolition of slavery in Europe, follow its abolition in the West? "The abolition of the slave-trade," says Brougham, "*assisted by subordinate arrangements, similar to those adopted in the ancient states, in the feudal kingdoms, and in the American Colonies, will most undoubtedly alter the whole face of things in the new world. The negroes, placed in almost the same circumstances with the bondmen of ancient Europe and the slaves of the classic times, will begin the same career of improvement. The society of the West Indies will no longer be that anomalous, defective, and disgusting monster of political existence, which we have so often been forced to contemplate in the course of this inquiry. The foundation of rapid improvement will be securely laid, both for the whites, the negroes, and the mixed race. A strong and*

compact political structure will arise, under the influence of a mild, civilized, and enlightened system. The vast continent of Africa will keep pace with the quick improvement of the world which she has peopled; and in those regions where, as yet, only the war-whoop, the lash, and the cries of misery, have divided with the beasts the silence of the desert, our children, and the children of our slaves, may enjoy the delightful prospect of that benign and splendid reign, which is exercised by the arts, the sciences, and the virtues, of modern Europe."

Such, sir, is the animating picture of the future fortunes of the negro race. It is drawn, not by a philanthropist in the shades of retirement, but by a politician who had meditated deeply on colonial policy, who brought to the consideration of this difficult topic, a mind second to few in capacity and vigour, and enriched with the most valuable information, commercial, political, and moral, on all topics connected with the interests of the colonies. It is a sketch from the hand of a master, but of a master more eminent for the distinctness of his conceptions, and the bold lineaments of his prominent figures, than for the embellishments of a luxuriant fancy, or the warm colouring of romantic or impassioned feeling.

Nor was the expectation that the abolition of slavery, with all its beneficial results, would follow the abolition of the slave-trade, confined to Mr. Brougham. "Not I only," says Mr. Wilberforce, but all the chief advocates of the abolition of the slave-trade,—Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox, Lord Grenville, Lord Grey, and every other,—scrupled not to declare, from the very first, that their object was, by ameliorating regulations, and more especially by stopping that influx of uninstructed savages, which furnished an excuse for continuing a harsh system of management, and prevented masters from looking to their actual stock of slaves for keeping up their number, to be surely though slowly advancing towards the period when these unhappy beings might exchange their degraded state of slavery for that of a free and industrious peasantry.'

Mr. William Smith observes, "That he scrupled not to avow and to maintain, nor had he ever, at any period of the slave-trade controversy, scrupled to avow and to maintain, that the ultimate object of every friend of justice and humanity in this country, must and ought to be, eventually to extend freedom to every individual within the dominions of Great Britain; that this freedom belonged to them of

right; and that to withhold it beyond the necessity of the case, and especially to withhold it systematically, and in intention, *for ever*, was the very grossest injustice. He admitted, indeed, that *immediate* emancipation might be an injury, and not a benefit, to the slaves themselves: a period of preparation seemed to be necessary. The ground of this delay, however, was not the intermediate advantage to be derived from their labour, but a conviction of its expediency as it respected themselves. We had to compensate to these wretched beings for ages of injustice; we were bound by the strongest obligations to train up these subjects of our past injustice and tyranny, for an equal participation with ourselves in the blessings of liberty, and the protection of law: and by these considerations ought our measures to be strictly and conscientiously regulated. It was only while proceeding in such a course of action, adopted on principle and steadily pursued, that we could be justified in the retention of the negroes in slavery for a single hour; and he trusted that the eyes of all men, both here and in the colonies, would be open to this view of the subject, as their clear and indispensable duty."

And why have so many years elapsed without any systematic approach to that happy change in the structure of colonial society, which was so generally expected to follow the abolition of the slave trade? Is it not because the circumstances of the planters have never yet been such as to compel them to introduce those "subordinate arrangements," those "ameliorating regulations," adopted by the ancient states, and feudal kingdoms of Europe? But the time is probably at hand, when necessity will force them to adopt the most economical mode of culture, however averse to change and innovation. The nation will not long consent to support a wasteful system of cultivation, at the expense of great national interests, and of an opening commerce with 60 to 100 millions of our fellow-subjects; and the slave labour of the West must fall, when brought into competition with the free labour of the East.

Deeply impressed with this conviction, I dwell with peculiar pleasure on every view of this important subject, which illustrates the connexion between the interest of the master and the slave. And having had a near view of slavery in the United States of America, having seen the dark aspect which it assumes, and the apprehensions which it diffuses under a government pre-eminently free, in the bosom of an enlightened people, and in the sunshine of

benign and liberal institutions, I am persuaded that such a system cannot exist long, in daily contrast with the enlightened policy of new republics of the West, and under the brighter light which the diffusion of the gospel is shedding over the globe. I rejoice, therefore, in the conclusion, that the same measures,—the mitigation and gradual abolition of slavery,—which are best calculated to avert a crisis which it is impossible to contemplate without dismay, are precisely those which, it would appear from the preceding pages, are most adapted to promote the immediate interest of the planters, by diminishing the expenses, and increasing the produce of their estates.

That the removal of the monopoly which they at present enjoy, will enhance the distress of the West-India planters, it is impossible to doubt; and the distress of so numerous a body, comprising some of the most enlightened and estimable members of the community, deserves a serious and dispassionate consideration. That sympathy is unnatural, which is excited only for sufferers at a distance, and that sensibility defective, which can feel only for the slave. But it is the part of an enlightened legislator, when endeavouring to relieve one class of the community, to guard against the injustice of transferring the burden to another; and to require from those who solicit his interference, not only that they make out a strong case of distress, but that they prove that they are vigorously pursuing every means within their own power, to extricate themselves from the difficulties of their situation.

It is on these grounds, and not on any vague idea, that Parliament is pledged to support them, that the West Indians should rest their claims. Even with respect to the absolute prohibition of a trade which Parliament had encouraged, Mr. Pitt repelled the idea of the Legislature's being restrained by a reference to the past, from exercising its free discretion with regard to the future. With how much greater warmth would he have rejected such an assumption, in the case of a protecting duty, which encourages a system of cultivation unnecessarily expensive, which acts like an oppressive tax on the export of our manufactures, and which operates with a most malignant and widely extended influence on the industry, energy, and resources of our Indian Empire. He observes, "It is chiefly on the presumed ground of our being bound by a parliamentary sanction, heretofore given to the African slave-trade, that this argument against the abolition is rest-

ed. Is there any one regulation of any part of our commerce, which, if this argument be valid, may not equally be objected to, on the ground of its affecting some man's patrimony, some man's property, or some man's expectations. Let it never be forgotten, that the argument I am canvassing, would be just as strong, if the possession affected were small, and the possessors humble; for on every principle of justice, the property of every single individual, or number of individuals, is as sacred as that of the great body of West Indians. It is scarcely possible to lay a duty on any one article which may not, when first imposed, be said in some way to affect the property of individuals, and even of some entire classes of the community. If the laws respecting the slave-trade imply a contract for its perpetual continuance, I will venture to say, there does not pass a year without some act equally pledging the faith of Parliament, and the perpetuating of some other branch of commerce."

It is not then on the plea of a parliamentary pledge, but simply on the grounds of the extent of their distress, and their inability to relieve themselves, that the West-India planters should found their claims for support.

But this inability, however real, will perpetually be called in question, until they have introduced every practicable improvement into their system of cultivation. When they have relieved that system from its superfluous machinery, and have made arrangements for the gradual elevation of their slaves to the condition of free labourers, they will have prepared themselves to come before Parliament with a better case; and will have laid the foundation for such a change in the structure of colonial society, as will ultimately contribute greatly to their prosperity, and will exhibit in our West-India Islands, another happy illustration of the truth of the position, that the labour of freemen is cheaper than the labour of slaves.

APPENDIX TO M. SAY'S LETTER.

MANY of the following proofs and illustrations of the truth which I have endeavoured to establish, might probably have been introduced with propriety into the preceding letter. I was, however, unwilling to interrupt the train of reasoning, by any additions to an accumulation of testimony, already, perhaps, sufficiently extensive, and some of the succeeding remarks did not fall under my observation until the Letter was printed. I had no opportunity of seeing Mr. Ramsay's "Essay on the treatment and Conversion of African Slaves in the British Sugar Colonies," or Dr. Dickson's tract "On the Mitigation of Slavery," until the preceding pages were in the press; and I have, consequently, been enabled to introduce only a few brief remarks from these very valuable works. The latter contains so much that bears directly on the question at issue, that I am unwilling not to avail myself of it more freely; and I shall, therefore, extract from it rather copiously in this Appendix, after adducing the testimony of Burke, Franklin, and Beattie, in favour of the position I have advocated.

BURKE.

"I am the more convinced of the necessity of these indulgences, as slaves certainly cannot go through so much work as free men. The mind goes a great way in every thing, and when a man knows that his labour is for himself, and that the more he labours, the more he is to acquire; this consciousness carries him through, and supports him beneath fatigues, under which he would otherwise have sunk."—*Burke on European Settlements.*

FRANKLIN.

"It is an ill-grounded opinion, that by the labour of slaves, America may possibly vie in cheapness of manufactures with Great Britain. The labour of slaves can never be so cheap here, as the labour of working men is in Great Britain. Any one may compute it. Reckon, then, the interest of the first purchase of a slave, the insurance or risk on his life, his clothing and diet, expenses in his

sickness, and loss of time, loss by his neglect of business, neglect which is natural to the man who is not to be benefited by his own care and diligence, expense of a driver to keep him at work, and his pilfering from time to time, (almost every slave being from the nature of slavery a thief,) and compare the whole amount with the wages of a manufacturer of iron or wool, in England, you will see that labour is much cheaper there, than it ever can be by negroes here.”—*Franklin on the Peopling of Countries.*

DR. BEATTIE.

“That the proprietors of West-India estates would be in any respect materially injured by employing free servants, (if these could be had,) in their several manufactures, is highly improbable, and has, indeed, been absolutely denied by those who were well informed on this subject. A clergyman of Virginia assured me, that a white man does double the work of a slave; which will not seem wonderful, if we consider that the former works for himself, and the latter for another; that by the law one is protected, the other oppressed; and that in the articles of food and clothing, relaxation and rest, the free man has innumerable advantages. It may, therefore, be presumed, that if all who serve in the colonies were free, the same work would be performed by half the number, which is now performed by the whole. The very soil becomes more fertile under the hands of free men, so says an intelligent French author, (Le Poivre,) who, after observing that the products of Cochin China are the same in kind with those of the West-Indies, but of better quality, and in greater abundance, gives for a reason, that, ‘the former are cultivated by free men, and the latter by slaves;’ and therefore, argues, ‘that the negroes beyond the Atlantic ought to be made free.’ ‘The earth,’ says he, ‘which multiplies her productions with profusion under the hands of a free-born labourer, seems to shrink into barrenness under the sweat of the slave.’”

The Honourable JOSHUA STEELE.

The honourable Joshua Steele, whose communications form so valuable a part of Dr. Dickson’s work, was a very intelligent gentleman, of large West-India property, who, previous to visiting his estates in Barbadoes, lived many years in London, in habits of intimacy with persons of rank and character. He was vice-president of the London Society of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, and was

supposed to be one of the founders of the Dublin Society. He went to Barbadoes late in life, where he was a member of the Council, and officiated some time as Chief Justice. He was also the founder of the Barbadoes Society of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, and President, till it had acquired some strength, when the Governor became President, and Mr. Steele Vice-president. He arrived in Barbadoes in 1780. The Society was founded in 1781, and in 1787 and 1788, "he contrived to give in the Barbadoes Gazette, (by his account of several conversations,) faithful copies of the material part of the manuscript minutes of the proceedings of the society in their committees," under the signature of Philo Xylon.

In 1790, about 10 years after his arrival in Barbadoes, he writes to Dr. Dickson, who had also been a resident in that island as private secretary to governor Hay: "Upon observing all this," (the abuses which still continued on his plantation, after his attempts to correct them in the ordinary way,) "I resolved to make a further experiment, in order to try whether I could not obtain the labour of my negroes by *voluntary* means, instead of the old method, by *violence*, and that in such a way as should be a proof against the insidious insinuations of my superintendent; when, for a small pecuniary reward over and above their usual allowances, the poorest, feeblest, and by character the most indolent negroes in the whole gang, cheerfully performed the holing of my land for canes, (generally said to be the most laborious work,) for less than a fourth part of the stated price paid to the undertakers for holing. Of this there is a pretty exact account given in Philo Xylon's eighth letter. I repeated the like experiment the following year with equal success, and on the 18th. Nov. 1789, I gave also my slaves tenements of land, and pecuniary wages, by the hour, the day, or the week, for their labour and services, nearly according to the plan described in Philo Xylon's ninth letter, and soon after dismissed my superintendent." The account to which he alludes in Philo Xylon's eighth letter, is the following:—"A planter offered a premium of two-pence halfpenny a day, or a pistareen per week, with the usual allowance to holers, of a dram with molasses, to any twenty five of his negroes, men and women, who would undertake to hole for canes, an acre per day, at about ninety-six and a half holes for each negro to the acre. The whole gang were ready to undertake it, but only fifty of the volunteers were accepted, and many among those who

on much lighter occasions, had usually pleaded infirmity and inability. But the ground having been moist, they holed twelve acres within six days, with great ease : having had an hour, more or less, every evening, to spare ; and the like experiment was repeated with the same success. More experiments, with such premiums, on weeding and deep hoeing, were made by task-work per acre, and all succeeded in like manner, their premiums being all perpetually paid them in proportion to their performance. But afterwards, some of the same people being put (without premium) to weed on a loose cultivated soil in the common manner, eighteen negroes did not do as much in a given time, as six had performed of the like sort of work, a few days before, with the premium of the two-pence halfpenny.

“But these heterodox experiments did not pass without censure. However, the plain answer is, that by the last experiment, where eighteen negroes, under the whip, did not do as much as six with the premium, the planter was clearly convinced that saving time, by doing in *one day* as much as would otherwise require *three days*, was worth more than double the premium, the timely effects on vegetation being critical. And moreover, it was remarkable, that during the operations under the premium, there were no pretended disorders, no crowding to the sick-house. But according to the vulgar mode of governing negro-slaves, they feel only the desponding fear of punishment for doing less than they ought, without being sensible that the settled allowance of food and clothing is given, and should be accepted as a reward for doing work : while, in task-work, the expectation of winning the reward, and the fear of losing it, have a double operation on their minds to exert their endeavours.”

In Philo Xylon's ninth letter, to which he alludes, Mr. Steele shows, that by giving his slaves tenements of land, and pecuniary wages, the expense of employing the labour of three hundred copyhold bond slaves, including the value of the land given to them, is only £1283 15s 0d While that of three hundred slaves under the ordinary management, is at £5 14s each . . . 1710 0 0

Making a saving of currency	426	5	0
Or sterling	334	9	3

The advantage of the plan pursued by Mr. Steele, is still more evident from the following extract, from the “Sup-

plement to the privy council's report." It is taken from the reply to the 17th of the Queries, from his excellency Governor Parry, answered by JOSHUA STEELE, Esq. A planter of 1068 acres, in the parishes of St. John, St. Philip, and St. George, in the Island of Barbadoes.

On a plantation of 288 slaves, in June 1780, viz. 90 men, 82 women, 56 boys, and 60 girls, by the exertions of an able and honest manager, there were only 15 births, and no less than 57 deaths, in three years and three months. An alteration was made in the mode of governing the slaves, the whips were taken from all the white servants, all arbitrary punishments were abolished, and all offences were tried, and sentence passed by a negro court. *In four years and three months*, under this change of government, there were 44 births, and only 41 deaths, of which 10 deaths were of superannuated men and women, and, past labour, some above 80 years old. *But in the same interval, the annual nett clearance of the estate was above three times more than it had been for ten years before.*—From the privy council's report, part 3, p. 472.

Dr. Dickson, who had carefully examined the subject of slave labour, and who has published some excellent tables of Labour Annuities, the result of practical experience and scientific investigation, considers the preceding estimates of saving and profit to be stated with great moderation. He notices them in many parts of his work, and among others in the following passage.

"Thus then, all things conspire to prove, that the returns of slave labour on sugar plantations have been, and are still, very rapidly declining. The ground on which the planter stands has never been firm, and is now fast sinking under his feet. To save himself from the opening gulf, he *must reduce the enormous expense of producing his article*, by some such means as those recommended by the success of Mr. Steele and other wise economists in sugar cultivation. He must call forth the latent vigour of his slaves by rewards, and abate in every possible way, the waste, theft, idleness, desertion, pretended sickness, and secret reluctance and opposition, which must *always more or less diminish the labour of slaves*. 'For a slave,' as Adam Smith observes, 'can have no other interest than to eat and waste as much, and work as little, as possible.'

"We might be thought to refine too much, were we to attempt to calculate the diminution of labour caused by those *moral evils* of slavery. And beside, we could offer

no estimate half so satisfactory as that given above, of the actual saving by the system recommended; which saving is nothing else than the *amount of what is lost, by attempting the impossibility of curing the moral incapacity of slaves by force instead of reward.*"

MR. BOTHAM.

On the mode of cultivating a sugar plantation at Batavia, &c.

"It may be desirable to know that sugar, better and cheaper than in our Island, is produced in the East Indies by free labourers.—China, Bengal, and Malabar produce quantities of sugar and spirits, but the most considerable estates are near Batavia. The proprietor is generally a rich Dutchman, who builds on it substantial works. He rents the estate off (of 300 or more acres) to a Chinese, who superintends it, and relets it to free men in parcels of 50 or 60 acres, which they plant at so much per pecul (133½lb) of the sugar produced. The superintendant collects people to take off the crop. One set, with their carts and buffaloes, cut the canes, carry them to the mill, and grind them; a second set boil the sugar, and a third set clay and basket it for the market; all at so much per pecul. Thus the renter knows what every pecul will cost him. He has no unnecessary expense; for when the crop is over, the last men go home; and for seven months in the year, the cane-planters only remain, preparing the next crop. By dividing the labour, it is cheaper and better done. *After spending two years in the West Indies, I returned to the East in 1776, and conducted sugar-works in Bencoolen on similar principles with the Dutch. Having experienced the difference of labourers for profit and labourers from force, I can assert that the savings by the former are very considerable. By following as nearly as possible the East India mode, and consolidating the distilleries, I do suppose our sugar Islands might be better worked than they are now by two-thirds, or indeed one-half of the present force. Let it be considered how much labour is lost by overseeing the forced labourer, which is saved when he works for his own profit, I have stated with the strictest veracity, the plain matter of fact, that sugar-estates can be worked cheaper by free persons than slaves.*"

"Marsden, in his history of Sumatra," says Dr. Dickson, "highly commends Mr. Botham's management of the sugar-works at Bencoolen by free labourers, and says that the expenses, particularly of the slaves, frustrated many

former attempts of the English to cultivate the sugar-cane profitably at that place."

SIERRA LEONE.

This Colony may be said to owe its origin to the liberality and benevolent exertions of the celebrated GRANVILLE SHARP. At the time when the decision of Lord Mansfield, in the memorable case of the Negro, Somerset, had established the axiom, that "*as soon as any slave sets his foot on English ground, he becomes free,*" there were many negroes in London who had been brought over by their masters. As a large proportion of these had no longer owners to support them, nor any parish from which they could claim relief, they fell into great distress, and resorted in crowds to their patron, Granville Sharp, for support.

But his means were quite inadequate to maintain them all, even if such a plan had been desirable for the objects of his compassion, and "he formed a scheme for their future permanent support. He determined upon sending them to some spot in Africa, the general land of their ancestors, where, when they were once landed under a proper leader, and with proper provisions for a time, and proper implements of husbandry, they might, with but moderate industry, provide for themselves. Just at this time, Mr. Smeathman, who had lived for some years at the foot of the Sierra Leone mountains, and who knew the climate, and nature of the soil and productions there, who had formed a plan for colonizing those parts, was in London, inviting adventurers, but particularly the black poor, to accompany him on his return to his ancient abode." Measures for this purpose were concerted by him and Granville Sharp, but Mr. Smeathman, who was to have conducted the black colonists, died before they sailed, and the care, and for some time the expense of this bold enterprise, devolved entirely on Mr. Sharp. Nothing could be more discouraging than the calamities which befell the undertaking from its very outset. Of 400 black people who left the Thames on the 22nd Feb. 1778, under convoy of his majesty's sloop of war *Nautilus*, not more than 130 (who were afterwards reduced to 40) remained alive and in one body at the end of the rainy season, into which they had been thrown by the death of Mr. Smeathman, notwithstanding Mr. Sharp's strenuous efforts to avoid it. Disaster followed disaster. Famine, disease, discontent, desertion, succeeded each other with frightful rapidity, till the year 1789, when the colony, again in a state

of improvement, was almost annihilated by a hostile attack from a neighbouring chief. About that time a company was established in England for the purpose of carrying forward the benevolent views of the founder, which afterwards obtained a royal charter of incorporation. In 1792, about 1100 negroes arrived from Nova Scotia, under the command of Lieutenant Clarkson. These were negroes who had been induced to enlist in the British army during the American war, by an officer of freedom, and "who were afterwards carried to Nova Scotia, under a promise of regular allotments of land, which promise had unfortunately not been fulfilled;" the climate being unfavourable to them, they solicited and obtained permission to join the colony at Sierra Leone. In the year 1800, their numbers were increased by the arrival of 550 Maroons, who, having risen against the colonists of Jamacia, and been induced, by the terror of blood hounds, to surrender, were carried to Nova Scotia, and subsequently to Sierra Leone. Of such elements, (to which have since been added the negroes liberated from the holds of captured slave ships,) was the colony of Sierra Leone composed; and nothing less than the extraordinary energy, fortitude, and perseverance of our illustrious countryman, could have saved it from the destruction with which it was so often menaced. "Certainly without him the Sierra Leone Company would not have been formed, and had he not supported the colony, when it so often hung as it were by a thread, till the formation of this company, all had been lost." This is not the place to follow it through all the vicissitudes of its subsequent history, but as its actual condition is little known, I will give a few extracts from various authorities, which will enable the judicious reader to form his own opinion how far it is likely to realize the expectation of its illustrious founder, and to be "one day the means of spreading the benefits of civilization and christianity through a considerable part of the vast continent of Africa."

On the 31st Oct. 1787, Granville Sharp writes, "I have had but melancholy accounts of my poor little ill-thriven swarthy daughter, the unfortunate colony of Sierra Leone."

The following was the population in 1820 and 1822, as given in the Missionary Register of Dec. 1822.

	July 8, 1820.	Jan. 1, 1822.
European	120	128
Maroons	594	601

West Indians and Americans	—	85
Natives	1046	3526
Nova Scotians	730	722
Liberated Africans	8076	7969
Disbanded Soldiers	1216	1103
Kroomen	727	947
Total	12,509	15,081

“The chief increase is apparently in the class of natives, while that of liberated Africans seems to be somewhat diminished; but this is, in part, occasioned by a difference of arrangement in the two returns. The large number of natives in the native villages of the Peninsula, amounting in the last return to 1925, would have been divided, according to the arrangement in the return of 1820—into natives, properly so called; that is, as we conceive, the aborigines of the Peninsula; and liberated Africans, living in villages, but not under a superintendant. In the return of 1820, this distinction was made; and then the whole number, amounting to 1468, was divided into 400 of the first class, and 1068 of the second. Both classes being called ‘natives’ in the last return, the number of liberated Africans appears to have diminished; while it has, in fact, greatly increased, independently of the addition of 1590 since the date of the last return. We collect from these data, that the number of liberated Africans, of all descriptions, in the colony, on the 1st of August, was upwards of ELEVEN THOUSAND.

“Still there is an increase of the class ranked as ‘natives’ in the last return, to the amount of nearly 1000; of these, about one-half are in Freetown, and the other half are chiefly resident in the settlements of the liberated Africans. This augmentation is derived, we conceive, from the influx of the people bordering on the colony; and is a gratifying indication of the growth of mutual confidence between the colony and its neighbours.

IMPORTS.

Invoice Amount.

From Dec. 10, 1816, to Nov. 22, 1817	£75,716 6 0½
Nov. 25, 1817, to Dec. 10, 1818	94,799 14 5½
Dec. 1, 1818, to Dec. 31, 1819	80,863 6 11½
Jan. 1, 1820, to Dec. 31, 1820	66,725 9 4
Jan. 1, 1821, to Dec. 31, 1821	105,060 15 10

EXPORTS.	No of Vessels employed in exporting.	Tonage.	Logs of Afri- can timber exported.	Tons of Rice export.
From Jan. 1 to Dec. 31, 1817	17	2990	—	—
Jan. 1 to Dec. 31, 1818	22	3659	1517	273
Jan. 1 to Dec. 31, 1819	27	5875	2556	1228
Jan. 1 to Dec. 31, 1821	26	6805	4736	42

Comparative statement of Duties collected in the colony of Sierra Leone, for the undermentioned periods.

From Jan. 1, to Dec. 31, 1817	£3086	3 7
Jan. 1, to Dec. 31, 1818	5124	1 3
Jan. 1, to Dec. 31, 1819	4656	2 0½
Jan. 1, to Dec. 31, 1820	6153	5 6
Jan. 1, to Dec. 31, 1821	6318	4 7

J. REFFELL.

Acting Collector and Naval Officer.

At the moment I am writing, there are at least three vessels on the birth in this port, for Sierra Leone.

Extract from Commodore Sir GEORGE COLLIER'S Second Annual Report upon the Settlements on the Coast of Africa, relative to the Colony of Sierra Leone.

“Indeed the colony of Sierra Leone has been so differently represented, so much has been urged against its rising prosperity, and proposals said to have been made for its abandonment, that I consider myself (as an impartial person) the one from whom opinions and remarks may be expected. The climate of Sierra Leone is, like all other tropical climates, divided into a sickly season, and one not positively so, for it may be too much to speak of Sierra Leone as ever absolutely healthful.” He then proceeds to speak of various topics particularly connected with the nature of his survey. Alluding to the schools and churches, he says, “The manner in which the public schools are here conducted, reflects the greatest credit upon those concerned in their prosperity, and the improvement made by the scholars, proves the aptitude of the African, if moderate pains be taken to instruct him. I have attended places of public worship in every quarter of the globe, and I do most conscientiously declare, never did I witness the ceremonies of religion more piously performed or more devoutly attended to, than in Sierra Leone.”

In his report dated 27th Dec. he observes, “The public

buildings have not advanced so rapidly as I believe had been expected, but it is, nevertheless, gratifying to observe that the roads in the neighbourhood of Freetown and those in the mountains have been much improved, and that the bridges have been constructed of more durable materials than heretofore. Upon the whole, Sierra Leone may be said to be improving, and if the encouragement hitherto shown, shall be continued to the British merchant, no reason appears to me why this colony shall not in the course of time, amply repay the anxiety, and care, and expense, so liberally bestowed by the mother country. Every year, some new prospect opens to the merchant. *An intercourse with the interior of Africa now fairly promises ultimate success, and which must be productive of benefit to Great Britain, and it may even be expected, that some years hence, caravans shall resort to the neighbourhood of Porto Logo, (on a branch of the Sierra Leone,) to convey articles of British manufacture into the very interior of the continent of Africa.*"

Extract of a Letter from Capt. H. TURNER, dated the 7th March, 1822.

"I visited the colony of Sierra Leone in the year 1817. My stay among the recaptured negroes in the mountains then was very short, but sufficient to ascertain they were involved in heathen darkness and barbarity.

"Having again visited them in December 1821, I am able in some measure to estimate the great change since the former period, both in a moral and religious point of view, through the exertions of your missionaries, and the blessing of Almighty God upon their labours, without which all would have been ineffectual.

"Regent's Town, under the direction of the Rev. Mr. Johnson, was then but thinly inhabited.

"Regent's Town now wears the aspect of a well-peopled village in our happy land; its inhabitants civilized, industrious, honest, and neatly clothed. The ground allotted to each family is cultivated, each lot being distinctly marked out. I have frequently ascended an eminence near the town to behold the pleasing scene on the Sabbath-day; hundreds pressing on to the house of God, at the sound of the bell, hungering after the bread of life. Nothing but sickness prevents their attendance now. What a lesson does this teach many in Britain, who count the Sabbath a burden, and either spend it in indolence and sloth, or in visiting and riot!"

Extract of Letter from EDWARD FITZGERALD, Esq. Chief Justice of the Colony of Sierra Leone, dated the 3d of May, 1821.

After giving an interesting and detailed account of the various places of public worship within the colony, the Chief Justice thus proceeds: "In a general view the observances which have been noticed, will be thought sufficient to create a favourable impression of the state of religious feeling and demeanour in the settlement of Freetown. The Lord's day is more decorously kept than it is in most other places. The shops are all shut; there is no such thing as buying and selling. The Christian part of the people attend worship at the places which they have respectively chosen: and all the congregations are alike remarkable for uniform and respectful attention. Throughout the streets corresponding propriety is noticed; intoxication, in the gross and disgusting form in which it is so commonly seen on the Lord's day in England, is of very rare occurrence here, with the painful exception of European seamen, whose conduct and language in their frequent inebriations, on that day especially, are of most depraving example. It is not to be understood that the day passes in *perfect* sobriety; among the inhabitants in general, it is the decency, and not the abstinence, that makes the distinction. Excesses are committed, and are generally brought under the animadversion of the magistrates on the Monday, in consequence of the quarrels occasioned by them; but these quarrels are almost universally of a trifling nature. There is not any thing in the circumstances collectively to detract from the credit that has been taken."

Extract of a letter from the Rev. H. DURING Superintendent of Gloucester Town, Sierra Leone, dated 28th Dec. 1821.

"The reception which his excellency Sir C. M'Carthy met with among the people under our care, has indeed been feebly stated in the Gazette, as the editor also honestly owns.

"The captain, in whose vessel the Governor had come, was struck with astonishment. He the (captain) had seen much of the negroes, having been in Jamaica, and asked what time the settlement had been formed? When told in the beginning of 1817, he smiled, and said to the Governor, Sir Charles M'Carthy, 'If I knew not your excellency to be a man of honour, I should think myself greatly imposed on; and I must candidly confess I can hardly believe it

now!" His excellency then pointed out to him the way he first came to this place, and the old trees lying about the town, cut down three or four years ago, as evidences of the truth; but, said the captain, "What sort of people were they with which it was commenced?" I pointed out to him some who were sent here in the beginning of November, that, looking at their emaciated state of body, he might form some idea of those with whom I began, and who only then were sixty-two in number, twenty of whom died ere scarcely a month had elapsed! He then inquired what method we had pursued to bring them to such a state in so short a time. "No other," said his excellency, "than the truths of christianity, which these gentlemen were sent by the Church Missionary Society, to propagate: by this alone they have ruled them, and have raised them to a common level with other civilized nations; and, believe 'me,' added his excellency, "if you admit christain teachers into your island, you soon will find them become affectionate and faithful servants to you!"

"Things as they now appear, humanly speaking, never wore so bright and pleasant an aspect; for there were individuals, and are now at this moment, who always were endeavouring to undermine the credit of the society, as well as that of the Colonial Government, as it respects the captured negroes; but sure it is, there never was such an opportunity for observation—never were the prejudices more effectually removed from the minds of many European colonists, and never had the society gained more credit in the colony, even in the minds of those individuals alluded to, than through the present events; as you, I trust, will see in the report of the Sierra Leone Association in aid of the Church Missionary Society, the collections and contributions to which amount to nearly \$200."

Dr. Morse, a well-known, respectable, and intelligent American author, thus describes the settlement, in his *Universal Gazetteer*: "Sierra Leone, in 1809, contained 1500 persons, since which it has been flourishing, and is now the most important English colony in Africa, except the cape of Good Hope, the number of inhabitants in 1818 amounting to 10,014, of whom only about 100 were Europeans. The population consists almost entirely of Africans from the holds of slave-ships, and who, when they were introduced into the colony, were at the lowest point of mental and moral depression. They now exhibit a very gratifying proof of the susceptibility of the African charac-

ter for improvement and civilization. From savages and gross idolators, many of them have been converted into enterprising traders, skilful mechanics, and industrious farmers; supporting themselves and their families in comfort, and performing respectably, the social, and even religious duties. They discharge the duties of jurors, constables, and other officers, with much propriety, and are a fine example of a community of black men living as free men, enjoying the benefit of the British constitution, regularly attending public worship, and gradually improving, by means of schools and other institutions in knowledge and civilization. This happy change has been effected by the blessing of God on the labours of English missionaries. In 1819, the number of children in the schools at the various settlements, was 2014.’

Extracts from the third Annual Report of the American Society for Colonizing the Free People of Colour of the United States.

“What the society proposes to do with regard to colonizing, is to procure a suitable territory on the coast of Africa, for such of the free people of colour as may choose to avail themselves of this asylum, and for such slaves as their proprietors may please to emancipate”

“So far is this scheme from being impracticable, that one, resembling it in all respects, was accomplished by a private society in England, more than 30 years ago.”

“In despite of every representation to the contrary, the colony of Sierra Leone boasts, at this moment, a greater degree of prosperity, than distinguished any one of the British Colonies, now the United States of America, at the same period after its first plantation. The population of Sierra Leone; its commerce and navigation; its churches, schools, and charitable institutions; its town and hamlets; its edifices public and private; surpass those of any one of these states, at any time within twenty-five years from its first settlement.”

It is for the reader to estimate the value of the preceding authorities, and to draw from them his own conclusions with regard to the present state and future prospects of Sierra Leone. It is for him also to decide how far the prosperity of a community formed of such unpromising materials, may be regarded as an exemplification of what the negro race may exhibit when rescued from slavery; how far such a colony of Africans, of many nations and languages, educated on their own shores, with civil rights,

political privileges, and religious advantages, and in frequent communication with their countrymen from the interior, is calculated to civilize Africa ; how far it may be expected to send forth, through a thousand channels, those fertilizing streams which will clothe the moral deserts of that injured continent with verdure and beauty.

