IMPRESSIONS

AND

EXPERIENCES

OF THE

WEST INDIES AND NORTH AMERICA

IN 1849.

BY

ROBERT BAIRD, A. M.

"Cœlum non animum mutant qui trans mare currunt."

PHILADELPHIA:
LEA & BLANCHARD,
1850.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY

JAMES MACAULAY HIGGINSON,

GOVERNOR-GENERAL AND COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF
IN AND OVER THE ISLANDS OF
ANTIGUA, MONTSERRAT, BARBUDA, SAINT CHRISTOPHER, NEVIS,
ANGUILLA, DOMINICA, AND THE VIRGIN ISLANDS,

This Work,

THE RESULT OF NOTES COMMENCED WHEN ENJOYING HIS SOCIETY
AND HOSPITALITY IN GOVERNMENT HOUSE, ANTIGUA,

IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED

BY HIS OBLIGED FRIEND,

THE AUTHOR.

PREFACE

"I'll publish, right or wrong!"—BYRON.

To be last written, and least read, is the fate of the generality of prefaces. In a chapter which belongs to a literary family, of which such a remark may, with much truth, be made, length were a fault, brevity an excellence. My Preface to the following "Impressions and Experiences" will therefore be very short, consisting of little more than the acknowledgment that if the attempt to delineate life, manners, and scenery in the West Indies, and in America, should unfortunately prove unworthy of any share of public estimation, there is no one responsible or amenable for them, or for their publication, save myself: for although the urgency of friends, and even of friends of some name in literary life, has certainly not been wanting to induce me to "see my name in print," I have not such confidence in Byron's attendant dictum, "A book's a book, although there's nothing in't," which would have induced me to publish, however strongly importuned,

had it not been for the opinion entertained by myself, that I would succeed in making my Work instructive or amusing, or perchance both. So far, therefore, from being entitled to disarm criticism by pleading, in defence of publication, a compliance with the solicitation of others, I am bound in truth to declare, that my chief motive for giving this Work to the press, is the hope, that a perusal of my "Impressions and Experiences," in the course of a voyage not frequently undertaken, will prove pleasant to many, and profitable to a few—and, more particularly, to those who may, like myself, be advised or induced to visit the West Indian Archipelago under medical advice. Add to this, that I have not been able to find, among more recent publications, one which professes to give anything approaching to what I would call a domestic portraiture of the Islands and Islanders of the West Indian Archipelago, in their present state or condition. No doubt Mr. Coleridge's spirited little volume, published first in 1826, is somewhat of this character; but Mr. Coleridge's visit to the Islands of the West Indies was made in 1825, ere steam had wrought its marvels—and, moreover, his visit was confined to a very few of the Islands. Not only so—Mr. Coleridge's narratives, graphic and amusing as they are, have but little application to the present condition of West Indian society. They were written with exclusive reference to a state of slavery; and they are written in a strain of enthusiastic description which, eloquent and in the main accurate as they undoubtedly are, has caused them to be regarded in the eyes of many, as extravagant, if

not incredible. In such and similar considerations has originated my desire to publish this Work; and I think I shall have exhausted my confessions on this subject, when I add, that I am certainly not a little influenced by a desire to repay, in part, a debt of gratitude I owe to my many dear friends, not only in the West Indies and in Canada, but in the

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,

by adding my tribute to the many beauties of that land, and the many excellencies of its inhabitants; and, by simply speaking of both as I found them increase, if I can, even by a little, between two great nations, identified in origin, in language, and in duty, that mutual knowledge of each other, the progress of which is doing so much to promote the cause of peace and civilization.

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THE WEST INDIES.

CHAPTER I.

EXPLANATORY AND INTRODUCTORY.

"Utinam tam facile vera invenire quam falsa convincere."
TULLY.

IT is not because it is imagined that it is a circumstance of the slightest consequence in itself, or one likely to affect, in any way, the reception which this book may receive at the hands of that august and numerous body whom it is customary to designate "a liberal public," that I set out with the mention of these two facts—*First*, That the journeyings which have given cause to these notes were undertaken solely on account, or in pursuit of health; and, *Second*, That, in selecting the West India Islands as my place of temporary sojourn, I was not influenced by any considerations of business or by any ties of connection. To these islands I went solely because, after medical consultations, numerous and erudite, it was supposed that the climate of these

"Beautiful islands! where the green
Which Nature wears was never seen
'Neath zone of Europe; where the hue
Of sea and heaven is such a blue
As England dreams not; where the night
Is all irradiate with the light
Of starlike moons, which, hung on high,
Breathe and quiver in the sky,"

was likely to have a salutary and a sanitary effect on the disease or diseases under which my corporeal frame was supposed to labour! And I took the westerly route readily, because, as the resident of a city deeply interested in colonial matters, I had for a long time heard and read much of West India distress, without being able to arrive at very definite or tangible notions as to its nature, causes, or extent.

But, if the mention of these facts be not important to the success of the book, "Why," the reader may ask, "am I treated or troubled

with these personalities at all?" The question, good reader, is a fair one, and will be honestly answered. I have no interest in recording the facts, but you have an interest in knowing them, and a right to know them. You have honoured me so far as to commence the perusal of my work, (whether you intend to finish it or not is another question entirely;) and, without prying into matters which concern only your bookseller and yourself, I take it for granted that you have paid for the privilege of perusal, such as it is. You have therefore a right to know everything that can throw light upon the bias or honesty under or with which my book has been penned. Now, it is well known that the object for which a man sees, or goes to see, will greatly affect the medium through which he sees, and the lights under which he afterwards represents the objects seen. Of no part of the globe does this more truly hold good than of the British colonial possessions in the West Indies. Therefore it is that I have deemed it right thus, in the outset, to chronicle the fact that, in my voyagings to the West, I went neither as a friend of slavery nor as an emancipationist; I journeyed neither as a Protectionist, nor as a Ministerialist, nor as a Free-trader.

The route undertaken and accomplished was from England to Barbadoes, by way of Madeira, and thence, in a north-west direction, through the numerous English, French, Danish and Spanish islands of the West Indian Archipelago. Thereafter from Cuba across the Gulf of Mexico to Mobile and New Orleans, up the Mississippi and the Ohio to Cincinnati, northward to the great American lakes into Canada—and from Canada, by the Hudson river to New York and the other great cities of the American Union. Any more minute detail of the lines of travel has been rendered unnecessary by the note of contents prefixed to each chapter, for the guidance and convenience of the reader.

I have only to add, that, throughout, it has been my main object to vindicate the humble title I have selected for my book, by chronicling incidents exactly as they occurred, and things precisely as they are; and, whatever reception my descriptions may meet with, I have received from them much pleasure in the minute record kept by me of my daily experiences, and in the excerpting from these copious though rough notes, such portions of them as I have thought worthy of the honour, and likely to excite attention and create interest in the minds of general readers.

CHAPTER II.

"Adieu! adieu! my native shore
Fades o'er the waters blue."—BYRON.

"Ille robur et æs triplex
Circa pectus erat, qui fragilem truci
Commisit pelago ratem."—HORACE.

IN one of the above mottoes, the Augustan poet has chronicled, in immortal verse, the hardihood of the most "ancient mariner." But, whatever the courage of the sailor who first committed a frail bark to any sea; or, whatever the courage of the great Columbus, who, anticipating Columbia over the distant wave, first stretched his sails to cross the broad Atlantic in search of a New World; I fear steam and its triumphs have destroyed, for the modern traveller, all claims to any unwonted degree of courage, when he intrusts his person to the tender mercies of the uncertain sea. Such, at least, were my "impressions and experiences," ere I had been a week on board the noble steam-ship, the Great Western. At first, like all landsmen, I found myself not merely cabined, (*that* I had bargained as well as paid for,) but "cabined, cribbed, and confined," in the six or eight feet square, facetiously denominated a "state room." *Lucus a non lucendo.* Like those of many other persons, my notions of steam-ship accommodation had been somewhat formed from the pictorial representations exhibited in agents' offices, and from the highly coloured pictures of the comforts of a life at sea drawn by experienced voyagers, who, having frequently made the voyage, had lost their sense of the disagreeables in their appreciation of the beauties which it opened to their view, and in the health which it imparted to their frame. But it was only at first that the dispelling of the delusion left a feeling of disappointment. Ere Porto Santo was announced to be in sight, (although nothing more than a seeming cloud was at first visible,) I had become perfectly reconciled to my cabin home, and quite prepared to vindicate its spaciousness, salubrity, and convenience, against the sneers of any Exquisite who might erroneously imagine an extensive bedroom and separate dressing-closet among the essentials of human happiness. But to begin at the beginning.

It was on a miserably wet cold morning, in the very beginning of the month of January 1849, that, after bidding a fond farewell to those near and dear to me, I started from the commercial metropolis of Scotland, per rail, to London. My spirits were in keeping with the weather. Indeed, I envy not the man who, whatever his pros-

pects of enjoyment may be, can leave his native land and a happy home for a far-off country, without deep and painful feelings of reluctance and regret. When, therefore, I started on my journeyings, I was not much in the vein for "pencillings by the way;" and, even had it been otherwise, the journey from Glasgow to London is too well known, and (thanks to the excellence of our railways) too rapidly travelled, to require, or indeed to justify, any descriptive remarks other than those of the Guide Books. The only thing that occurs to me to note, is the rapidity with which the transit is now effected. Eleven o'clock at night found me in London, having travelled the four hundred and twenty miles, or thereby, in twelve and a half hours. Similar remarks apply to the journey from London to Southampton, performed on the afternoon of the immediately succeeding day. At the end of this trip, I bade farewell, for a time, to English railways, not then knowing, that notwithstanding all the vaunting of our Transatlantic friends, I was not to see anything of the kind—anything like them, or half so good, so swift, so comfortable, or so safe—till I should again put foot in old England. At Southampton I sojourned at the Dolphin Hotel; and as I perceive it is the good custom of more experienced tourists to record for the guidance and benefit of their "successors in office," the hostelries in which comforts and condiments are to be found, I here pledge my veracity to the fact that the Dolphin Hotel in Southampton—albeit that, during my sojourn there, the weather was bitterly cold, and that the house is more adapted for a summer than a winter residence—is a hostelry of exceeding comfort and excellent cooking. In Southampton and the neighbourhood are to be seen various objects and institutions of interest and attraction, which will amply repay a visit, but, as they are fully chronicled in Mr. Osborne's book, and in other Guide Books, and as my stay in Southampton was but brief, I will leave those to other pens, and proceed at once on board the good ship Great Western, which was to convey me to Madeira, *en route* for the West Indies. The Great Western lay out at anchor in the middle of the arm of the sea, termed (on the same *lucus a non lucendo* principle) Southampton *river;* and we reached it by a miserable small steamer, which conveyed the passengers, with the small luggage of the general body, and the whole luggage of the favoured few, on board *The Ship*—the heavier luggage of those not in the secret having been sent before, *at their expense*, in sailing boats, after they had been again and again told that, on no account whatever, would heavy luggage be permitted on board the Tender steam-boat. But this is not the only instance in which I have found alleged impossibilities give way before favouritism or influence.

I was accompanied on board by two good friends, who had kindly resolved not to part from me till the last. The day was cold and

wet, and the sea rough. The cabin of the small steamboat could not contain the one-fourth of our number. We formed, friends included, a party greatly exceeding a hundred; and, being enshrouded in a multifarious variety of pea-jackets, cloaks, and water-proofs, we formed a group so unpicturesque and unattractive, that it is only from a vivid recollection of the superior claims, in these respects, of the larger world we found on board the Great Western, that I waive description of the minor scene, and proceed to the larger one. On reaching the steamship, we encountered a scene of confusion which almost baffles description. Passengers of every variety of tongue, dressed in costume of every variety of colours, with hats of all imaginable shapes, colours, and kinds — running about in every direction, and poking their heads into places where they had no business to be, in their attempts to secure preferences of conveniences for themselves, and to vindicate possession of their luggage: to this add the noises of the live stock, the tramplings and callings attending the getting in of the cargo and getting the ship ready for sea, and you may have, reader, some idea of the confusion which attends the getting underweigh for a foreign voyage. After a hasty but handsome luncheon, which was on the saloon table when we went on board, and to which we were invited by the national strain "The roast beef of Old England," our friends said the unwelcome "farewell," and left us to our meditations, as the noble ship, like a thing of life, panted forth upon her voyage. Mine were dull enough, and I am not ashamed to acknowledge that they were so. But I was roused from them by a somewhat ludicrous incident, which, even at the risk of having my wisdom impugned, I shall here record were it only for the warning of such travellers as may peruse my book, and contemplate a similar trip. Like most persons, save the few who prefer ship-board to *terra firma*, and think "state rooms" quite roomy and airy, I thought the closet, which was to be my abode probably for the next three weeks, or perchance longer, was somewhat dark, and had somewhat of a close and confined odour. To remedy this, I had opened the port-hole; and having done so, and seen my luggage deposited within, I had locked the door and taken the key with me, to prevent any interference with my "personals," till after the ship should sail. Thereafter, and when my friends had left me, I lay down on a sofa in the afterpart of the saloon. There, exhausted by my feelings, and the turmoil of the day, I fell asleep, and did not waken for some hours, or till the pitching of the vessel, after she had passed the "Needles," roused me effectually. Then I sought my so-called berth, in every way prepared to acknowledge that, in the state I felt myself approaching to, the recumbent position was the most natural, if not the most necessary. But, alas! the same sea which aroused me from my

slumbers, had washed through the open port of my state-room, saturated my bed and bed-clothes, and had sent the different articles of my apparelling to intricate corners of the confined space. Occurring, as this did, on a wet night, at ten o'clock, and when starting in a somewhat invalided state on a long voyage, it was unpleasant enough. But the necessities of the case roused me from my melancholy musings, better, probably, than more comfortable circumstances would have done; and, notwithstanding the first declaration of the steward-assistant, that, the vessel being full, there were no more spare mattresses or bed-clothes to be had that night, I succeeded in a few hours, by the exercise of persuasion and the influence of a somewhat more potent power, in having things put to rights, and retired to rest—agreeably surprised to find that, although the pitching of the ship had increased, my incipient tendency to sea-sickness had nearly disappeared. This, however, is not the only instance in which I have found that over-exertion was the best cure for the *malade du mer.*

While mentioning the stewards of the ship, I deem it not out of place, and likely to be useful, to mention here the fact that, on the occasion of this voyage, formal and written complaint was made by the passengers of the inattention and inefficiency of the stewards, particularly at the outset of the voyage; and this I think a matter peculiarly worthy the attention of this West Indian Steam-Packet Company. For many and obvious reasons, some of which will appear in the course of my narration, this is a route which is likely to become a favourite one for and with invalids. At all events it will probably become so, if proper attention is paid to their comfort and safety during and for the voyage. The advantages of sea voyages for the cure of dyspeptics, and the beneficial results likely to accrue from such voyages in the incipient stages of pulmonary complaints, are beginning to attract much more attention than had been given to them formerly; and the advantages of a West Indian voyage, now that steam has made its direction and duration matters of certainty, consists mainly in this—that the medical adviser, who recommends it as a sanitary measure, can calculate on his patient being in the midst of bright skies and balmy breezes within five or six days after leaving England, and this whatever may be the period of the year at which the voyage is adventured on. But the transition from the conveniences and comforts usually possessed by an invalid at home, to the capabilities of the six or eight feet square called a state room on board a ship, is, under any circumstances, a great and a harsh one. So great and so harsh that, unless preventive measures can be taken, there is some chance of the debilitated patient suffering more injury from the confinement, damp, and closeness of the ship, than he or she reaps benefit from the improvement of the climate. This

is so plainly true, and so oft confirmed by melancholy experience, that argument to prove it were a mere waste of time; and it is also true, and obviously true, that it is at the outset of a sea voyage that the invalid traveller, and indeed any traveller, is most alive to the discomforts of a ship, and is consequently most likely to be benefited by some degree of extra attention. It is however to be feared, that these facts sometimes escape the attention of steamboat directors; and, most assuredly, the written complaints, of the inattention of the servants, made on the occasion of this voyage, were not without foundation. In every other respect, and particularly as regards the politeness and consideration evinced by the captain and officers, no complaint could be made, and no complaint was made. But as regards the servants, and particularly at the outset of the voyage, the attendance and attention were anything but satisfactory. I say at the outset, because, while it was then that consideration and attention were most required, and would have been most appreciated by the passengers, it was then that the want of it was most displayed: the reason of this being, as I was afterwards informed, that the majority of the steward's assistants had been engaged only a few days before the sailing of the ship; so that, at the commencement of the voyage, they were comparatively new to their work, to each other, and to the steamer. This, however, is plainly an explanation, not a justification; and it is only now mentioned, because it was the excuse communicated to my fellow-passengers and to myself. It is sufficiently obvious that arrangements might be made for the attendance of a sufficient corps of stewards to accompany each successive ship on several voyages.

"That man is to be pitied," says Mr. Turner in his annual tour for 1844, "who has never sailed from Southampton to Havre de Grace;" and although I cannot carry my feelings of commiseration so far as to embrace all mankind, save such as are not included in Mr. Turner's remark, I can safely affirm, that he or she who has not sailed from Southampton on a foreign voyage, has something to see of the beauties of Old England. Comparatively disadvantageous as was the day when I sailed past and away from the Isle of Wight—an island with much justice called the "Garden of England"—I could not fail to observe the many elements of beauty which the scene possesses; or to perceive that, on a fine clear day, and under the influence of a summer sun, it must in every way merit the character as being a scene calculated to "rejoice the gay, soothe the melancholy, and even warm the indifferent."

On reaching deck next morning, I found myself, I may almost say for the first time in my life, (a Channel voyage having been the extent of my previous experience) "at sea." Before, behind, around, the heavens and earth were only separated by the line of the natural

horizon, and the ship in which I was formed the centre of the visible world.

It has been often enough remarked, that a sea voyage affords but few events or incidents to chronicle, for the interest of the general reader; and this one certainly formed no exception to the rule. "Sometimes we see a ship, sometimes we ship a sea;" while occasionally the announcement of a ship in sight, caused a very unusual degree of excitement among the passengers who might happen to be on deck—all and each left their perusal of Macaulay's *History of England*, (then recently published, and of which, to the credit of the party, we had at least some dozen copies on board and in much request,) and their various occupations. Telescopes were had on requisition, and the utmost anxiety was displayed to ascertain the important facts of whether the vessel was the "Maria" or the "Janet," the "Ruby" or the "Pearl"—was laden with "fruit" or with "timber" was bound for London or Liverpool. Such occasional occurrences, with the somewhat amusing occupation (to those who, like myself, had overcome the demon of sea-sickness at an early period of the voyage) of observing the gradual increase of the number of promenaders on deck, and the gradual improvement in the external appearance of each, generally supply sufficient excitement for the first few days after the vessel gets to sea.

As seen when, or soon after, the ship leaves the port of departure, one's fellow-passengers generally appear under a very monotonous, and perhaps not very inviting aspect; and literally, as well as figuratively, it may be said that it is not for some days that the various members constituting the "living freight" appear under their proper *colours*.

As regards my fellow-voyagers, on the occasion in question, I am bound to acknowledge that I was peculiarly fortunate. For although their number exceeded a hundred, and although there was among so many as great a variety of minds and of manner as there unquestionably, as well as amusingly, was of hats, caps, coats, and mustaches—(strange that so many Englishmen, when going abroad, should think of disfiguring their physiognomies with the unnational mustache)—there were none among their number of peculiarly ill-regulated minds or offensive habits; and there were several among them of whose elegance, talents, and general acceptability, I shall ever retain a most grateful recollection. Having always regarded the unauthorised introduction of individual names, and of scenes of private life, into narratives of travel, as an act much to be reprobated, it were a violation of my own views of propriety were I here to mention the names of any of my fellow-voyagers. But, without the chance of offending even the most fastidious feelings of any of them, (should this work come under their observation,) I may mention

that, in the persons of a governor going to his seat of government, and his lady—of a British consul and his graceful daughter—of a retired cavalry officer, now, alas! no more—of an accomplished and enthusiastic West Indian planter and proprietor—of a talented doctor, of fame as a writer on the important subject of tropical agriculture—and of some other gentlemen of varied talents and occupations—I found as pleasant a party, for morning promenading and evening amusements, as I ever expect to find for, or in the course of, a voyage across the broad Atlantic. Here, as on all other occasions, I found that a desire to please, and to be pleased, was a valuable preventive of tedium and ennui.

It was not till the forenoon of the seventh day after leaving Southampton that we came in sight of the island of Porto Santo, which forms the most northerly of the group constituting the Madeiras. I was peculiarly struck with two circumstances attending our doing so. In the first place, the precision and certainty of steam navigation properly conducted. On the day previous, I had been told by the first officer of the ship that we would see Porto Santo at a particular hour of the following day, and the time of first seeing it was within a quarter of an hour of the time he had mentioned. Again, when first seen from the ship, the land of Porto Santo lay so clearly in front that it seemed that, had the vessel held straight on her course, she would have struck nearly about midway on the northern coast of the island. While, on calculating the ship's position by the different chronometers, and by dead reckoning, there were not above two or three miles of difference between the extremes of the whole. This surely is as singular as it is satisfactory.

But the next subject of my remark is one more certain to attract the attention of other travellers by sea—it being the singular appearance of land when first seen, and the refreshing and inspiriting sensations which the sight inspires. When land is announced from the mast-head, even to the most experienced eye all seems but one expanse of sea and sky, bathed, it may be, (as it was in the case I write of,) in the rays of an almost tropical sun. Shortly a cloud, or uneven darkness, gathers on the boundary of the ocean, occasionally moving, or seeming to move, or sometimes disappearing altogether. In a few minutes the darkness becomes more dense, and after the paddle-wheels have made a few hundred more revolutions, the seeming cloud settles, and becomes permanent and defined. Heights and hollows first appear; then colours develop themselves; and at last the traveller is voyaging with the first sight of foreign land in view. In my case, this first seen land was the island of Porto Santo, only interesting from its forming one of the Madeiras.

Was Madeira known to the ancients? is a question much more easily asked than answered, and one which, in my case, formed the

subject of a good deal of amusing discussion among the pleasant party assembled on board the Great Western on the voyage in question. The discussion, however, was carried on more for the sake of seeing what could be said on the affirmative of the question than for any other reason; for I fear that there is but little direct evidence of any kind tending to encourage the idea that this beautiful group, composed of Madeira, Porto Santo, and the Deserters, (query "deserted,") however appositely situated for discovery by the Carthaginians and other voyagers of ancient times, were revealed to the world until their discovery by a long-named Portuguese in 1419. There is a story of their prior discovery by an Englishman named Mackin, and, were the position defensible, one's *amor patriæ* might dispose him to maintain the truth of this statement. But the now universal conviction is, that it is wholly fabulous, and that Portugal has the honour of giving birth to the discoverer of these balmy islands—this *flor d'oceano*, as the Portuguese themselves term the chief island of the group. If, however, the island of Madeira did not form the *insula fortunata* of the ancient world—if that honour is to be given either to one of the Canaries or to one of the Azores—it surely was because Madeira was unknown. For, if half that has been written of it be true, there is much justice in the remark of the enthusiastic Coleridge, that "if the ancients had known Madeira, it would have been their *plusquam fortunata insula;* and the blessed spirits of the Gentiles, after a millennium of probationary enjoyment in the Canaries, would have been translated thither to live for ever on nectar and oranges."

The existence of a quarantine, on account of the then prevalence of cholera in England, prevented our landing at Madeira. Although, therefore, we lay in the Bay of Funchal for nearly twenty-four hours, I am prevented from saying more of this Island of the Blessed, than that it has a very picturesque as well as a very volcanic appearance; and that its capital, Funchal, although neither so fine nor so large as I was led by descriptive accounts to believe, it had a gay, and, from the roadstead, a clean appearance.

On bidding adieu to Madeira, we again emerged into the open sea, and steamed our onward voyage across the broad Atlantic, on the course most probably pursued by the great Columbus and his gallant companions in 1491, towards the island of Barbadoes—the first of the West India group at which these steamers touch—and the one at which (for the present) the mails are interchanged.

For at least two days before reaching Madeira, I had felt a sensible and gradual increase in the warmth of the atmosphere; and after leaving that "flower of the ocean," the increase of the temperature was still more sensible. The lines of William Meyrick aptly describe the appearance:—

"See at length th' indulgent gales
Gently fill our swelling sails.
Swiftly, through the foamy sea,
Shoots our vessel gallantly;
Still approaching, as she flies,
Warmer suns and brighter skies."

After the usual experiences of observing such signs of the approaching tropics as the gulf-weed, flying fish, sharks, and dolphins; and after entering the tropics, and gradually divesting ourselves of our European garments, and substituting dress of much more suitable texture and lightness, we reached Barbadoes on the eleventh day after sailing from Madeira.

Land had been announced ere I reached the deck, about seven o'clock in the morning, and the island was darkly visible when I first saw it. A short time, however, sufficed to define its outline; and in a few hours the ship came to anchor in Carlisle Bay, then filled with a number of vessels, including her Majesty's line-of-battle ship the Wellesley, then carrying the flag of Admiral Lord Dundonald.

This being my introduction to tropical scenery, and the view of the town of Bridgetown from Carlisle Bay being a scene of much picturesque beauty, I was greatly and agreeably struck by the view which stretched itself before me on reaching the deck of the steamship. Carlisle Bay, Barbadoes, forms a curve of two miles or so, and the town of Bridgetown extends along it from point to point; the white houses of which the town is composed being freely intermingled with gigantic palm-trees, and other trees of tropical production; and the trees, flowers, and shrubs so totally different from, and at this distance so much more effective and beautiful than those of Europe, made, from mere novelty as well as beauty, a powerful impression on my mind. Nor was the feeling lessened on reaching the shore. The luxuriant vigour of the trees and shrubs, many of which I had never previously seen, save as the stunted or sickly exotics of an English conservatory, with the variety of the black and brown faces of the population, kept constantly impressed upon my mind the fact that I was now in a very different region from the realms of the north.

BARBADOES,

The easternmost of the Windward Islands, and the scene of Addison's touching story of "Inkle and Yarico," lies between 59° 50′, and 60° 2′, of west longitude, and 12° 56′ and 13° 16′ of north latitude. The length of the island from north to south is twenty-five miles, and its breadth from east to west is about fifteen or sixteen miles. Its superficial contents are estimated at somewhere

about a hundred and seven thousand acres, and its present population at not less than a hundred and forty thousand—a population per acre larger, and more dense, than is to be found in any other portion of the known globe, not even excepting China. For reasons which will afterwards appear, this density of population has operated very favourably in, partially at least, protecting Barbadoes from the effects of the depreciating influences under which the rest of the British colonies in the West Indies have of late years been so severely suffering.

Although my stay in Barbadoes was short, I was enabled, through the kindness of a fellow-passenger—already referred to, himself a large proprietor in the island, and one generally known, particularly in connexion with his writings on the important subject of tropical agriculture—and of other friends, to see much of the island, and to much advantage. Of the many scenes I visited, that from Hacklestone Cliff is the one which most impressed me, and of which I feel it expedient to make prominent mention here. Although this cliff, (which is nearly the highest elevation in the island) is not above eleven hundred feet in height, it commands one of the most beautiful panoramic views, both landward and seaward, which it is possible for the mind to conceive. Below the cliff, that part of the island denominated Scotland (from a supposed miniature resemblance to the land of mountain and flood) stretches before the eye. On the right is a long line of sea-coast, and immediately in front lies a tropical valley of exceeding loveliness. It is possible that it was because my visit to Hacklestone Cliff, and the scene of enchantment that thence opened up to my view, formed my introduction, so to speak, to the more inland scenery of the tropics; and because I visited it in the society of four valued fellow-voyagers, and under the guidance of a kind friend, a resident proprietor of the island, that the loveliness of the view rises upon my mind many months afterwards—

> "While the breeze of England now
> Flings rose-scents on my aching brow,"

with a freshness of pleasurable sensation which does not attend the recall of other scenes, of even greater magnificence and grandeur. Such, however, is the fact; and therefore it is that I recall and record the scene with a lingering pleasure, and that I recommend to every visitor to Little England, (as Barbadoes is oft-times called,) not to leave that beauteous island without paying a visit to Hacklestone Cliff. If the day be as fine as that I enjoyed, and he or she be as fortunate in fellow-voyagers and a cicerone as I was, the result will be a harvest of heartfelt pleasure and satisfaction.

There too it was, and in the hospitable mansion of the gentleman already referred to, that myself, and the English and Scotch friends who accompanied me, were for the first time introduced to the hospitalities of the West Indies, and to the abundant excellencies of a breakfast and dinner, &c., in the mansion of an extensive West India planter. But as I have rather an abhorrence of the unauthorized introduction of private scenes into incidents of travel, and am compelled to acknowledge that the hospitalities of "Buttles" and of "Clayberry" were too good and too *recherché* to be taken as fair specimens of West Indian establishments,—I simply record the fact as above stated, and proceed to give a brief popular description of the processes of sugar-growing and sugar-making, as I witnessed them for the first time in this island, and on the estate of Drakeshall.

The origin of the name, and the history of the sugar cane, is generally given as follows: The name sugar is derived from its ancient name of *saccharum*, which, being corrupted into *sucra*, or as it is in Spanish *açucar*, gives our word sugar. Originally the plant was found in Asia, and it was introduced into the West Indies by Columbus and his followers. In appearance, it is a jointed reed of from six to twelve, or even fifteen feet high, and of various thicknesses, of which an average may be said to be two inches. From the expressed juice of this reed is the sugar derived, the canes being passed through rollers, placed sometimes perpendicularly, but more frequently horizontally, and driven either by steam, water, horse, or mule power, but much more frequently, in the West Indies, by a windmill. The expressed juice being run down into the boiling-house, it is there—after undergoing a certain process, to temper and cleanse it—subjected to processes of skimming in coppers, or other pans, the heat being gradually increased, in the successive pans, until it reaches the boiling point in the last pan or boiler called in the English colonies, "The Teache." By these operations the juice is cleansed, and the water evaporated; and when the sugar begins to granulate, or rather when the granulation has proceeded a sufficient length, it is poured into coolers—whence it is removed into hogsheads, in which it is allowed to stand for at least fourteen days or three weeks, to allow the molasses to run out of it: after all which it is ready for shipment and sale.

Such is a very general view of the process of making Muscovado sugar, as it is usually practised in the West Indian Islands: To which I have only to add, that the canes are propagated, not from seed, but from the top of the old plant, which top is struck off before cutting down the cane to remove it to the mill; and that

the whole process is a much simpler, as well as a much cleaner proceeding, than I had anticipated.

In Barbadoes, besides the general interest to be found in the really excellent society of the island, there are many objects worthy of a visit, and which will gratify the traveller who has reasonably good introductions, and time to spare. Among these may be mentioned Codrington College, situated on the confines or borders of the miniature Scotland—a stone building of no great pretensions to architectural beauty, but capable of accommodating nearly one hundred students, although now attended only by a much smaller number;—a burning spring, which emits sulphuretted hydrogen gas, that ignites on being brought into contact with fire;—and an extraordinary banyan tree. Of the two last, however, I can only speak from the report of others. But I saw enough of Little England, and of its hospitable inhabitants, during my too brief stay, to make me wish that stay had been longer, and to satisfy me that even a long residence would not exhaust the many sources of interest which the island displays.

CHAPTER III.

"Beautiful Islands! brief the time
I dwelt beneath your awful clime;
Yet oft I see, in noonday dream,
Your glorious stars with lunar beam;
And oft before my sight arise
Your sky-like seas—and sea-like skies."

HENRY NELSON COLERIDGE.

It was with much regret, and many farewells, that I parted with my friends at Barbadoes, and also with certain of my fellow-voyagers who had journeyed with me so far, and joined the steamship to proceed onward through the Windward and Leeward islands. But sad would have been the heart, and desponding the disposition, that would not have revelled in the beauty of the scene, or felt many a thrill of ecstasy, on sailing through the summer sea.

After leaving Barbadoes, a sail of some ten or eleven hours brings the steamer to the island of

ST. LUCIA,

Situated in north latitude 30°14′, and west longitude 29°, about twenty-three miles long by eleven broad, and containing a population of about 20,000 inhabitants.

The island of St. Lucia is volcanic and mountainous, and, as seen from the sea, the aspect of its craggy summits is exceedingly picturesque. Particularly is it so when viewed under the influences of a tropical moonlight. Would that I were able, without exciting extravagant and ill-defined expectations, to give the reader a sufficiently graphic idea of the soft radiance and splendour of a fine night in the tropics. A bright moonlight night is everywhere delightful. Many have been the moon and starlight nights I have witnessed and enjoyed on the hills, amidst the glens, and, more than all, among or on the lakes of our own unrivalled northern land. But a moonlight night within the tropics exceeds, in brilliance and in beauty, a moonlight night anywhere else. There is a softness as well as a splendour about it, which is peculiar to itself; a mellow brilliancy, which almost transcends description. Indeed, as it was in this part of my journeyings that my attention began to be attracted by the loveliness of the tropical nights, this seems the proper place for recording my impressions regarding them. Whether on land or at sea, the scenery of the tropics on a moonlight night is singularly beautiful; to my taste, infinitely more so than it is by day. On land, the brilliancy of the moon and stars is such that every leaf, and tree, and flower, seems bathed in floods of liquid light: a light so clear, and at the same time so mellow, and so soft, that the outline of the hills and other objects appear to be defined, almost with greater distinctness than when they are viewed by day. At sea, particularly with such hill-crowned islands as St. Lucia, Martinique, Dominica, Montserrat, or St. Kitt's, &c., in near view, the scene is one still more lovely. The vast unfathomable sea, fit symbol of eternity, lying around you, either sunk in deep repose, or upheaving its vexed waves—in the one case a mirror for a thousand starry worlds, in the other a sparkling ocean of fire—the summits of the land illuminated and surrounded by a kind of halo: the scene has with it all the beauty of a northern moonlight night, and many beauties besides, peculiar to itself. A single fact will best illustrate the clearness of the atmosphere, and the greater prominence and brilliancy of the stars consequent thereupon. Oft when in Antigua, and also in the other islands of the West Indian seas, have I observed and called attention to the fact, that, in certain positions of the planet Venus, she was seen under a crescent form like a small moon, and emitting or transmitting, in the absence of the moon herself, a quantity of light which made her by no means an insufficient substitute. Leaving St. Lucia, after landing and taking on board the mails, the steamer proceeds to the romantic island of

MARTINIQUE,

Now, since she has lost Hispaniola, the chief possession of France in the West Indies, and certainly one of the most beautiful and romantic Islands of the West India group. Martinique is situated in about west longitude 61°, and north latitude 14° 20′, and contains a population exceeding one hundred thousand inhabitants. The extreme length of the island is about forty miles, and its average breadth about ten, embracing a superficies of two hundred and ninety-one square miles. The approach to the island from the south is exceedingly striking. Among the first objects seen is the remarkable Diamond Rock, which stands detached from the rest of the land, and is about five hundred and eighty feet high, and of which a very gallant story is told as to the exploit of a Captain Morris, of the English navy, during the last war between England and France, in hoisting to, and mounting on, the summit of this natural fortress, a thirty-two pounder, and therewith doing sad damage to the works of the enemy.

The general aspect of Martinique is singularly rugged. The mountains, though not so high as those of Dominica, are higher than those of St. Lucia, and they present a remarkably splintered and volcanic appearance. In looking at them, I was not unfrequently reminded of a story I had heard of a member of the British House of Commons, who, wishing to give a graphic idea of the appearance of Martinique, squeezed a sheet of paper strongly up in his hand, and having thus made it all heights and hollows, laid it down on the table, as showing generally to his hearers the thunder-splintered pinnacles and deep glens of this beautiful isle.

The town of St. Pierre, the capital of the island, and the place at which the British steamers land their mails, is a pretty, clean-looking place, of which the natives of the island are not a little vain. As contrasted with some other towns in the West India islands, such as Bridgetown in Barbadoes, St. John's in Antigua, or Basseterre in St. Kitt's, St. Pierre in Martinique has certainly a superior appearance of permanency, residence and comfort. It boasts too of a theatre, and also of sundry restaurants of small dimensions; and it rejoices for the present in a very beautiful row of tamarind trees, which grace the beach; and in a streamlet of water running down the centre of the principal street, and imparting at least the semblance of coolness. On the whole, the visitor will be much pleased with St. Pierre, and its peculiarly French aspect, particularly as he cannot fail, in the course of his visit, to remark the truth of an observation I have somewhere met with, viz.—that the coloured females of this island excel in grace and beauty the ladies of the same complexion to be found in most of the other islands, and particularly

those in the possession of England. A similar remark is found to apply to the women of colour in the Spanish and Danish islands; so that it would really seem, as observed by Coleridge, that "the French and Spanish," and I would add the Danish "blood, seems to unite more kindly and perfectly with the negro than does our British stuff."

The favourite objects of purchase by tourists at Martinique, are the eau-de-cologne, manufactured in the island, and which is really excellent; and also sundry liqueurs of varied excellence and varied taste, compounded from native fruits and flowers, and meant to imitate the *noyeau curaçoa*, &c., of European fame.

At the time of the writer's visit in 1849, Martinique was in a very depressed condition. The prospects of the sugar crop were unfavourable, and universal were the complaints of the impossibility of getting the negroes, now free, to work at any reasonable amount or rate of wages. Indeed, great and reasonable fears were entertained that half of the present year's crop might be lost, through the difficulty of getting it off the ground and forwarded to the mill-house. Nor were the feelings of the planters at that time alleviated by much hope of compensation from the home government, on account of the heavy losses they had sustained by the emancipation of their slaves, or to aid them in adventuring on the new course of culture which that philanthropic measure had rendered necessary. So far as I could judge, the general opinion seemed to be, that, if compensation were awarded at all, it would only be of a nominal kind—a sound of compensation without the substance of it; and in the pittance which has since been awarded by France to her colonists, in consideration of their loss by the liberation of their slaves, this opinion has been signally and sufficiently vindicated.

After leaving Martinique and its cloud-capt summits, the steamer proceeds to the British island of

DOMINICA,

Situated about north latitude 15° 25′, and west longitude 61° 15′. This island is twenty-eight miles long by about sixteen broad, and contains a superficial area of 136,436 acres. The general character of the scenery is extremely mountainous, rugged and broken, and at its highest point it reaches the elevation of no less than five thousand three hundred feet. The approach to Dominica from the south is, like the approach to Martinique, exceedingly interesting and inspiriting. On the occasion of which this is a narrative—on leaving St. Pierre and while coasting along the shores of Martinique—the day was warm and beautiful, the sea a summer one, and the air tropically clear. The ship was for a time attended by a shoal of porpoises,

which, tumbling and rolling along with their pig-like motions, called to the remembrance Horace's description of the sea-god,—

> "Omne quum Proteus pecus egit altos
> Visere montes."

Ere you lose sight of Martinique, Dominica becomes clearly visible; and, on nearer approach, the sides of the mountains which crest and adorn it are seen to be clothed to their very summits with shrubs and trees; while glens open up to view, (also clothed with shrubs and trees of various hues,) of such depth that the eye is unable to penetrate to the bottom of their recesses. At first it is impossible to distinguish the different kinds of trees and shrubs, that so numerously and so luxuriantly clothe both the heights and the hollows. But a few more revolutions of the rapidly moving paddles, and a few more heavings of the noble ship as she cleaves the calm but swelling sea in her onward course, and the deep green of the cedar or the mangrove, the feathery leaves of the tamarind and the ilex; the light velvety green of the sugar-cane, and the brilliant hues of the "Barbadoes pride," become easily distinguishable, and create an impression on the mind that you are now at last approaching the "garden of the tropics." The town of Roseau, at which the steamer lands her mails, is a tolerably well-built town for a West India one; but, like most of the towns in the English or French possessions in the West Indies, it bears too many marks of desertion and decay. It is, however, proper here to add, as regards Martinique, Dominica, Antigua, St. Kitt's, &c., that such appearances are greatly aided by, and oft-times confounded with, the appearances produced by the earthquake of 1843, or by the hurricane of 1848, which devastated these islands to a truly appalling extent.

In the centre of the mountains of Dominica, and about ten miles from Roseau, there is a fresh-water lake of some extent. The island also exhibits traces of volcanoes now extinct, or at least now silent; and I was assured, by intelligent residents, that these and other objects would amply repay a visit. My time, however, did not admit of the indulgence. So, after trafficking, as well as some of the other passengers, in the monstrosities, such as gigantic frogs stuffed and varnished, mountain pigs stuffed, &c., which formed the staple of trade with the Dominica boatmen, I proceeded onward with the steamer to

GUADALOUPE,

A French possession, situated at about 62° west longitude, and 16° 20′ north latitude—sixty miles long by twenty-four broad. Properly speaking, Guadaloupe consists of two islands close together, of which

the chief is the eastern division, or "Grande Terre," the town of which is called Port-a-Pitre, or St. Louis; the town in the western division being called Bassaterre;—while, in the immediate vicinity of Guadaloupe, there are three very small islands called the Saintes, (after the town of Saintes in France,) all of which are inhabited and cultivated, and regarded as included within the limits of the French colony of Guadaloupe.

The chief object of interest in Guadaloupe is its singular volcanic hill, called La Souffrière, or Sulphur Hill, whose summit reaches a height of five thousand five hundred feet. But, indeed, almost every one of the Caribbee Islands may boast of its sulphur hill. Although none of them at present have (and God forbid that any of them should ever have) volcanoes in active operation, there are few or none of them that do not bear some traces either of volcanic origin or of volcanic effects. These appearances are particularly observable in St. Lucia, Martinique, and Guadaloupe. All these three islands are of a palpably different formation from Barbadoes. St. Lucia bears marks of a volcanic nature in her boiling ponds, &c.;—the mountain soil of Martinique is largely composed of pumice, either in lumps or powder; and this pumice is oft-times found intermixed with a ferruginous sand, such as is generally seen about volcanoes;—while, as above stated, Guadaloupe has its Souffrière, or sulphur hill, from whence large quantities of brimstone are daily brought by the negroes for the purpose of sale. Thus, almost all the islands of the Carib group, betray evidences of volcanic character. In some, the volcano has become extinct, and is no longer to be traced. But in others, as in the Souffrière of Guadaloupe, there are decided and well-characterised craters, which are occasionally active, throwing out, on such far-between occasions, ashes, scoriæ, and lava, to a very great distance. Thus, there is an authentic account given of an eruption from the Souffrière of the island of St. Vincent, on the 1st of May, 1812—on which occasion the mountain discharged ashes in quantities sufficient to darken the air all around the island; while some of these ashes were sent up so high, and blown so far, that they fell on the deck of a vessel three hundred miles to the westward of the island of Barbadoes.

If the reader of this book wishes farther to prosecute his inquiry as to these sulphur hills of the West India Archipelago, he will find a very interesting account of one of the most extraordinary among them—the one which exists in the romantic island of Montserrat—written by Dr. Nugent, and published in the Transactions of the Geological Society.

From Guadaloupe to Antigua, the sail, in a steam vessel, is accomplished in a few hours. On the occasion of my visit, this portion of the voyage was the only stormy part of it—a fact which is impressed

upon my mind by a somewhat amusing incident. During the voyage from England, one of my fellow-passengers had been a clergyman of the Church of England, who, with his wife and family, was proceeding to enter on his duties as chaplain to one of the embassies. Although the weather had been exceedingly fine, and the sea by no means rough, this excellent and reverend gentleman had suffered most severely from the demon of sea-sickness, from which he was then only beginning to recover. At Dominica we had taken in another gentleman of the cloth—a dignitary of the Church, in the person of the Right Reverend Bishop of Antigua, (the able and excellent Dr. Davis;) and when about to leave the vessel at English Harbour, Antigua, I was—in the midst of my regrets at parting with the many kind friends on board—amused by accidentally overhearing a conversation between two sailors, one of whom ascribed the then boisterous state of the weather to this increase in our complement of parsons; and, when reminded that it was against his theory of Neptune's hostility to the Church, that, notwithstanding our having had a parson on board all the way from England, the weather had been peculiarly fine, and the sea quiescent; the immediate answer was to the effect, that the sea-god had revenged herself by personally visiting the Rev. Mr. P—— with an unusual amount of sea-sickness. A small matter will often change the current of thought, and I was not sorry to take advantage even of this to divert my mind from the gloomy reflections that were crowding upon it, as on a somewhat dark and cloudy midnight hour, I made my solitary first landing on the island of Antigua. I tried, therefore, to speculate upon the origin of so absurd a superstition; and I also reflected upon the somewhat singular combination of circumstances which in the present instance seemed to give somewhat of countenance to it: and, after shaking hands with the friends who had risen to see me disembark, I landed, in the earliest grey dawn of a stormy tropical morning, at English Harbour in the island of

ANTIGUA,

Situated in north latitude 17° 3′, and west longitude 62° 7′. This island is divided into six parishes, is about eighteen miles long by fifteen broad, and contains a population of about forty thousand inhabitants, of whom upwards of thirty thousand are negroes, and above five thousand coloured persons, the rest of the population being white. Antigua enjoys the distinction of being the seat of government of the Leeward Islands. The capital of the island is the town of St. John's, but the royal mail steam-packets do not land their mails or passengers there—chiefly, I believe, because there is not sufficient depth of water on or over the bar which lies at the entrance

of the very beautiful, admirably protected, and capacious bay of St. John's, to enable these steamships to get safely in. The passengers and mails are accordingly landed at English Harbour, on the east side of the island, which involves a drive of some twelve miles ere the traveller can reach any comfortable resting-place for the night. For, whatever the Guide Books say, it were only to mislead to induce the hope of obtaining, in the existing hostelry at English Harbour, such accommodation as an English traveller would consider comfortable. But it is impossible to remember with any feeling of regret, a drive so beautiful.

Reader, have you ever felt the sensation of being alone in a foreign land, where all is new to you, all unknown, save through reading or report, and you yourself unknown to any of the many by whom you are surrounded? The feeling of isolation which for a moment came over me, when I found myself so situated, is one I can scarcely ever forget; and if the reader can realise it, he or she will appreciate the prevailing sensation which, for a short time at least, oppressed me, as I stood alone in the dockyard at English Harbour, Antigua, in the dim light of earliest dawn, before starting on my solitary drive to the town of St. John's.

But there were many things to interest, and to occupy the attention, in the scene which surrounded me. English Harbour forms one of the most compact, commodious, and secure harbours to be found, probably, in the whole world. The entrance is extremely narrow—so narrow that, as the steam-ship Great Western entered slowly in, it seemed as if her bulk filled the neck of the harbour. But within, the natural basin is deep and capacious; so deep that the largest line-of-battle ship of the British navy may be moored within it, and so capacious as to afford accommodation for a large squadron. While, being guarded by a chain across the narrow entrance, and commanded by a fort on the adjacent hill, merchant vessels lying in it are protected from the assaults of any enemy that Great Britain could have to fear. The ride from English Harbour to St. John's, the capital of the island, is through a very interesting country. Seen as I saw it, under the beams of a tropical sun, in early morning, and with the dew upon the leaves, and the to me yet unfamiliar flowers, I thought it singularly beautiful. At some risings on the way, nearly the whole island is visible at once, and several magnificent panoramic views are thus obtained; while, for the greater part of the ride, the fortifications on the "Ridge," on which the Barracks for the white troops stand, form a frowning as well as a fine object in the view. The traveller is conveyed from the steamer at English Harbour by a phaeton or omnibus, one or other of which attends the arrival and departure of the steamers to convey the mails and passengers to and from the town of St. John's. The mode of

conveyance is comfortable, and the fare of two dollars is not unreasonably high, as are but too many of the charges for the means of progression or locomotion in the West India colonies.

It must, I presume, always be with feelings of considerable depression that the traveller, especially when labouring under a weakened frame, finds himself entirely alone, without a known face within his reach, and in a foreign country. I confess that, despite of all efforts to arouse myself, my feelings were of that sort, as, after bidding farewell to my kind friends and fellow-passengers on board the steamship, and expressing a hope, more than an expectation, that we might meet again, and watching the vessel as she renewed her voyage, and, steaming out of the harbour, again careered over the waste of waters, I took my solitary seat in the calèche which was to convey me to the town of St. John's, Antigua. The advancing daylight, and the real beauty of the drive, soon, however, dissipated such feelings; and I had nearly regained my wonted elasticity of spirits, when I arrived at the inn or lodging-house (the latter term most fully describes all the "hotels"—so-called—in the West Indies) which I, at the time, thought was to be my temporary abode for a period of a month or two. But I also confess that it required all my fortitude to withstand the reaction caused by my reception, and the place itself. For duty compels me to record the fact, for the benefit of subsequent tourists, particularly of invalid ones, that the ideas of what is included in the English term "comfort" must be limited indeed, if they be gratified by the comforts found in the hotel of St. John's; and it is with some regret that I record this fact, seeing that, during my stay, the desire to contribute to my convenience was manifested in many ways, and only failed in being successful through the inherent deficiencies of the establishment, for which there is not that encouragement which can alone create or sustain the means of comfort. Fortunately, however, my stay in the hotel of St. John's was of brief duration. Through the unexpected kindness of the Governor-general of the Leeward Islands, whose seat of government is in Antigua, and to whom I had been fortunate enough to bring letters from near and dear friends, I was, after a stay of a week in the hotel, enabled to take up my quarters in Government House; and it was during a sojourn of seven weeks there, and in the country-houses of Antiguan friends, whose kindness will never be forgotten while memory lasts, (and whose names I only refrain from recording for the reason already mentioned when writing of my fellow-voyagers,) that I saw the scenes, and acquired the information, in reference to matters connected with this island of Antigua, which I now purpose to record in the immediately succeeding pages.

But, before leaving the subject of lodging-houses or hotels in the

West Indies—and as this work is in some measure designed as a hand-book and guide for European invalids, visiting these islands in search of health—it is material to observe that, by a little pre-arrangement, which can easily be effected through the instrumentality of a friend in the island, all chance of serious discomfort may be avoided. By a little preparation on the part of the hotel-keeper, and a few additions on the part of the visitor, the hotel may be made a comfortable abode enough, not merely for a casual visitor, but for one who meditates a stay of a long duration. Besides, comfortable furnished lodgings can generally be secured by writing to a friend, before you arrive, to secure them, and have them in readiness for you; and *this* course I would strongly advise the invalid to adopt, in all cases in which it is practicable for him or her to do so.

For many reasons Antigua is, to the philanthropist, one of the most interesting of the numerous islands forming the West India group. It was there that slavery may be said to have been first abolished in the British West Indian possessions, inasmuch as the Colonial Legislature of Antigua at once rejected the apprenticeship system, and at once adopted entire emancipation. This was in 1834. When the clock began to strike the hour of twelve o'clock on the last night in the month of July 1834, the thirty thousand negroes of Antigua were all slaves—slaves in every sense of the word—the property of others. When it had ceased to sound, they were all freemen—freemen under every meaning of that term—unfettered even by the apprenticeship, and at liberty to do what they chose with themselves and their powers of labour. Surely this was a stupendous, and therefore an interesting change. During my stay in Antigua I had many conversations on the subject, and heard many highly interesting details regarding it, from men of all shades of opinion as well as of colour. In particular, I enjoyed the privilege of hearing, from his own mouth, the views and opinions of the able and influential gentleman who moved the bill for rejecting the apprenticeship system, and adopting immediate emancipation: and all, and no one more emphatically than the talented Dr. —— himself, concurred in describing the scene as calculated to excite feelings of the deepest interest. That the adoption of immediate emancipation, instead of taking advantage of the intermediate measure, called or miscalled the apprenticeship system, was a matter purely of policy and expediency, unconnected with feelings of morality or of religion, will not, it is presumed, be denied by any one. But the manner in which the boon was received by the negro population unquestionably reflects great credit on them, or on their advisers and leaders. The 31st of July 1834 was a Thursday, and the evening of that day saw nearly the whole grown-up negro population of the island of Antigua in the houses of prayer, engaged in religious exercises, chiefly of praise

and thanksgiving. In the Wesleyan meeting-house, in the town of St. John's, when the bell of the cathedral began to toll the hour of midnight—the hour that was to set them free—the whole audience sank on their knees, and continued thus to receive the blessed boon of freedom, until the last note had been tolled; when they rose to express their gratitude to God, and their rejoicings to each other. Few, whatever may be their views on the general question of emancipation, will deny either the interest or the impressiveness of such a scene. The coming day, Friday, was also devoted to religious exercises throughout the greater part of the island; as also was Satur-August 1834 was the first day on which the negro population of any day; and, as a matter of course, Sunday;—so that Monday the 4th of part of the British colonial possessions in the West Indies worked as freemen—entirely and finally emancipated. It argues well for the negroes and their religious instructors, that it is generally conceded by the planters in the island of Antigua, that on no previous occasion had the workers on their different estates turned out better than they did, when thus, for the first time, called upon to labour at their occupation without the dread of the lash, in the event of their now refusing so to do.

In the numerous discussions in the British legislature and elsewhere, Antigua is generally represented as better supplied with the means of labour than the rest of our West India colonies—Barbadoes alone excepted: and that circumstance is usually referred to in explanation of the fact that this island has suffered less under, or rather struggled more successfully against, the depressing influences against which the West India planters have of late years had to contend. This is, however, only in part correct. That Antigua has not suffered quite so much as some of the other English colonies have done, from the operation of the Sugar Duties' Act of 1846, has been as much owing to the fact that the estates in that island are owned by a body of enlightened proprietors and agriculturists, many of whom are resident in the colony, as to any other cause; and that, even still, there is a deficiency of labour, is shown by many circumstances, of which the late introduction of a large body of Portuguese labourers is only one. In point of fact, with the single exception of Barbadoes, none of the British Colonies in the West Indies are sufficiently supplied with labourers; and this is a truth which is constantly lost sight of by those who, despite the evidence of actual experience, still meet the claims of the West India proprietors with the plea that "free labour is as cheap as slave labour." The effect of emancipation obviously and necessarily, though perhaps not quite immediately, was greatly to lessen the number of *field* labourers. It lessened their number by withdrawing from agriculture and from sugar-making a number of persons, who, resorting to the towns and villages,

formed there a kind of intermediate class of small shopkeepers and artisans or tradesmen. And it also lessened the amount of labourers on the crops, by removing from field labour numbers of the young of both sexes, whose aid had been previously available at times of planting, hoeing, or crop time, and generally for all departments of light work. That such changes were, in certain points of view, desirable, is not disputed. But the effect they had on the operations of the British planter, in the rearing of sugar canes, and in the manufacture of sugar and of rum, must, it is obvious, have been very injurious; and, without here entering at large into a question which I will have an opportunity of discussing at greater length in the concluding chapter of this volume, I would here draw the reader's attention to the consideration, that it would only have been fair to the British West India planters, that care had been taken to supply them with some substitute for the "power" withdrawn from them under the operation of the Act of Emancipation, *before* exposing them to the effects that have arisen from acting on a belief in the truth of the very questionable dictum that—in so far at least as tropical cultivation and manufactures are concerned—the labour of freemen is as cheap and as effective as is the labour of slaves.

To return, however, to the metropolitan island of the Leeward group.

Antigua, though certainly not one of the most romantic of the West India islands, possesses many scenes of exceeding loveliness, and the two months I passed within its limits are classed among the most pleasing of my treasures of memory. Subject, as I knew the island to be, to long-continued droughts, and reading, as I had done in the works of Coleridge and others, of its being very scantily supplied with springs, I had prepared myself for a much more arid spot than I found it to be. "Healthful withal, but dry and adust," was the verdict of anticipation that I had passed on this the largest of the British Leeward Islands; and, from conversations with others, I know that this is a very general impression regarding Antigua. I have, however, the pleasing office of contradicting it. Although none of the hills of Antigua are high enough to be entitled to the name of mountains, they rise so abruptly from the sea and from the plains, as to give them an appearance of altitude which produces the same effect as if they were of greater height; and among the hills on the sea-coast, on the south-west of the island, there are to be found many scenes of great beauty, if not of exceeding grandeur.

The town of St. John's—the capital of Antigua—is situated on the west or south-west of the island, and contains, I was several times assured, about ten thousand inhabitants, although it has not the appearance of so large a population. The streets are broad, and at right angles with each other; and when the mind of a European gets

familiarised with the caravan-like style of the mansions, there is a good deal of regularity, and something to admire in the appearance of the houses. On all hands I was informed that, previous to the terrific earthquake which visited Antigua and her Leeward sisters in 1843, the town of St. John's was much more handsome and regular than it is now; and evidence of the truth of the remark is to be seen in the numerous negro huts, crowded into spaces between more opulent-looking mansions; spaces which had been formerly occupied by houses of greater pretensions and magnitude, but which, in the present condition of matters, even in Antigua, their owners had not found it convenient to rebuild, after they were shaken down by the earthquake itself, or blown down by the tempest by which it was accompanied. But the situation in which St. John's stands is its chief beauty—on the shore of one of the loveliest bays that the eye can repose upon—a bay shut in by hills on almost every side. From the shore of this bay, the ground on which the town stands rises up in a gradual slope towards the cathedral, which is as it were the Acropolis, and forms a most imposing object in the landscape. There is therefore much to admire in the position of the capital of Antigua, and still more in the natural objects by which it is surrounded.

One of the most conspicuous objects in or about St. John's is the cathedral, mentioned above as standing on the brow of the acclivity on which the town is built—and which, although not strictly of any particular kind or school of architecture, or distinguished by architectural beauty of any description, is an imposing structure. It occupies the site of a former cathedral which was destroyed by the earthquake of 1843, and of which the inhabitants of the island seem to have a fond and favourable recollection. The present building is large, being capable of containing above two thousand people. The cost of its erection was little short of £40,000 sterling. It is built of a kind of marl-stone found in the island, and its interior is lined throughout, roof and all, with the same timber of which the seats or pews are fashioned; and, this wood being as yet unpainted, the whole has a novel effect to the eye of one direct from England. Although there is no regulation, or even understanding on the subject, all parts of the church being open to all classes, without distinction of colour, yet in practice the body of the building is usually occupied by the white population—the people of colour and the negroes occupying the side aisles and galleries—there being, as it appeared to me, an obvious separation even between the two latter in regard to the portions of the church which they severally tenanted. All this, however, is simply the result of those feelings of caste which, to a certain extent at least, as yet prevail in the West Indies; and of which, notwithstanding the assertions of several writers to the contrary, the European traveller among the islands of the West Indian

Archipelago will, if he attentively observes, find many evidences or perchance remains. Various attempts have from time to time been made, by liberal-minded governors and others, to break down the feeling which isolates the classes, and particularly the coloured people from the whites, but only with very minor effect; and whatever may be the case in matters of business, assuredly it is but the simple truth to say, that there is little homogeneousness of feeling or of sympathy, in regard to matters of social intercourse. Attempts at mixed dinner parties or mixed balls have been attempted in few places, save occasionally at Government Houses; and even there their success has not been such as to lead to their frequent repetition. My present object is merely to record facts as they impressed myself, not to speculate upon them. Were it otherwise, I might be disposed to express at greater length my sympathies with the coloured population of many of the West India colonies, and the reason why I think it were most desirable that, as a body containing many persons of much talent, energy, and general acceptability, they should be somewhat better amalgamated with their white fellow-countrymen, by a more entire breaking down of that "middle wall of partition" which as yet separates the two classes in many important respects.

The incumbents officiating in the pastoral office in the Cathedral of St. John's, Antigua, in 1849, were the Lord Bishop of the Diocese, (Dr. Davis,) the venerable Archdeacon Holberton, the Rev. Mr. Warner, and a fourth reverend gentleman, recently appointed.

Allusion has been made to the earthquake of 1843, which levelled nearly with the ground the former cathedral of Antigua. Of this earthquake, the disastrous effects are yet to be seen in every part of the island. Shortly after it occurred, and at a time when I had but little idea of visiting Antigua, I received from a young relative, then in the island with his regiment, an account of it, contained in a letter dated 12th February 1843, in which it is mentioned that "there was not a single stone or brick building which had not been levelled with the ground; and that on board a ship at sea, at the distance of one hundred and sixty miles from any of the islands, the shock was so severely felt that the shipmaster imagined the vessel had struck on a rock." From information received from the gentleman who fills the position of coroner for the island, and who, as a proprietor himself and also as attorney for others, has a deep interest in all matters relating to Antigua, I learned that the number of deaths caused by the convulsion through the fall of the buildings, and otherwise, throughout the island, little exceeded twenty—a number small when the extent of the disaster in other respects is taken into consideration, and only to be accounted for by the fact that the negro houses are built of such light materials that their fall or overturn does not involve the destruction of human life.

The prison of St. John's, Antigua, deserves mention, were it only to denote the vast improvement that must have taken place in its construction and arrangements since the year 1825, when Mr. Coleridge visited and described it as being "like most others in the West Indies, that is to say, as bad in every way as possible." However applicable this description may have been to the former place of durance in Antigua, it is only justice to record the fact, that it has no application whatever to the present airy and cleanly erection. It was visited by me in the society of Dr. Nicolson, junior, whose firm exercise the medical and surgical superintendence over it; and for ventilation, cleanliness, and facilities for labour and solitary confinement, (when these last are inflicted by judicial appointment,) I question if it is surpassed by any prison of equal extent, in any part of the world. The number of prisoners in custody at the time was about eighty, being within fifty of the entire number the prison is calculated to contain. The daily cost of maintaining each prisoner was about sixpence per day, being a reduction of twopence per day from the former cost—a reduction effected under certain economical arrangements, suggested and prescribed by the present Governor-general (Higginson,) who takes a personal interest in this matter, as he does in everything else that affects the well-being of the islands over which he has the honour to preside as the representative of the Crown. That the daily cost or allowance of each prisoner is amply sufficient for his or her comfortable maintenance, may be gathered from the fact, that instances are by no means uncommon in which prisoners in the jail of Antigua have disputed the order for their liberation, on the ground that the period of confinement prescribed by their sentence had not fully expired—preferring the comforts of the prison to those of their own huts. It is to be feared, however, that such cases have only occurred where the confinement was "without labour," and that they have merely proceeded from the indolence of the negro character—an indolence so nearly universal as to lead almost to the conviction that it is constitutional.

At the date of my visit to the jail of Antigua, there was only one prisoner in the debtors' ward. This fact, however, did not prove anything either for or against the proportion of the population exposed to such execution against the person. It rather arose from the circumstance that, in Antigua, as in all civilised places, it has been discovered to be but a coarse and irrational way of stimulating a man to industry, to place him where his exertions can be of little or no use either to others or to himself: aided, also, no doubt, by the influences of a law which I found in the pages of the statute-book of the local legislature of the island—and which is interesting to a Scotsman as showing a resemblance to the law which has long been in existence in his native land on this subject—which law com-

pels the incarcerating creditor to provide for the wants of his indigent debtor while in jail, by paying for him one shilling a-day, in the way of aliment, on the debtor making oath that he has not the wherewithal to support himself.

Of the general aspect of the island of Antigua, as regards the position and appearance of the estates and the general state of cultivation, I could write at some length, having enjoyed the advantage of visiting the chief works and plantations in the society of their respective owners and managers. But to do so would not give a fair exposition of the condition of the British West India colonies in these respects. For although, even in this metropolitan and favourably situated island, the appearances of decadence are but too painfully evident, it is well known that, owing to the large proportion of proprietors resident in Antigua, there is in it an accumulation of talent, intelligence, and refinement, and consequent enterprise, greater probably than is to be found in any other West India colony, except perhaps Jamaica. If, therefore, any one goes to Antigua prepared to see anything of that inattention to proper and economical cultivation and management, of which one occasionally hears so much in the high places of Parliament and elsewhere, he will find himself mistaken and agreeably surprised. The steam-engines, patent sugar-pans, and other improved apparatus on the island, are numerous, and every effort has been made to lessen the cost of manufacturing sugar, molasses, and rum; while, as regards agricultural matters, the most improved modes of husbandry have been introduced on almost every estate. And it is a fact told me by the well-known proprietor of one of the finest estates in the island, (the estate of Cedarhill) that in times of prosperity, when sugar cultivation was remunerative, many Scotch ploughmen and Scotch ploughs were introduced at great expense into the island, to improve the culture of the soil. Indeed, it was from seeing Scotch ploughs, of Wilkie's patent, in operation at a ploughing match in Antigua, that the proprietor of an estate, in the county of Chester in England, formed the resolution to introduce their use on his own estates at home. Facts like these are surely better than a thousand theories or unsubstantial statements. Although the destruction of their hopes, under the influences of later legislation, have, in a great measure, destroyed the spirit and lessened the means of the Antiguan planters and proprietors to make improvements in farming and distillation, or sugar-making, it is beyond dispute that they have, in less depressing times, proven both their desire and their ability, to adopt every means of improving the whole three.

Suffice it therefore here to say, on the subject of the general appearance of the country portion of Antigua, that the whole island is well cultivated—studded over with the buildings of the different

estates, thrown together in groups, and consisting of the proprietors' and managers' mansions and outhouses, with the negro huts, and the sugar-works, distilleries, and windmill. In general, the mansion-houses are favourably situated—ofttimes with much attention to picturesque effect. The cane-fields come up to the roadside, and are without fences of any kind—probably because timber is scarce, and because hedgerows would have a tendency to exhaust the lands of their moisture.

The greatest difficulty the cultivator of the soil has to contend with seems to be, the extirpation of what is somewhat appropriately named "Devil's Grass,"—a sort of running weed which spreads with great rapidity, and is of very difficult eradication.

Besides the works of the proprietors, and their concomitant negro villages, there are sundry "independent villages," inhabited chiefly by negroes, in various parts of the island, which have sprung up since emancipation, and which interfere somewhat with the cultivation of the estates, from the fact that the negroes who dwell in them are ofttimes drawn off to the cultivation of the plots which surround their houses, at times when the want of their labour on the cane-fields and at the sugar-works is severely felt. This evil is experienced by the planters in many other of the colonies, and especially in the island of Jamaica.

In the vicinity of Antigua stands the small island of

MONTSERRAT,

Situated in west longitude 62° 17′, and north latitude 16° 48′.

To this island the English steamer proceeds after leaving Antigua, and thus it may be reached in a few hours. Indeed, at any time, with the advantage of the trade-wind, Montserrat may be reached from Antigua during a forenoon; although the return to Antigua may, in a sailing vessel, be the work of a couple of days, as the trade-wind is of course adverse to a speedy return voyage.

The island of Montserrat, as the reader may desire to know, was so named by Columbus from a real or supposed resemblance to the famous mountain of Montserrat in Catalonia in Spain; which in its turn derived its name from the Latin word *serra*, a saw, because the rugged appearance of its summit gave it some resemblance to that useful instrument.

Montserrat, though small—being only about nine miles long by eight or nine broad, and containing not more than from forty thousand to fifty thousand acres—is an exceedingly pretty and also a salubrious island, and will well repay a visit. Like some of the islands in its vicinity, it boasts a Souffrière, of which a very good description is given by Coleridge, in his usual lively, enthusiastic

strain; and on the ride to the scene, as well as in other parts of the island, there are many scenes of great beauty and interest.

The negro population of the island speak with an Irish accent, probably from a large part of its early trade having at one time been with Ireland, and there being at one time Irish managers and proprietors in the island. In 1770 the value of its exports to Ireland was above £80,000, while to England the inhabitants of the island only exported to the value of £7400. Mr. Coleridge says of this accent, that it forms the most diverting jargon he ever heard in his life; but the following anecdote, well known to those who have visited the island, will best illustrate both its nature and its extent. Viewing, as the inhabitants of the Leeward Islands generally do, Antigua as the capital and head-quarters of their number, the negro who has "emigrated" from Antigua to Montserrat talks of the length of time he has been "out," just as the Canadian or Australian emigrant does of the length of time that may have elapsed since last he saw the bold mountains of his native Scotland. And it is said that many years ago, when an emigrant from the Emerald Isle was about to settle in Montserrat, he was surprised to find that the negro who was rowing him from the ship to the shore spoke with as pure a Milesian brogue as he did himself. Taking the negro for an Irishman, though a blackened one, and desirous of ascertaining the length of time that it took so thoroughly to tan the "human face divine," the Patlander addressed his supposed countryman with the question, "I say, Pat, how long time have you been out?" "Three months," was the astounding answer. "Three months!" ejaculated the astonished and alarmed son of Erin—"three months! and as black as my hat already. Row me back to the ship. I wouldn't have my face *that black* for all the rum and sugar in the West Indies."

But the reader may well ask whether the writer's experiences as a stranger visiting the West Indies for the first time, were all of the pleasing character recorded in the preceding pages—whether there were not many things offensive—many things which may fairly be placed in the category of West Indian annoyances? Most certainly there were many such; and these sketches would be very incomplete did they not contain an attempt, at least, to prepare, and consequently to fortify, the visitor—particularly the invalid visitor—for what he has to encounter in the way of inconvenience or unavoidable annoyance. A few pages shall therefore be now devoted to the recording of some of my own evil experiences, although many of the sources of discomfort to be noticed were not felt till I visited the Danish or Spanish islands, in an after part of the journeyings of which this book contains the narrative.

Of the general effects of the climate of the West Indies on a

European, and particularly on one in delicate health, little need here be said. It is hot, but, at the season of my visit, between February and June, not so hot as I had been led to anticipate from the representations of others. With proper precautions, no one who visits the West Indies solely on account of health (and who is therefore not under the necessity of exposing himself or herself often to the noonday sun) need make the heat any ground of serious objection. There is generally, if not always, a breeze which tempers the intensity of the sun's rays; and the only remark the writer deems it necessary to make on this subject is, that, after visiting nearly the whole of the Islands of the West Indian Archipelago north of Barbadoes, his experience is, that there is much more chance of injury from disregarding the changes of the climate, and the occasional blasts and chills of evening, than of much discomfort being felt from excessive heat. In Barbadoes, and the islands to the north of it, the thermometer varies very greatly—ranging in the shade from a little above 70° to 110°, and even sometimes higher—the variation being of course dependent on the comparative elevation, and also on the degree of exposure to the breeze from the sea. In Barbadoes there is no ground which can be characterized as mountainous, the highest elevation in that island being little above eleven hundred feet. But there is a sea-breeze generally prevalent, which greatly tempers the heat. In Antigua there are many situations of some elevation, where a delightful climate may be had; and the same remark applies, even more strongly, to Montserrat, Nevis, and St. Kitt's. The genial breezes and verdure of Santa Cruz have recommended it to the Americans and others as a place of sanitary resort; and in the noble mountains of Dominica, Martinique, and still more of Jamaica, (the island of springs,) may be found every degree of climate, from sultry to temperate, and even to cold. Everything, therefore, depends on the proper selection by the invalid of his place of retreat. In the course of my remarks, I shall have occasion to explain my reasons for affirming that, many as are the invalids, and particularly those labouring under pulmonary complaints, who now occasionally visit the West Indies, there is not only far too great ignorance prevalent as to the superior advantages of these islands as places of sanitary retreat, but there is often much ignorance displayed in the selection of the particular island to which the patient goes or is sent. Meantime, however, I shall simply content myself with remarking that, while the subject is an important one, involving as it does the hopes of many a household, and the question of recovery or of non-recovery of many a fair face and lovely form, *there is provided by Providence in the great range of temperature to be found in the West Indian islands,*

climates suitable for almost every stage and variety of pulmonary complaint.

But, even after having made a good selection, as regards the place of residence, the European, and especially the English visitor, should be somewhat prepared for meeting with various experiences which may offend his habits, or militate against his comfort. Some one has before remarked, that comfort is a word which has a peculiarly English meaning as well as sound; and during a temporary residence in the West Indies, the English visitor may be occasionally reminded of this fact. Not to speak of the comparatively open, desolate, and unfurnished appearance which some West India houses (and particularly most of the West India lodging-houses) have to an eye straight from the closely fashioned and richly carpeted rooms of England, there are other differences to be enumerated, which have a tendency to offend, at least, the prejudices of the European traveller. With regard to these, the views and opinions of different writers will of course vary, according either to their home habits and experiences, or according to the nature and extent of the opportunities afforded each for observation: those favoured with introductions to the better society of each of the colonies, seeing little of them, and judging accordingly; and those going to the West Indies without such introductions, having their attention much attracted (query, distracted?) by the bare floors, unglazed windows, and uncushioned seats, occasionally to be encountered in most of the lodging-houses or hotels. But, apart from the question of houses, there are other more general sources of annoyances to be encountered in the dogs and cocks that disturb your sleep by night, and in the musquitoes, chigas, and other insects, that war against your equanimity both by night and day. In such things the visitor from the north of Europe should expect to find, for at least the first season of his visit, enough to annoy him not a little. Where all the dogs come from, sometimes puzzles one to know; but the interest of the inquiry in no way lessens the discomfort of having one's sleep broken up into fragments by the incessant yellings and yelpings which these curs generally keep up in the towns through the livelong night; and it were really worth the attention of the island legislatures of Barbadoes and Antigua, &c., to take, even from so humble a book as the present, the hint to put a tax upon dogs—if not for the sake of increasing much the colonial revenues, at least as an act of charity towards such invalids as the search after health may induce to visit their hospitable shores. But the cocks are not one whit behind the dogs in this crusade against sleep. For, whether it be that Creole poultry never sleep at all, or that they sleep through the day, and mistake the bright beams of the chaste moon for the ardent gaze of Phœ-

bus, and lift up their voices during the night—the crowing, barking, and yelping heard at night in the respective capitals of Barbadoes and Antigua, St. Kitt's and Santa Cruz, are amply sufficient to render irate the temper even of a very patient man, and to justify the volley of stones occasionally discharged at the more intrusive disturbers of rest who venture within "fire." To such and suchlike occasional annoyances, may be added the petty warfare of the insect tribes, which, engendered and fostered by the heat, and unaffected by the frosts to which in northern climes the inhabitants are indebted for their being exterminated or kept within bounds, multiply and swarm in myriads, which it takes some time, for a lady visitor especially, to get accustomed to. Of these insects the chiga, and better-known musquito, shall here only be mentioned.

The chiga, or "jigger," as it is usually called, is a small black or dark-brown fly, which, getting under the nails or under the folds of the skin and other tender parts of the human body, is, if not very soon removed, sure to engender irritation and pain, and sometimes even worse consequences. After so inserting itself, the animal lays its eggs; and if these are allowed to remain, the part some days afterwards begins to swell and inflame, the extent to which this proceeds being only measured by the length of time the animal and its products are suffered to linger in the flesh. But as it always makes its presence known by an itchy or tickling sensation—a sensation, by the way, which the writer has heard many describe as rather pleasurable than otherwise—there is no chance of any injury if the animal is then removed, as it may very easily be. But the negroes and other labourers, such as the Portuguese work-people lately brought into Antigua, and into some of the other West India Islands from Madeira, and especially the latter, are strangely indifferent to the attacks of the chiga and other insects. In the hospitals, and on the roads, persons are often met with, who, by want of attention to cleanliness and disregard of the attacks of the chiga, have been rendered helpless and diseased objects of charity. There is a pretty general belief prevalent amongst the negroes and coloured population, that there are two kinds of chigas—one poisonous, the other not so. But there is no proper foundation for such belief, and it has probably arisen from the fact that while the working population, who neglect precautions and cleanliness, often suffer much, the higher classes, who act more prudently, seldom suffer in any way.

But the much abused and widely diffused musquito is, in my opinion, if not the most dangerous, at least the most annoying of all the insects which swarm in the beams of a tropical sun. Of these insects I have heard at least five kinds named in different

parts of the West Indian Archipelago—the coraci, zuncudo, rodactor, juguey, and lancetero. These are names peculiar to Cuba; but they describe species of the insect which are to be found in most of the islands. My first acquaintance with the West Indian musquito was made during a week's residence in an indifferent lodging-house in St. John's, Antigua, where, in consequence of my not being protected from their attacks by the almost indispensable musquito net, I was peculiarly exposed to their assaults; and, judging from my experience at that time, I would have supposed, not only that they were a legion in point of number, but that they were the worst of the many species into which the Cubans divide those to be found in their island. Indeed, it was not till an after period of my journeyings, when in the Spanish colonies, and also in the southern states of America, that I found any of the musquito tribe more annoying than those encountered in Antigua. First impressions are, however, always the most acute, if not always the most lasting; and it is therefore during the first weeks of his sojourn that the invalid will feel most annoyance from the cause referred to. Moreover, and the assertion will seem a strange one, almost as much discomfort is produced by the *buzz* or humming of the insect as by its bite. Like that class of grumblers referred to in a well-known Scottish adage, it may be said of the musquito that his buzz or "bark" is "waur than his bite." This is a remark which is almost universally made by visitors who have been a short time in any of these colonies. The humming sound, produced by the motion of the wings of the insect, and which impresses the mind with the conviction that it is only selecting a soft and sensitive point of attack, often proves very annoying, particularly to one debilitated by illness. Indeed, the bite of the insect is scarcely felt at the time; nor is it productive of much annoyance at any time, provided only the party operated upon can refrain from rubbing the part that may be affected.

Such are some of the sources of discomfort which the visitor may expect to encounter during the first few months of his residence in the West Indies. At the utmost they are but trifling ones, and such as ought not to be considered by any as a serious objection to undertaking the voyage, particularly when health is in view. Indeed, I would not have thought them worthy of mention at all, had it not been that my remarks are intended chiefly for the perusal and preparation of the invalid, and had it not been that my own personal experience leads me to think that a little anticipation of what may actually be felt, would have prevented much of the discomfort to which I have alluded.

To return, however, to Antigua and its scenery.

Although, as already mentioned, no part of the island is so high

as to be entitled to the character of mountainous, the highest hill in it scarcely reaching the height of twelve hundred feet, yet the fact that the hills, particularly on the southern side of the island, spring directly from the sea on the one side, and from the plain on the other, gives to them an appearance of majesty which one would not anticipate from a knowledge of their actual height. This circumstance often reminded me of a statement I had heard in a neighbouring and therefore a rival island, that "there was a metropolitan air about Antigua and its inhabitants, and that even the very hills lifted up their heads and tried to look like mountains."

Amongst these hills there are many scenes of rich and rare beauty. The summits called the Ridge and Monks-hill, on which the English Government have erected their garrison and fortifications, are very fine objects in the landscape, and will amply repay a visit. Indeed, the whole of the scenery in the southern parts of the island, and in the vicinity of English Harbour, is replete with beauty; although, perhaps, the only scene in it which can be fairly characterized as magnificent, is that known by the name of Fig-Tree Hill. The tortuous descent of this hill, clothed as the sides of it are with every description of tropical forest-trees, intermixed with shrubs of every variety of kind and colour, affords a scene of very unique grandeur, and fully justifies Mr. Coleridge's observation regarding it, that it is "a landscape so exquisitely beautiful, that no poet or painter who had once seen it could ever forget the sight!" Indeed, and without professing any title to painting or to poetry, I shall ever regard the ride which opened up to me the remarkable beauties and tropical grandeur of Fig-Tree Hill, Antigua, as entitled to a place among what Dr. Browning calls—

"Memory's gems of thought."

It is in the descent of this hill that the visitor is reminded, by his attention being directed to the wayside spring as an object of interest or remark, that Antigua is dependent on the rains that fall for the supply of water. For, although it is not quite correct to say, as is often done, that there are no springs in this island, still there are very few, and those that are to be found are very inconsiderable. Indeed, this very clear one, to be found on the left-hand side of the road, before entering the dark descent of Fig-Tree Hill, is the only one which is not brackish, from the interference of water from the sea.

But it is only those who entertain northern notions of what is called "rain water," who would regard this fact as an objection to a residence in the island. Whether it be that the absence of smoke causes the rain to reach the earth in a state of greater purity, or that more attention is paid to its purification and safe keeping

after it is gathered into tanks, I know not; but this I know, that I never felt the want of good pure water while I sojourned in Antigua, and that I would probably not have known whence the water I got to drink had been derived, had I not made inquiry upon the subject. The want of spring water in Antigua is, therefore, not felt to be a want even by those who do not belong to the class of the West Indian, who, when applied to decide a dispute as to the salubrity of water in an island in which he had resided for seventeen years, answered—"Water, gentlemen!—water! I really don't recollect ever having tasted *the water*."

But among the very beautiful scenes which I had the pleasure and privilege of witnessing in this, the metropolitan island of the Leeward group, there was none that struck me with more pleasurable feelings than the beautiful appearance of a tropical sunset, as witnessed from the acropolis of the town of St. John's, or from any of the neighbouring hills. It is a scene which may be witnessed nearly every evening, and particularly if the return to St. John's, from an afternoon excursion, is timed so as to command it. The mountains of Montserrat, Nevis, and St. Kitt's, on the right and left of the picture, the broad ocean lying between, generally in a state of calm repose, with the golden sun occasionally seen on the verge of the horizon, as he appears to burst through or part asunder the dark clustering clouds that attend his setting—looking, as I have somewhere read, like faithful courtiers in waiting on the deathbed of their monarch at the close of a glorious reign; the richly coloured and fantastically grouped masses of the clouds themselves, with their broken splintered summits, "bathed in floods of liquid fire;" the beautiful bay of St. John's with Goat Island Hill and sundry other summits in the foreground, or rather a little to the right of the picture—such materials combined, as I have often seen them when returning from an afternoon's ride in Antigua—form a union of scenic beauties, and compose a view of rich and rare excellence, such as no lover of nature could ever forget.

There are many other scenes of much beauty to be found in the island of Antigua, to which the attention of the visitor is generally directed; but none appeared to me to possess such superior excellence as to lead me to suppose that a description of them would interest the general reader, however sufficient they proved themselves to attract, and even to engross agreeably, my own attention at the time. In the memory of such scenes, a visit to Orange Valley, and a return to Government House, St. John's, with an equestrian party of agreeable friends, in the bright but mellow light of a tropical moon, by the shores of Five Island Bay, and through the appropriately named "Dark Valley," occupies a conspicuous place. It was in the course of this ride that I first favourably remarked

both the appearance of great height given to the hills, from their rising almost immediately from the level of the sea, and the extraordinary clearness of the tropical atmosphere. As regards the first of these, a hill of eight hundred or one thousand feet high has almost the appearance of a mountain; and after toiling up the acclivity, with a scorching sun nearly vertical, one is almost disappointed at being told the real altitude to which he has attained: while in reference to the second, the purity and clearness of the atmosphere is so great that, looking frem the mansion-house of the estate, which is situated on the hill-side, across the intervening valley, objects of a comparatively small size are seen with a distinctness which renders all their movements, and even their "cut" and character, figure and dress, (such as they have,) discernible to the spectator, although he and the object he looks at be separated by the distance of a mile and more.

In a work like the present, and keeping in view the avowed object of it, as explained in the outset, it were out of place to enter into any lengthened exposition of the condition of Antigua, as regards morals or religion. But I feel that I were wanting in common justice, were I to refrain from adding my testimony in favour of the fact, that the inhabitants of this island, white, coloured, and black, may and do contrast favourably with that of any city or place that I know of, both as regards morals, and attention to religious observances. Nowhere, although a native of a land which claims some distinction in this respect, did I ever see the sanctity of the Sabbath more worthily and more devoutly recognized than I did in the island of Antigua; and I know that I record the sentiments of the very highest authority in the island, (a gentleman who has proved the sincerity of his anxiety for the welfare of Antigua and her sister groups,) when I say that many thanks are due as well to the Moravian and Wesleyan ministers of the gospel, as to the zealous clergymen of the Established Church, in this portion of the colonial empire of Great Britain, for the educational and religious position which Antigua at present holds.

As regards the religious establishments at present in the island, they may be enumerated in the following order, and as consisting of about the following numbers; and although I could not learn that there were any means of ascertaining exactly the numbers in each class, I have confidence in the opinion that the statement I obtained, from some of the heads of the different bodies themselves, will not prove in any particular materially inaccurate.

In connexion with the Established Church there are six parish churches, (including the cathedral at St. John's,) and about as many chapels of ease; and in attendance on these churches and chapels are to be found a very large proportion of the white and coloured

population, (who are generally estimated at five thousand and two thousand five hundred respectively,) and about five thousand of the negroes. Of the numbers of the Moravians I am enabled to write with entire accuracy, having in my possession a manuscript statement with which I was favoured by Mr. Westerby, the excellent and highly esteemed superintendent of that body in the island. The Moravian brethren have in Antigua, at present, nine churches and chapels, under the charge of ten ministers; while of the eight thousand eight hundred and six members of the population in connexion with the body, six thousand two hundred and ninety-eight are adults, and, of the last-mentioned number, four thousand six hundred and eight are communicants. Nearly the whole of these persons are negroes, only a few of them being of the coloured population, and still fewer of them white. Following up the principles of their profession, the Moravian body in Antigua have already schools in connexion with the churches. They have at present nine Sunday schools, which are attended by two thousand one hundred and ninety-five scholars, who, of course, are nearly all negroes, and whose education is presided over by no less than one hundred and six female, and one hundred and seven male teachers. But certainly none of the institutions belonging to this excellent body was visited by me with more pleasure than their Juvenile Training Institution, at the time of my visit under the charge and management of the Reverend A. Hamilton, a native of Scotland. I enjoyed the advantage of visiting it in the society of the Governor-General, who was desirous of judging for himself of its state and efficiency; and although at the time I did so the premises were in confusion, from the effects of the severe hurricane of the preceding year, and of the building measures in operation to remedy its disastrous effects, I saw enough to impress me with a strong conviction of the utility of such an establishment for supplying the means of illumination in many a dark and desolate corner of the globe, and among many a benighted nation and tribe of the human race. The object of the establishment, which is entirely supported by contributions of the United Brethren, and of their friends—payments by the parents of the children being entirely voluntary—is to bring up native boys in every department of knowledge, at the same time teaching them some manual trade, (in accordance with the usual Moravian discipline, which recognizes, in its fullest extent, the dignity as well as the necessity of supporting one's self by one's own labour,) so as to fit and prepare them for being missionaries and clergymen, to proclaim the gospel of Jesus wherever they may be called, and particularly in tropical regions; thereby supplying not only more labourers for Moravian missions in every part of the world, but saving the funds of the body, a large portion of which is necessarily expended every year in defraying the travel-

ling and other expenses of their teachers and their preachers, as they journey from Europe to all parts of the known world, the tropics included. The number of pupils under Mr. Hamilton's charge, in the summer of 1849, was seventeen. Their ages varied from six to fourteen years, and they were of all shades, from the face of the fair-white of the northern clime to the coal-black of the genuine African. But colour made no difference, either in their aptitude for learning, or in their treatment by their kind preceptor. Black, brown, and fair, answered the somewhat puzzling questions (for children) put to them by the Governor, &c.; and all were so obviously on an equal footing, that the teacher might fairly have inscribed over the door of his establishment Virgil's celebrated line—

"Tros Tyriusve mihi nullo discrimine agetur."

Of the seventeen boys, ten were from various British possessions in the West Indies, and the rest from the Spanish and Danish colonies; but all of them claimed for themselves the title of Englishman, when asked to what country they belonged.

Next to the Moravians, the Wesleyan Methodists are the most numerous body of dissenters in Antigua. They have seven chapels, beside preaching-stations, in the island, and the largest of their chapels is that in the town of St. John's, which is capable of holding two thousand people, and is generally, if not always, filled. I have a very vivid recollection of this large meeting-house, from the fact of its being the first place of worship filled with a black congregation I had ever in my life seen. I visited it on the evening of the very first day I spent in the island, and at the time when, as yet, I was entirely unacquainted with any one in it; and the scene impressed me with all the force of novelty.

Besides the denominations already mentioned, there is a small body of Scotch Presbyterians, who rejoice in one of the most singularly ugly specimens of architecture, in the shape of a church, that it has ever been my fortune to see; and, strangely enough, this unsightly object (which looks like half a church surmounted by a meat safe) occupies the most prominent position about the town—the site of the cathedral not excepted.

The stranger visiting St. John's, should certainly visit an institution there, denominated the Soup House—an institution which is, all circumstances considered, one of the most creditable to be found in the West Indies. Like most other establishments in St. John's, having for their beneficent object the relief of human want, and the alleviation of human suffering, or the improvement of human nature, this institution is mainly indebted for its origin and foundation, and subsequent progress, to the exertions of the Rev. Archdeacon Hol-

berton—a clergyman whose beneficent efforts, in the cause of Christian benevolence, all classes in the island agree in eulogising.

The Soup House is so called from its having originated in a humble endeavour to supply soup to the indigent—its origin being so lowly that the first boiling or brewing took place under the shade of a tamarind-tree still in existence. To the soup or kitchen department there has been added an infirmary, a separate sailor's hospital in a different part of the town, and near the sea, and a lazar-house for the reception of patients deformed by that awful species of leprosy which attacks the black population (at least I did not see any white or coloured victims) in these islands. When I visited the institution, there were one hundred and thirty patients in the infirmary and sailors' hospital, and nearly thirty in the lazar-house; but these are of course in addition to the numerous body receiving outdoor relief. The whole expense at present does not much exceed £100 per month, and the means of expenditure are supplied partly by private subscription, and partly by grants from the local legislature.

In connexion with the history of this institution, there is a circumstance which I think worth recording, as strongly illustrative of the truth that man may *propose*, but that it is the Almighty who *disposes* in all matters. The room which forms the place of meeting for the directors or committee of management is a *wooden* one, and the minutes entered in the minute-book, on the forenoon of the very day on which the great earthquake of 1843 occurred, contains a resolution to the effect that the *timber* building should be replaced by a *stone* one. The earthquake came, however, and confirmed every one in the conviction that wooden erections were safer than stone buildings in such a country. It is unnecessary to say that the resolution of the minute was never carried into effect.

A calm fine day in the tropics is certainly productive of feelings of extreme delight. Where every day or nearly every day, during the dry season, is clear and fine, it may seem difficult to give a preference to one over another. So thought I, until, in the quietude of a friend's house, in the month of May, in about the centre of the island, I passed a whole forenoon, and nearly a whole day, in contemplating the beautiful calmness and clearness of the scene. Not a cloud in the sky; not a mist on the earth—

> "So calm, so pure, it seemed as 'twere
> The bridal of the earth and sky."

Nothing to break the calm silence of the scene, save the occasional chaunt of a negro band, who were engaged, at some distance, putting up the sails of a windmill, and whose chorus, rude and imperfectly heard as it was, sounded pleasantly on the ear, as the indication of light hearts. Such was one of the days I passed in the country in

Antigua, and there were many such passed in the enjoyment of the domestic circle of my friends in that island. But it has been often before remarked, that not unfrequently it is the time most pleasantly spent that presents fewest occurrences to record.

I have above referred to the earthquake which visited Antigua, and her sister islands of the Leeward group, in the year 1843. Of this awful convulsion, as well as of the severe hurricane which swept over some of the same islands, traces are still to be found in every part of Antigua. Churches blown down, forest-trees uprooted, houses destroyed, and negro huts upturned, prove how fearful these convulsions must have been. Nor will the evidences of its severity seem less, if gathered from the testimonies of the numerous sufferers. Every one you meet with, who was in the island at the time, has something to tell both of the earthquake and of the hurricane; and the details I heard were such that I was surprised that I had not heard more at home upon the subject, and that greater efforts had not been made, by the home Government and the public, to aid our colonial brethren under these severe dispensations. Sure am I that the treasures of England have been squandered where there was infinitely less of suffering, and infinitely less of claim.

In connexion with the earthquake, I heard an anecdote of a negro overseer, which displayed as much coolness, under circumstances of danger, as any story I ever heard. The earthquake made itself felt by repeated and successive shocks, or shakes, each of some minutes' duration, during which the earth heaved and seemed to reel, so that it was impossible to stand steady; and many lay down on the ground or floor till the shaking subsided.

During one of the lulls, which were marked by a deep stillness, the proprietor of one of the finest estates in the island rose up, and, as he graphically expressed it, "after steadying himself on his feet," went out to see what injury had been done by the antecedent shocks to the buildings of his sugar-works. On passing one of his cane-fields, he was surprised to find a band of negro girls hoeing canes, under the charge of a negro overseer, who accosted him coolly with the observation—"Bad shake that, Massa," and then turned round to one of the girls who (alarmed by the earthquake) was moving off to some place of imagined safety,—"You, Miss Dina, you come here; you no 'top de shake, can you?"

To the person fresh from Europe, there is much information, as well as amusement, to be found in watching the peculiarities of the negro character. At least I found it so; and, without meaning to be a eulogiser of the negro and his capabilities, I must say I saw and heard much to satisfy me that the negro race is capable of advancing to a high position in intelligence and civilisation.

Centuries of misrule and injustice may require something like centuries of good government and justice to atone for their depreciating and brutalising effects; but already, in the British West India possessions, the negro has proved that he is quite fitted for the exercise of most of the rights of a freeman. In the legislatures of many of the islands there are already sundry negro members, and in most of them there are to be found many gentlemen of colour, having a large supply of negro blood in their veins, who are in no way inferior, and in some cases superior, to some at least of their white brethren, in the discretion and ability with which they discharge their legislative functions; while, throughout the mass of the negro population, there will be found, if the traveller takes the trouble of investigating for himself, an amount of smartness and intelligence which will in many cases surprise him.

Popular sayings in common use among these descendants of the sons of Africa are ofttimes very amusing. "When cattle* lose tail, who for brush fly?" is the common negro form for pointing out how essential one person is to another: "Night no hab eye," is the apology for a negro woman's evening dishabille: and "When cockroach gib dance, him no ask fowl," was the explanation given by a negro to a friend and myself, when charged by us with a breach of contract in not getting us an invitation to a "Dignity ball."

CHAPTER IV.

"Be not afear'd, the Isle is full of noises,
Sounds, and sweet airs, that give delight and hurt not."
SHAKSPEARE.

"So freshly fair are everywhere the features of the scene,
That earth appears a resting-place where angels might alight,
As if sorrow ne'er a visitant in human breast had been,
And the verdure of the summer months had never suffered blight."—Δ

It was with much regret—a regret which only the conviction that the further progress in my journeyings was bringing me nearer to the time when I should be privileged to turn my face and steps homewards "from wandering on a foreign strand," that, at the hour of midnight, I embarked on board the small and very dirty sloop Henrietta, to sail from Antigua to St. Kitt's; and the fact that even at that hour I was accompanied to the boat by sundry kind friends, whose acquaintance had enlivened my stay in the

* Throughout the West Indies you seldom hear of a bull, an ox, a cow, &c.; the word is "cattle," used in the singular as well as in the plural.

island of Antigua, and who will ever endear the recollection of it, certainly did not tend to lessen my feelings of depression.

Sailing down through the islands—or, in other words, going in the direction of the trade-wind—is a very easy matter; and it was therefore, despite the indifferent character of the Henrietta, (which certainly would not have been classed A 1 at Lloyd's,) that early next forenoon, and after running through the "Narrows," between St. Kitt's and Nevis, I came in sight of my destined port of Basseterre, in the truly lovely and romantic little island of St. Kitts.

It had blown somewhat strongly during the night; and, pent up within the very limited accommodation of the little vessel, I had suffered a few hours of considerable discomfort. But as the day dawned, and brightened into sunshine, any feeling of depression was speedily dispelled. Indeed the scene would have gladdened the heart of an anchorite. The island of Nevis, with its lofty cone-like summit lying on the left; St. Kitt's, with its fertile plains in near view, and the frowning summit of Mount Misery in the background,—a little rocky islet called "Booby Isle" lying between the two, and in the middle of the "Narrows," formed together an inspiriting view, particularly as the sea between was studded over with numerous small fishing-boats under sail, the navigators of which displayed no little skill, as, occasionally racing with the Henrietta, they glided in and out, with easy swan-like motion, from under the high lands on the coasts of both the islands of Nevis and St. Kitt's. It was thus that we approached and arrived at the island of

ST. CHRISTOPHER'S, OR ST. KITT'S,

Situated sixty miles west of Antigua, in north latitude 17° 15′, and west longitude 63° 17′, and deriving its name from the circumstance that the devout Colon and his followers saw, or imagined they saw, (which is just the same thing) in the extraordinary shape of the summit of its strangely named principal mountain, "Mount Misery," a resemblance to one man carrying another on his back; while St. Christopher is generally painted as a giant carrying our Saviour. Of the population of St. Kitt's there has not been any very recent census; but the general estimate of twenty-five thousand cannot be very far from correct. Its contents are about seventy square miles, and with this population, and within these confined limits, St. Kitt's contains as many of the elements of attraction as probably any other place within the line of the tropics.

While, of late years, the attention of invalids, both in Europe and in America, seems to have been more directed than formerly to the West Indian Islands as places of sanitary resort, I observe a somewhat prominent place has been assigned to the island of Jamaica.

When I come to that part of my journeyings which treats of impressions and experiences in that romantic island, I trust, as I believe, it will not be found that I was insensible to the many beautiful and ofttimes awfully grand scenes with which the "Island of Springs" so plenteously abounds. But for the present I have to do with the fairy island of St. Kitt's; and truth compels me to say that, *tota re perspectâ*, looking back through the whole vista of my journeyings by land and by water, amid the luxuriant scenery of the tropics, my heart dwells upon St. Kitt's, and its scenery and society, with a peculiar pleasure and a heartfelt satisfaction. The very first view of the island is exceedingly pleasing and inspiriting. Basseterre, the capital, (for of course every island must have its capital,) is in itself but a poor town, or, if my Kittyfonian (for *that*, it seems, is the generic appellation given to the inhabitants of this isle) friends will forgive the expression, but a poor village; but the valley in which Basseterre lies—there lies the charm! Green velvet is the image that rises to the mind when I would seek to give an idea of the greenness of the lovely vale, at the bottom of which stands the town of Basseterre.

During the occupancy by the French of this part of the island, the town of Basseterre was erected by them, the English capital, "Sandy Point," being at the other end of the island; and the choice of the site of Basseterre, as compared with that of Sandy Point, goes far to justify the Frenchman's sarcasm against my fellow-countrymen, that while nature has given to the children of La Belle France her *goût*, she has bequeathed to the sons of Albion only her gout.

Were I to write of the climate and scenery of St. Kitt's, according to the impressions that arise as they are now recalled—were I even to note down the simple memoranda regarding the island, which I find entered in my journal at the time—I fear I would seem to many to be using the language of eulogistic exaggeration. Warm the climate certainly is; hot, ofttimes disagreeably so, at least in the town or in the valley. But *that* the sojourner in the tropics must lay his account with. But during those parts of the months of March and of April when I had the pleasure of sojourning in Government House in the island of St. Kitt's, I did not, on any occasion that I remember, or have noted, find the heat very oppressive even in the town or valley. While on the coast, or while riding up the gentle, grassy, verdant acclivities of the mountains, the breeze that constantly blows, or rather plays, around the traveller gives a delicious coolness to the balmy atmosphere, that must be felt to be appreciated. A better place for the winter sojourn of the invalid, whose lungs are too delicate, or too much impaired, to stand the bitter colds and rude blasts of northern climes, cannot possibly be conceived. With the American Madeira, Santa Cruz, and the moun-

tain salubrities of Jamaica, fresh in my recollection, I give the preference to St. Christopher's; and I trust, ere I close these descriptive sketches, to give at least some justifying grounds for my preference of this island, or of the immediately adjoining islet of Nevis, (and the two may be considered as one in this respect,) as a place of sanitary resort.

But while I thus write of the climate, I would write in still more enthusiastic terms of the scenery of St. Kitt's; and, reader, if you believe me not, I pray you read the eloquent description of Coleridge, and if you deny credence to us both, then I pray you make some apology for going to judge for yourself; for, rest assured that, until you have seen "Nine-turn Gut," in the island of St. Christopher's, and some of the deep and thickly wooded glens of this enchanting island, you have not seen some of the finest portions and most romantic scenes in this fair world of ours.

It is not my intention to attempt anything like a detailed description of the scenery which excited these observations. Description is not my *forte*. But there is one part of the island I cannot permit myself to refrain from describing; and I am the more disposed to note down its memorabilia, from the fact that the writer I have already alluded to, Mr. Henry Nelson Coleridge, expresses his exceeding regret that he had not been able to find time to visit it.

The scenery alluded to is that which presents itself in the course of the ride through and across the mountains, near the centre of the island, and which leads the visitor into a very remarkable flat plain, situated in the midst of the hill country, at an elevation of at least two thousand five hundred feet above the level of the sea. This plain is said by Coleridge (on report) and others, to be similar in its character to the plains between the Cordilleras of Upper Peru. In this place most of the fruits and vegetables of Europe may be and have been grown. The plain referred to rejoices in the cognomen of "Spooner's Level;" and to understand the characteristic features of the beautiful and romantic ride which leads you through it, the following short description of the formation of the island is necessary.

The interior of St Kitt's may be said to be composed of a mountain, or rather of a congeries of mountains, drawing towards a centre and an apex, which latter is formed by the frowning crag and summit of "Mount Misery." Towards this mount of evil name, the wood-crowned summits tend in every direction—split, splintered, and separated by deep fissures, chasms, rents, and glens —some of them with streamlets flowing at their bottoms, deep hid by the foliage from human vision, and only found to be existing by the trickling sound, or by the boy's expedient of throwing

down a stone and counting the moments ere the splash indicates its arrival at the water. In crossing these ravines, so as to pass right through the island, from the one side of it to the other, by the narrow bridle-path which formed the line of demarcation during the joint occupation of England and of France, it is necessary to wind by an extremely tortuous course, up and down the sides of these ravines—all parts of these ravines (as indeed is nearly the whole congeries of mountains) being clothed and covered by a great variety of trees of great height, and generally of the most gigantic proportions. The mango, silk cotton-tree, bread-tree, bread-nut tree, palms of various kinds, cacao and cocoa-nut trees, tamarind-tree, red and white cedars, and a host of other tropical forest trees and flowering shrubs, clothe, crest, and adorn the mountain sides almost to their very summits, and the deep dells to their very lowest and innermost recesses—affording ample hiding-places for the various members of the monkey tribe, which are numerous in St. Kitt's, and which may occasionally be seen, at different points, as they scamper off on the signal being given by the sentinel or fugleman, who is first seen, being stationed by the general troop to give timely warning of approaching danger. Apropos of monkeys. It is not easy to disabuse the negro of the conviction that the monkey is not endowed with powers of reason, similar, if not equal, to those of man. Sambo may not now carry his views the length of maintaining that the monkey's refusal to make use of the gift of speech, proceeds from the fear that, if he spoke, Massa would set him to work: but on several occasions I have heard the negro and coloured boatmen ascribe to the monkey tribe powers of memory and of reason little short of human. Indeed it is difficult to hear such tales, oft repeated and seemingly authenticated, without admitting that this "caricature on humanity" trenches in some degree on man's "high prerogative" of reason. That the monkeys bury their dead in regularly prepared graves, and that they even attend to funeral processions and obsequies, as men do, is a statement I have ofttimes heard made, and attempted to be authenticated by the averment that the assertor had seen them engaged in the "duty," as well as enforced by the argument that the dead body of a monkey is never seen in the woods. Another equally prevalent belief is, that if the tribe is offended in any way by a particular party, they will find out that particular person's ground, and under cloud of night root up his sweet potatoes, and otherwise despoil his possessions. At all events, one fact is well known, and it is this, that the gestures of an irate monkey are very much those of an angry man, and as emphatically, and by the same signs, indicate a hope and an intention of future revenge. A friend with whom I had been staying had some time

previously shot a young monkey, and he described the threatening attitudes of the mother, shaking her fist and otherwise plainly promising an hour of retributive justice, as something very like the actions of a human being.

But to return to the scenery of the ride to "Spooner's Level." Mention has been already made of the variety and magnificence of the trees and shrubs. Some of these have been referred to by their names or kinds. It were, however, to leave out one of the characteristics of the scene, not to make special mention of the tree or tree-like ferns, although many of my readers may feel some surprise at finding these classed among the genus "arbor." Whether the ferns belonged to the vegetable or to the woody kingdom, they formed very striking objects in the scenery under description, and fully and ably sustained the character of forest trees. They were occasionally seen separately, but much more frequently in thick groves standing like palm-trees—

"With feathery tufts like plumage rare;"

their stems of fifteen to eighteen inches thick, and reaching to a height of fifty or sixty feet, with their branching tops covering over the head, like an umbrella. Nor are these trees or tree-like ferns only beautiful; they are also occasionally applied to useful purposes. The wood, though soft, is durable, and makes tolerable supports when the weight to be borne is not very great. They are also sometimes used for fences.

About midway between the two sides of the island, is the place I have already mentioned as "Spooner's Level"—a plain, or rather two plains, each of several hundred acres in extent, covered with excellent pasture, interspersed here and there with patches of "guava bushes," and, being at the elevation before stated, luxuriating in a climate of a cool temperature, the luxury of which can only be fully appreciated by those who have been previously broiled by the midday heat of the plains below.

I was told that, not many years ago, this spot had been chosen by an island resident, as the location where to spend his "honeymoon;" and, solitary and rather inaccessible as it was, I thought the selection argued no small amount of good taste, either on the part of the lady fair or of the gentleman, or perchance of both.

The pathway up to "the level," and again down to the road on the other side, is narrow, and sometimes a little difficult without being dangerous. The hurricane of 1848, the vestiges of which are to be seen in most of the islands forming the Leeward group, had blown down some of the forest trees, and thrown them across the road; and, to overcome these obstructions, it was on two occasions necessary for myself and friend, Mr. R——, to take the saddles off the horses,

and cause the animals almost to creep through beneath the trunks of the trees that stretched across the road. On clearing the woods, and at various parts of the ride, there is to be seen one of the most beautiful marine views which the mind can conceive. The islands of Antigua, Montserrat, Nevis, St. Eustatia, Saba, St. Martin's and St. Bartholomew, all reposing in the bosom of the clear tropic sea; that sea generally in a state of heaving quietude, and the whole enlivened with ships under sail, seen here and there in near view, or on the very verge of the far-off horizon.

Having descended from the level on the other side by a tortuous mountain path, a ride of eight miles or so takes the tourist to Basseterre; or, turning to the left, he will be well repaid by riding round the island by the shores of Deep Bay, and through the town of Sandy Point; and thence onwards to Basseterre, passing by and under the romantic rock of Brimstone Hill, on which the fortifications and garrisons are placed.

Among the chief recommendations of St. Kitt's, as a place of temporary residence for the invalid, I reckon its vicinity to the island of

NEVIS,

Situated in north latitude 17° 14′, and west longitude 63° 3′; somewhat less than half the size, and containing less than a moiety of the population, of St. Christopher's. The chief town of Nevis, Charlestown, is exactly eleven miles from Basseterre, and the latter is just about the same distance from Sandy Point, the other town in St. Kitt's. Basseterre is therefore fairly situated for being a centre and capital for both islands; and the fact that two small islands, so situated, should each have its separate machinery of government, does strike the mind of a stranger as something very unnecessary, and unnecessarily expensive, if not absurd. The Governor of Nevis is called the President, while St. Kitt's is worthily presided over by a lieutenant-governor, both being under the general government of the Leeward island group. But both islands have their respective houses of assembly, with relative staffs; and, without offence to the inhabitants of Nevis, I trust I may record it as my opinion—as well as an opinion I have heard generally expressed, even in influential quarters—that it were impossible to imagine a more obvious reformation than to merge the assembly and courts of Nevis in those of St. Kitt's, one lieutenant-governor presiding over both.

A sail of a couple of hours brings the voyager from Basseterre to Charlestown in Nevis; and after inspecting the town, (which is certainly a poor affair, and will not occupy much time,) the visitor

will probably, if not naturally, direct his attention to the minera hot-water baths, and the boarding establishment connected wit them. These are situated about a mile to the south of Charles town; and, before setting out to visit them, the invalid visito should first, if he can, provide himself with a horse—walking ex ercise in the tropics being but seldom agreeable to the European or at least to the invalid one. These hot mineral baths are two i number: the largest and hottest being in size about twenty-one fee long by fifteen feet broad, and of a temperature of about 100° Fah renheit, and the smallest and coldest being somewhat less, and it temperature about 50°. Both are beautifully and transparentl clear, and have a singular power of giving a semblance of white ness, and even beauty, such as is ascribed by Sir Francis Head, i his amusing and able work, entitled *Bubbles from the Brunnens o Nassau*, to some of the German spas. Being warm, they are nei ther of them of much density; and the water, which may be drunl as well as bathed in, has an agreeable flavour, and leaves an im pression on the palate such as one would expect from drinkin boiled soda-water. These baths are much lauded for the cure o alleviation of rheumatic complaints, and much resorted to for al sorts and descriptions of ailments. I felt, particularly when in th hottest of them, an elevation of spirits which was singularly plea sant, and which left an agreeable effect—a feeling of having ha strength imparted to my frame for all the rest of the day.

After leaving the baths, and paying (if not a resident in the lodg ing-house mentioned below) the moderate charge of four bits, or 1s 4d. for the very luxurious enjoyment, the attention of the visitor who is here for the first time, will probably be next attracted to th lodging-house erected in the immediate vicinity, and of which th bathing establishment is an appendage. This lodging-house is a larg massive stone building, calculated and fitted to accommodate abou fifty boarders. It was built when slavery was in existence; and al though the fact of slaves being employed in its erection renders i somewhat difficult to ascertain the real amount expended in its con struction, it is said that at least £30,000 was so spent; and the state ment will not appear at all incredible to any one who has visited i and noted its extent. The building has, however, obviously bee erected on a scale much too ambitious. It was built, in its presen gigantic proportions, by its first proprietor—a Mr. Huggins—proba bly under the idea that the celebrity of the mineral baths, and th salubrity of the climate of the island, might attract visitors from al parts of the Archipelago—making the island of Nevis what it ha some pretentions to be considered, the Montpelier of the West In dies. If such were the hopes of the enterprising founder of th lodging-house and bathing establishment of Nevis, they have bee

grievously disappointed. I could not learn that, at any time, the mammoth lodging-house was a prosperous establishment. In the present almost ruined condition of the island, and under the depressing influences which have, especially since 1846, spread their baleful effects over the British West India possessions, I only found the Nevis lodging-house and baths in the condition I ought to have expected, when I found them in a semi-ruinous and nearly deserted state. Still I was not prepared for the scene of desolation they exhibited. With all nature smiling around, and looking to the many attractions for rich invalids which this lovely islet presented, I was deeply impressed with the conviction that the ruined condition of such an establishment furnished a practical commentary on the wisdom of that policy which, in the first place, paid twenty millions sterling, or thereby, to put down slavery in our own colonies, and then encouraged other powers, less scrupulous, to continue to encourage slavery, by allowing productions, so produced and manufactured, to compete in our home markets with commodities produced and manufactured by the hands of freemen.

Notwithstanding, however, its present state, the lodging-house of Nevis and its adjacent baths offer a very tempting location for an invalid or other visitor; and with the aid of a servant, and the society of a companion, an invalid might here make himself or herself very comfortable, even for a stay of many months' duration. Indeed I was, during my stay in Nevis, much struck with its attractions as a place of sanitary resort; and most heartily did I agree with an official friend, of high rank, when he observed, with reference to the temporary residence of her Majesty—the late lamented Queen-dowager of England—in the island of Madeira, that were those whose finances could afford it to devote a few hundreds to introducing the elements of comfort into the lodging-house in Nevis, they would find it a fully more healthful location than the more frequented island of the north. Nor will the remark seem extravagant to any one who has visited Nevis. While the greater length of the voyage gives it an advantage over its more popular rival—inasmuch as it seems now generally conceded that the sea voyage, particularly when the sail is on the summer sea of the West Indian Archipelago at the proper season, and under the benign influence of the tropical breezes, has a most beneficial effect in the cure of many complaints, particularly of pulmonary ones—the beauties of Nevis, as an island, are no whit inferior to those of Madeira. Its valleys are as fertile, and its hills as grand; and it is uniformly verdant and beautiful, even in its present depressed condition. From the smallness of its size, as well as from the height of its hills, it enjoys, for the greater part of the year, a climate comparatively cool, and of acknowledged salubrity. In fine, I feel it is only discharging a duty I owe to others to testify my con-

viction of the fact, that few places on the globe furnish a more advantageous retreat for parties labouring under pulmonary complaints, than does this self-same island of Nevis, with its overgrown lodging-house, and its delightful, invigorating, and transparent mineral hot baths.

But it is right that I should add that in no case should the invalid be allowed to come to the West Indies, without previous preparation being made for his, and (especially) for *her* reception—a caution which I the more readily add, because, according to my own experience, it is but too much neglected in cases where the advice to go abroad is given. There is naturally, in the newness as well as distance of the scene, much that is calculated to depress; and this depression is ofttimes so much aggravated by the feeling of being *alone among strangers*, that I have known, within the limits of my own personal knowledge, several cases where I was satisfied that the patient had suffered more from depression of spirits in the tropical climate, than he or she would, in all probability, have done from the disease in the northern one: to which add a fact that truth compels me to mention, and the mention of which my West Indian friends will forgive, that at first sight, at least, West Indian mansions—particularly those of the class of *domi publici*—have to an English eye an appearance which is waste and comfortless, and which is calculated to strike a chill into the heart of one debilitated by bodily suffering. In every case where it is practicable, I would therefore recommend, that the patient visiting the West Indies on account of health should be preceded or accompanied by a European servant; and, at least in the case of a lady, that they should also have a friend with them. The very feeling that death might arrive in a foreign land, far from friends and home, often tends to work out the fatal result. With such adjuncts to comfort and happiness as I have mentioned, however, I cannot conceive a better location for the weak, languid sufferer, than this lovely islet of the Caribean Sea, or (for its near vicinity makes them almost one) its somewhat larger neighbour, the island of St. Kitt's. Even Coleridge says, when writing of Nevis, that he would often "run down the trades and *winter* within the tropics," although he would prefer Madeira for a continued residence, on account of its vicinity to England. He adds, that he "partly engaged to marry a lady in Madeira, when he and she came to the years of discretion." Having no such cogent reason as that last mentioned, to influence my resolve, I may be pardoned for claiming for Nevis at least an equality of attractions.

On leaving the baths, and again mounting his steed, (if he has the good fortune to have one,) the visitor will find himself in excellent condition for a ride round part of or through the island—visiting the Banyan tree described by various travellers, or such other scenes as

his own or friends' taste may induce him to visit; before setting out to do which, he may, perchance, have his sense of the proprieties somewhat violated, by observing a number of black and coloured women standing in the stream of hot water, as it escapes from the baths, washing clothes in this caldron of nature's heating: themselves the while, if not exactly *in puris naturalibus,* at least too scantily attired for European notions of decency.

Nevis, like her other sister islands, received her name from the great Colon—

"Who scanned Columbia through the wave;"

and various are the accounts given of the reasons that induced the choice of such a name. The then existence of a volcano, now extinct, is the supposition of Edwards; and other accounts equally erudite are given of the matter. One occurred to myself, which, if not the sound one, seems to me to have at least as much probability or plausibility in it as the rest. When first visiting this island, both when going and returning, and again on numberless other occasions, when looking at it as well from the sea as from the neighbouring island of St. Christopher's, I observed a large fleecy white cloud, which, like a canopy, encircled the summit, about the centre of the island of Nevis; and so often did this appearance present itself, and so truly did it merit for the hills on which it rested the

"Candidum nive"

assigned by Horace as a characteristic of Mount Soracte, that I could not avoid the conviction that such a semblance, seen by Columbus and his fellow voyagers, accounted satisfactorily for their thus naming this island of the tropics by a name suggestive of snow. At all events, there was something of interest in thus throwing the mind back into the past, and attempting to fathom, in any respect, the motives that influenced the great discoverer, and to suppose that the sight which greets you was the same or similar to the one seen

"When first his drooping sails Columbus furl'd,
And sweetly rested in another world."

When writing of Antigua, I have had occasion to speak of the state of the Church in these islands of the Leeward group; and that in so doing I used terms of unqualified praise, is only due to the high standing for learning, piety, and zeal of the body of reverend gentlemen, who are now to be found discharging the pastoral office in the British West India colonies. But if an anecdote I once heard in Nevis be well founded, there must have been a time when such praise would have been misplaced. There was unquestionably a time when, not only in impetuous Erin, but in most other parts of Great Britain and her possessions, the pistol was supposed to be, at

least for laymen, the most appropriate weapon for deciding questions of right and wrong. That this "code of honour" was ever acted on by the clergy in the mother country, I have never heard; but, if the tale I heard be true, it seems that the impetuousness of the Creole blood had induced some one of their colonial brethren to improve upon the general practice, and, when contradicted by a reverend brother on some questions of Grecian or other antiquities, to offer to bring the matter to the usual arbitrament of the pistol. The epistle in which the challenge was given was a simple intimation of the offence, and challenge to meet at or near Brimstone hill. But alas for the "chance of war!" The blood of the respondent was either cooler, or his feeling of propriety, common sense, and religion stronger; and, perceiving the absurdity of the whole affair, his answer, endorsed on the belligerent note, was simply, "Reverend Sir, I am sorry I cannot gratify you. In point of fact, I was born a coward, and bred a parson." The date of this deathblow to duelling, at least in the church, was not given. No doubt, "'twas a long time ago;" but I thought the story worth recording, were it only because it is one which, if it ever did happen, will certainly never happen again.

In Antigua, and again in St. Kitt's, I had opportunities of seeing on several occasions the courts of law sitting for the discharge of judicial business, both civil and criminal. The barristers who practise in the colonies generally practise also as solicitors or attorneys. Such is likewise the case in the United States of America. In Great Britain, and particularly I think in Scotland, there is a prevalent impression that the ends of justice are promoted by the separation of the legal profession into its two branches of solicitors and attorneys, and barristers or advocates, and making the practice of the one branch incompatible with that of the other. That this separation ofttimes makes the obtaining of justice, by means of law, a much more costly affair than it otherwise would be, is very obvious. But if, by such division, a purer legal atmosphere, so to speak, is obtained, it cannot be said that the enhanced cost of the article is money thrown away. I cannot, however, agree in the opinion that the division alluded to is essential, or even of importance to the ends of justice. Such had long been my opinion formed on principles applicable to the state of matters in the mother country. For other reasons, to detail which would be out of place here, I would regard the breaking down of the division I have referred to as a matter to be regretted. But I certainly cannot see how the division itself in any way tends to purity of judicial procedure; and my own experience in the West Indian colonies, and in the United States of America, confirmed the opinions I had formed in this respect: while, as regards the solicitor-barristers of the West Indies, I can

most honestly confirm the statement of an earlier writer, that there is among them the same abstinence from irregular interruption, the same urbanity to each other, and the same cheerful obedience to that decision which the constitution of the country makes binding on them, which severe critics have predicated of the junior (he might have also said "and senior") barristers of the mother-land. Were I disposed to be critical, I might add that the only thing I thought objectionable was the number of "counsel" engaged on either side. In a case of ejectment, involving pecuniary value of somewhat inconsiderable amount, I saw no less than four gentlemen of the long robe engaged for the prosecution, while an equal number conducted the defence. This must add much to the costliness of the verdict; but this fault is one which is too often committed at home, to justify any severity of criticism towards our colonial brethren. With the exception of the wig, which is dispensed with both by bench and bar in the West Indies, for the very obvious reason that the heat of the climate would render the use of it insupportable, the advocates in these colonies are robed and otherwise dressed like their brethren at home; and the whole judicial procedure is conducted much in the same way—even to the occasional exhibition either of an unaccountable amount of credulity, or of incredulity, on the part of the "gentlemen of the jury" impannelled to try a civil cause, or to inquire into a crime. Here the English rule, requiring unanimity on the part of the members of the jury, prevails; and the effect is to produce some odd scenes of acquittal, in the face of evidence amounting almost to demonstration. Such results must occasionally be produced by the adoption of a rule like this, particularly in places inhabited by mixed races, and where strong prejudices of colour and otherwise interfere to obscure perception or to warp the judgment. And although the Scottish system to which I had been most accustomed has some disadvantages, I felt that it would be better to allow a majority to rule, rather than permit the common sense but weaker stomachs and powers of endurance of the many, to be overcome by the head-strong prejudices, bull-headed obstinacy, and ability for fasting of the few. There may be some plausible objections to allowing the question of crime or no crime to be decided by a bare majority of twelve men; but assuredly there are more objections to allowing the conscientious opinions of eleven to be overruled by the dishonesty or bigotry of one, whose powers of endurance enable him to withstand the effects of fasting and confinement for an unusually great length of time.

Among the memorabilia of St. Kitt's, I find in my note-book honourable mention made of a somewhat singular stone, which is to be seen almost on the very summit of a remarkable and singularly beautiful hill, called by the more appropriate than euphonious

name of Monkey Hill; which hill may be said to form the southern termination of the range which traverses the island. Monkey Hill is in itself a verdant object, with green, and consequently beautiful, cane-fields or brakes, extending to its very base; and on the summit of it stands the large stone referred to, in form and shape something like a cradle, and having part of the top hollowed out, so as to give countenance to the legend that it was used by the fierce Caribs (who inhabited these islands at and after the date of their discovery by Columbus) for the immolation and burning of their human sacrifices.

Brimstone Hill, on which the British Government has erected a very strong and handsome fort, is another object of interest, situated as it is on the sea-shore, detached from the contiguous mountains, and precipitous on all sides save that of its approach. And the "salt ponds" to be seen in the southern extremity of the island, and to which the readiest, if not the only, access is by sea, should not be left unvisited.

Neither in St. Christopher's nor in Nevis (if I except the lodging-house of the latter) did I observe so many marks of the ravages of the earthquake of 1843, or of the hurricane of 1848, as I had previously done in Antigua. But both suffered, and suffered greatly—so greatly, that I feel sure that, had the extent of loss thereby occasioned to the already previously depressed planters and proprietors been accurately and generally known in the mother country, some special aid would have been granted to lessen the amount of suffering and repair the damage sustained.

It is certainly paying a fearful price and penalty for their loveliness of climate, that the West Indian Islands, and especially the Caribean Islands, should be so frequently visited by these scourges of nature—the hurricane and the earthquake. And after listening to the many interesting details I heard during my temporary sojourn in these islands, I felt more fully able to appreciate the lines of the poet,—

> "Oft o'er the Eden Islands of the west,
> In floral pomp and verdant beauty drest,
> Roll the dark clouds of heaven's awakened ire;
> Thunder and earthquake, whirlwind, flood and fire,
> Midst reeling mountains, and departing plains,
> Tell the pale world 'the God of vengeance reigns.' "

Although hurricanes such as have devastated these islands are fortunately of very rare occurrence—so rare as to permit the hope that the visitation of 1848 may prove the last for many years—yet, during the months of July, August, and September, such is the tendency to sudden storms, that these months are characterised as the hurricane months; these hurricanes, it is generally supposed, being caused by a rarefaction of the air produced by the previously-

existing great heat, and the colder air of the surrounding region rushing in to fill up the vacuum.

During my stay in St. Kitt's—where I had the good fortune to enjoy the superior comforts and society of Government House, and the kind hospitality of the Lieutenant-Governor, his Excellency Robert Mackintosh, a gentleman himself distinguished, and the son of the late eminently distinguished jurist and single-minded statesman, Sir James Mackintosh (as well as the editor of his works)—the island was visited by the British naval squadron, carrying the flag of Lord Dundonald; and also by an American war frigate, the Germantown, and by a Dutch vessel of war. Taking advantage of such opportunities, or of the opportunities afforded by the numerous small vessels trading among the islands, the visitor may, from St. Kitt's, visit the neighbouring smaller islands of St. Eustatius, St. Bartholomew, and Saba—returning to St. Kitt's and taking the English steamer, or such other opportunity as may occur, to run downwards to St. Thomas and onwards on his route to the north. If as fortunate in point of weather as I was, the sail from St. Kitt's to St. Thomas cannot be otherwise than productive of much gratification. Leaving Saba and St. Bartholomew, &c., on the right, the sail is up to and among the Virgin islands, past Virgin Gorda, and into the Bay of Roadtown in the island of Tortola, where the steamer touches and lands her mails. At the time I visited the scene, it was in the bright light of a summer morning—the sea was calm and the wind at rest; but in a dark night, and in tempestuous weather, I could easily understand that it would require some considerable skill in navigation to guide a vessel safely through such and so many difficulties. But all danger is now avoided, in so far at least as the steamships are concerned, by timing their arrivals at such places, and by taking the outside passage when the night is dark or the sea rough.

Of these numerous islands of the Virgin group—which belong partly to Denmark and partly to England, and of which there are said to be no less than thirty, including small as well as large—the island of

TORTOLA

is the chief. It belongs to England, and is in length about eighteen miles by about seven in breadth, and contains a population exceeding ten thousand inhabitants.

Among these Virgin islands, but standing a little apart from the rest, between the Danish islands of St. Thomas and Santa Cruz, and in west longitude 64° 35′, and north latitude 18°, there is to be found a large island, known in the locality by the cognomen of

Crab Island, but laid down in the maps as the Isle of Boriquen, of which I was destined to hear a good deal, but which I found no opportunity of visiting, although I much desired to do so. This island is nearly as large as Santa Cruz, and is said to be exceedingly fertile. In the Gazetteers it is generally laid down as uninhabited; but this is not strictly correct. In former days, when this group of islands formed the headquarters of piracy, Boriquen or Crab Island was the abode, from time to time, of different bands of buccaneers or rovers; and many are the dreadful tales that are told as to the scenes of which this Crab Island (so called from the large number of land-crabs found in it) was the theatre. Of late years, the mode of its occupation has been scarcely less obnoxious. Even now, it cannot be said to have any fixed population; and being claimed, or understood to be claimed, by Great Britain, by Spain, and by Denmark, the chief use made of it is by slavers, who occasionally resort to it under the pretence of watering, but in reality to tranship their supplies, dispose of their cargoes of slaves, or elude the vigilance of the British cruisers. Infinitely better were it that it were in the possession and government of England or even of Denmark, now that the latter has followed the example of England in emancipating her slaves. At present it is a comparative wilderness, and misused for the vilest of purposes—the traffic in human flesh. Under proper government, Boriquen or Crab Island might support a population nearly as large as that of Santa Cruz, in circumstances of comfort.

After leaving Tortola, the next place at which the English steamer touches is the well-known Danish island of St. Thomas. But the approach to a place so "famed in story," and the property of another and a friendly power, deserves, and will from me receive, a separate chapter.

CHAPTER V.

"Vines with climbing branches growing,
Plants with goodly burthens bowing."
SHAKSPEARE.

"To regions where, in spite of sin and woe,
Traces of Eden are still seen below;
Where mountain, river, forest, field and grove,
Remind him of his Maker's power and love."
COWPER.

THE Danish island of

ST. THOMAS

Is situated in longitude 65° 26′ west, and in latitude 18° 22′ north. The capital, indeed the only town in the island, is also

called St. Thomas; and I question if there be, within the West Indian Archipelago, (and those who have visited these islands know how extensive a catalogue of beauty these words comprehend,) a scene more exquisite than is the view of the town and bay of St. Thomas, as seen either from the sea, or as viewed from the summit of the hill rising immediately above the town. The view from seaward was seen by me first, and it certainly was singularly beautiful. The bay at the head of which the town lies is almost circular, the entrance being by a neck guarded by two forts. In front of you lies the clean, bright town, situated at the bottom of the bay, on the acclivities, and in the ravines, formed by the three limbs of a hill about twelve hundred feet high, which rises immediately from the shore. Although in reality built in the form of a square, or rather of a parallelogram, the spectator, in approaching the town of St. Thomas from the sea, has the impression that this exceedingly pretty town is built in that of three triangles—an appearance which arises from the fact that, as you thus approach it, you only see those parts that are built on the three projecting limbs of the hill, those parts lying in the ravines being for a time hid from view. The effect is very pleasing. The hills behind, the numerous red roofs, the white houses, and the general appearance (at some distance) of the cultivation, give St. Thomas' something of the aspect of the town of Funchal, in the island of Madeira; and if the greater grandeur of the hill, at the bottom of which the capital of the "flor d'oceano" stands, gives it the advantage in this respect, St. Thomas' has infinitely the advantage in point of regularity, order, and, above all, in an attention to cleanliness.

The importance of St. Thomas', as a place of trade and commerce, is too well known to justify extended reference to it here. It is pre-eminently a mercantile town. Indeed, if the shortness of my residence within it would justify criticism at all, I would say that it is only the fact of its being so, of its inhabitants being too entirely devoted to the crush and turmoil of business, that forms an objection to it as a place of tropical sojourn. St. Thomas' is what is called a free port, nearly every description of goods being admitted at one uniform rate of duty, which is small, being little more than one per cent. Except during the temporary occupation of the island by England, from 1807 till 1814, St. Thomas' has for a long time been in the possession of Denmark. The town possesses a news-room, an ice-house, several churches of imposing structure, and a boarding-house on a somewhat gigantic scale. But, as above mentioned, its distinguishing characteristics are as a place of trade,—a fact evinced by no circumstance more strongly than by the great number and large extent of the stores of the

merchants, and the immense piles of valuable merchandize which they are seen to contain. The merchants of St. Thomas' have long enjoyed, and continue to enjoy, a large amount of prosperity; and their hospitalities are on a scale commensurate with their wealth and importance.

In the interior of the island, or even by riding round about as well as through it, there is not much to be seen. The time occupied, however, in so seeing it, is not long, and the visitor should on no account leave the island without having once at least, if not much oftener, enjoyed the very splendid panoramic view which is to be had from the summit of the hill which stands over the town. Through the kindness of his Excellency Von Oxholm, the Lieutenant-governor of St. Thomas', to whom I was favoured with an introduction, and whose courtesy and kindness I have sincere pleasure in thus acknowledging, I was enabled to visit the interior of the island on the back of a good English hunter. I had previously ascended the mountain immediately above the town, and enjoyed the magnificent panoramic view I have before alluded to. Below, and in the immediate foreground, lay the town of St. Thomas, with the numerous shipping in the harbour and at the landing-places, and the clean Danish forts, with the flag of Denmark conspicuous from their flag-staffs; a little beyond, the calm clear sea, with numerous sails cruising in every direction; an archipelago of islets lying scattered around, reposing on the bosom of the mighty deep; and the verdant island of Santa Cruz in the distance; and the still larger island of Porto Rico, seen dimly and as a cloud on the verge of the horizon, all combined to form one of the finest sea views that it has been my good fortune to witness in any part of the world. During my ten days' stay in St. Thomas', I visited the scene several times, and on each occasion was more and more impressed with its beauty. Indeed, when but a short way up the hill, and when enjoying the hospitalities of my kind friends Messrs. M——n, senior and junior, Mr. C——ie, &c., in their luxurious retreats, perched, almost like nests, a considerable way up the acclivity on which part of the town is built—I was daily enchanted with the loveliness of the scene as it exhibited itself from the windows, even at that height. But, to see it in full perfection, the summit of the mountain must be attained. One thing struck me forcibly, and now recurs vividly to my recollection; and it is the remarkable clearness of the water in the creeks or inlets with which the shores of St. Thomas' are indented all around, and which, in days now happily gone by, (and, thanks to the power of steam, never likely to return,) offered places of convenient retreat to the numerous pirates who infested these seas and islands. When standing at an elevation of certainly not less than five or six hun-

dred feet above the level of the sea, I could discern large fish, as they swam about far down in the depths of the lagoon—such was the clearness both of the atmosphere and of the water.

On the occasion on which I was politely allowed by the governor the use of his stud, I proceeded, accompanied by one of his Excellency's servants, right through and round a great part of the island. Although, on the whole, St. Thomas' is certainly a very arid spot—affording, in this respect, a strong contrast to the larger Danish island of Santa Cruz, to be immediately described—I found much, in the course of this ride, which I would not have wished to leave unvisited. The gigantic cactus and aloe, growing in all the wild freedom of untamed and unchecked nature—the former attaining the height of thirty feet and upwards, and many of the latter having stems of twelve and even fifteen feet high—and the numerous other tropical shrubs and trees, luxuriating as it were in the most fantastic shapes and conformations, constituted a scene of much novelty if not of great interest. Again was I struck with the adaptation of St. Thomas' for the villanies of piracy. In these numerous lagoons, bays, and inlets—most of them clothed thickly to and over the water's edge by the deadly, dark-green mangrove—and in the numerous rocks and reefs which line the shore, the marauder had a ready place of concealment before, as well as of retreat after, the attack. The days of piracy in these seas are, however, now numbered among the things that were. At least attempts of a piratical nature are extremely rare. But only a few years ago, some relics or reminiscences of the infamous trade might have been seen in this island, in the skeleton remains of parties, who had been condemned for piracy at St. Thomas', bleaching in the sun, as a warning to others who might be disposed to adopt similar courses.

On returning from this ride, I had the pleasure of seeing the scenery I have already described—viz. the view from the brow of the hill at the bottom of which the town is built—under a new phase, namely, under the influence of a tropical sunset.

The English mail steam-packet does not call at the other larger and more beautiful, as well as much more productive Danish island of

ST. CROIX, OR SANTA CRUZ,

But there are opportunities of visiting it to be had from St. Thomas' (from which it is distant about forty miles) at least twice a-week, by excellent sailing packets trading regularly for the conveyance of passengers and goods, at a very moderate charge. Sure am I that the stranger who visits St. Thomas', and leaves the Archipelago without also visiting Santa Cruz, will have great reason to regret his doing so. Santa Cruz, or St. Croix, as it is more frequently called, lies

about forty miles to the south-east of St. Thomas', in longitude 65° 28′ west, and latitude 17° 45′ north. The island is about thirty miles long by eight or ten miles broad. It is extremely fertile, and very verdant and beautiful; so that it has been not inaptly termed the "garden of the West Indies." From the salubrity of the island, and its convenience of access from the shores of the great republic of the United States, it is much visited by the Americans as a place of sanitary resort; and, in a very comfortable boarding-house at Frederickstadt, St. Croix, (Mrs. Rodgers') I found several invalids from the United States of America sojourning for the benefit of their health. Nor would it be easy to point out a location better adapted for the restoration of the pulmonary patient. The climate is warm, but by no means enervatingly so; and, save during the middle of the day—when, of course, the visitor for health and pleasure is under no necessity to expose himself or herself to the unmitigated influence of the sun's rays—I did not find the heat at all oppressive or unpleasant; while the verdure of the scenery—which, even at the time of my visit, and although the island was then suffering from a three months' drought, had a much fresher appearance than almost any of the islands I had yet visited—was exceedingly remarkable. The great beauty and excellence of the roads; the superiority and general excellence of the society; and the salubrity of the sea-breeze, which is almost constantly blowing, are additional circumstances of inducement to make Santa Cruz a place of general resort. Indeed the excellence of the roads which coast the island and traverse it in every direction, is perhaps the chief, or at least the most striking of the characteristics of St. Croix. Good roads are not very common in the West Indian Islands. Indeed, as a general rule, the roads are very bad; and it is therefore with the more pleasure and surprise that the unprepared visitor enjoys the luxury of travelling over the smooth avenue-like roads of this verdant island: particularly as, in so doing, he will find himself in many of his drives overshaded and protected, at least in a measure, from the glowing heat of the sun, by the tall branching palms, growing sometimes in single and oft-times in double rows, on either side of the smoothly gravelled way; and which seem, as you look forward to them in a straight, vista-like view, like the pillars supporting the approach to some gigantic cathedral. Such rides, particularly when along the sea-coast, and where the soft, balmy, tropical sea-breeze can be felt blowing, or rather breathing, round the frame, are associated with a feeling of luxurious pleasure which must be seen and felt to be appreciated. And, during my too brief stay in this garden-like island, I enjoyed, through the kindness of my friends, Messrs. L——, K——, N——, &c., many opportunities for such enjoyment.

Although a Danish settlement, and the chief possession of Den-

mark in the West Indies, yet St. Croix has a great number of English, and also some German residents, and a considerable part of the island belongs to natives of my own country—of Scotland—whom the enlightened policy of Denmark has induced to settle here. The island is presided over by a Governor-general, assisted by a Council; and I had the pleasure of an introduction to the present Governor-general, his Excellency General Hansen, and of receiving much kindness and information from him, and other official gentlemen under him in the island. The chief town or capital is Christianstadt. It is so named in honour of Christian IV., King of Denmark, and it is situated on the north coast, about the lower extremity of the island, called Bas-end. It is a substantial, regularly-built town, of about ten thousand inhabitants, containing a large Government house, several excellent churches, and possessing an excellent harbour which is protected by a fortress—the only objection to the harbour being that it is a port of difficult departure, when the wind is in particular directions. Such is Christianstadt, St. Croix *now*. The general statement of the residents in the island was, that it had fallen off in population and importance since the late emancipation by Denmark of the slaves in her colonial possessions.

At the other extremity of the island (named West End) stands the town of Frederickstadt, built more in the style of modern sea-coast towns with us—covering fully more ground, and scarcely, if in any respect, inferior to its companion town of Christianstadt; although the latter enjoys the advantage of being the seat of the colonial government.

In the British islands of Barbadoes, Antigua, St. Christopher's, Montserrat, &c., of late years a blight has attacked the cocoa-nut trees, and has destroyed, or is destroying, nearly the whole of them; to the injury, not only of the trees themselves, but of Mr. H. N. Coleridge's fine poetical description of them, wherein they are represented as—

> "Palms which never die, but stand
> Immortal sea-marks on the strand."

The first part to suffer and decay is the umbrella-like canopy of leaves; and this graceful finish to the tapering stem being away, the stalk is not only deprived of beauty, but becomes an object of deformity. This has been the cause of considerable pecuniary loss to the proprietors in some of these islands; and it has also been productive of considerable loss of beauty to many of the scenes the islands exhibit. For myself, I confess I had but little idea of the

> "Palm tree waving high,"

until I saw it in its native region, and relieved against the deep blue

of the tropic sky.* My impression, when in Antigua, was, that the few trees that had survived the effects of the blight were beginning to recover therefrom, and were, in some cases, putting forth new leaves. But at the same time I could not fail to acquiesce in the opinion expressed by an experienced friend, Mr. Martin of Highpoint, &c., Antigua, that the true course was to supply the deficiencies produced by the blight by planting new trees. It was, however, to be regretted, that no effort to do this was made in any place or plantation that came under my observation in the English islands; and I was therefore the more ready to notice the fact, that not only the taller generation of palm-trees now to be seen in Santa Cruz (the number of which was certainly not short of forty or fifty thousand) were in full health and vigour, but that numerous young trees had been planted to supply the place of the older denizens, when these latter had met the fate which awaits the trunks of trees as well as the trunks of men. How this desirable end—the obtaining a succession of cocoa-nut trees—is attained, I could not authentically ascertain, further than being informed that the Danish Government had made it for a long time imperative, that certain quantities of such trees, for shade and refreshment, should be planted and kept up along all the roads throughout the island.

Although no part of Santa Cruz rises to a great elevation, (Prosperity Hill being the highest land in the island, and that being only about eleven hundred feet above the level of the sea,) yet there are many scenes of exceedingly picturesque beauty to be found in the island, particularly in the northern portions of it, which amply merit a visit, and well repay it. But, at the same time, it is the verdant, fertile character of the island as a whole, and the superiority and comfort of the planters' houses and their concomitants, that form the characteristics of this island. Such or suchlike properties as those called respectively Canevalley, Paradise, Adventure, Fountain, and Castle estates, and many others that might be named, are seldom to be seen in any other of the West Indian Islands, and their condition bespeaks a high degree either of past or present prosperity on the part of the proprietors. That the past prosperity of Santa Cruz has been very great, is well known to all acquainted with this lovely island. Whether such prosperity is to attend the colony for the future, is a question which makes the recent and all-important change in the condition of the negro population—a change from slavery to freedom—one of much interest and importance. Denmark had preceded England in her

* I am not ignorant of the fact, that the cocoa-nut tree (the *cocos* of botany) is supposed to be indigenous to the East Indies, and thence brought to America and the West Indian Islands. But it has now been so long domiciled in the islands of the West Indian Archipelago, that I think it may fairly be considered as entitled to the name and privileges of a native.

abolition of the slave trade; but she allowed the "Island Queen" to take the precedence of her in the abolition of slavery itself within her own territorial dominions—and that by no less than sixteen years. She has, however, now followed the noble example. By the very brief statute, a copy and a translation of which will be found in Appendix A, which is dated 3d July 1848, all the "unfree," or slaves, in the Danish West Indian Islands, were from that date emancipated from their previous state of serfdom. It was the knowledge of this fact that first induced in me the desire to visit the Danish islands of St. Thomas and Santa Cruz, as I was desirous of seeing a population on whom so important a change had so very recently passed, and of judging on the spot for myself of the effects likely to accrue from the transition, and from the manner in which it had been brought about. I say the manner in which it had been accomplished; for while, in the absence of bloodshed attending the insurrection of the slaves which took place in Santa Cruz, in July 1848, there is much to be thankful for, it is certainly to be regretted that the Danish slaves received as the fruits of insurrection, and not as a free and generous boon from the Home Government, the inestimable blessing of freedom. Indeed—and after hearing a detail of the whole attendant circumstances, and witnessing the evidences of the truth which surround one on every side when visiting the island of Santa Cruz—it is impossible to deny that, although the insurrection preceded and accelerated it, the giving of freedom to her slaves was an act of grace, a free gift, previously resolved upon on the part of the Danish government, and of its official representative, his Excellency General Von Sholton, then Governor-general of the Danish West India possessions. There can be no doubt but that the insurrection might have been put down by the strong arm of power, if the Government and Governor had so willed; and I could not refuse my assent to the observation which fell from more than one of the leading men of the island, that it is almost to be regretted that it was not so put down, (the gift of freedom to follow, as a gift, immediately on its suppression,) even although the doing so might have been attended with some bloodshed. It is dangerous, always dangerous, to give a people—particularly an ignorant people—an idea of their power, even though the idea be a false one: and that the negro population of Santa Cruz have such an erroneous idea—that they ignorantly suppose that the Danish Government gave them their freedom simply because they could not keep it from them—is, I fear, the conclusion that must be drawn by every one who hears these poor people talk grandiloquently of "the *war*," and the "scenes of the *war*;" the "war" being the name they themselves give to that short and bloodless *emeute* which, commencing on or about Sa-

turday the 1st of July 1848, by a ringing of bells and blowing of conch shells, (the negroes' favourite horn of warning, and a most effective, far-sounding one,) ended, as has been already stated, on Monday the 3d of July 1848, in the granting of entire emancipation. Even at the outset of the disturbance, and although there were then but few military in the island, there was only one opinion as to the ability of those few, aided by very efficient militia and yeomanry corps, kept up by the European population, to crush the so-called "rebellion," had the Governor chosen to make use of such materials for that purpose. But it is more than suspected, nay, it is openly affirmed and generally believed, that his Excellency favoured the insurrection; and it is by many even supposed that, in so doing, he was acting not only in accordance with his own personal views and feelings on the question of slavery, but in accordance with instructions received from the Government at Copenhagen.

After the insurrection had broken out, and to guard against any extensive course of license and plunder being had recourse to, the Governor of the island applied for, and obtained the aid of several hundreds of Spanish soldiers, from the neighbouring fertile Spanish colony of Porto Rico. But these auxiliaries were not called into action in any way, so far as I could learn; although there is not a doubt but that, so reinforced, the Danish troops and island militia might easily have kept or replaced matters in their old position. Apropos of the Danish troops, I was exceedingly pleased with the clean soldierly appearance of those I saw in this island, and also in the neighbouring island of St. Thomas; and, during my residence in either place, I did not see that which is unfortunately so often to be seen with us—viz. a drunken soldier.

Although the Danish Government have thus liberated the slaves in their colonial possessions, they have not yet, at least had not when I visited the island in April, 1849, given any compensation to the proprietors who held these slaves, and cultivated their estates by means of their labour. The claim for compensation had however been mooted, and confident expectations were held out by well-informed parties, that a claim so just would certainly be attended to. And now when Republican France has set her the example, in allowing compensation to the planters of Martinique and Guadaloupe, and now that she no longer requires to waste her blood and treasure in the Sleswick-Holstein war, it is to be hoped that Denmark will show herself worthy to be placed alongside of England, by doing all she can to compensate her colonists for at all events a part of the loss they must have sustained by the measure in question. It is only to be hoped that the compensation to be given will be something more than nominal; and that, while she follows France in the principle, she will not follow her example

as to the amount to be given. For surely, at this hour of the day, and after the experience afforded by the British West India colonies, it is idle to say that the being deprived of the services of their slaves *as slaves*, and compelled to cultivate their lands with them only *as freemen*, in the face of competition by the Spanish colonies of Port Rico and Cuba, is not a source of loss to the planters. "That free labour is as cheap to the planter as slave labour," was one of the fallacies which prevailed with many at the time the emancipation of the slaves in the British possessions (in itself a measure most desirable, but most unwisely precipitated) was carried by clamour in this country. Even then, there were found many who lifted up a warning voice, and told us to take care lest the effect of too sudden a change upon the condition of a race whom centuries had nearly brutalised, might not eventually prove injurious, and retard the civilisation of the very parties for whose benefit it was designed. Many able practical men said that, with Porto-Rico, Cuba, and Brazil to compete with, the planter who worked his estates by means of free labourers could not successfully carry on his operations, without reducing his workmen's wages to such a minimum as would leave them little for clothes, and nothing for education—unless in some way or other he got a very high price for the article he manufactured. Yet the argument *ad captandum* prevailed; and it formed at least part of the causes which led to the emancipation of the whole of the slaves of England in 1834, that it was believed that slave labour was to the full as expensive as was labour by means of freemen, even in the then state of the West Indian Islands. But this fallacy is, I presume, pretty well exploded—at all events, I have not lately heard it; and stubborn must be the disciple to it whom the effects of the Sugar Duties Bill of 1846 upon the prosperity of the British sugar-growing colonies, has not convinced of his mistake. That emancipation, by any government, of slaves previously held as property by its subjects, in virtue of laws which legalised or recognised the existence of what has been called "man's property in man," must be productive of loss to the holders of such property, is therefore a proposition of easy demonstration here, were it not that its discussion would be foreign to the purposes of the work, or at least to the present portion of it. The subject has naturally presented itself in connexion with the recent slave insurrection in the island of Santa Cruz, and the emancipation by the Danish Government which followed upon it; and these few remarks have been made upon it in passing, because it were undue concealment to hide the fact that, anxious as I was to see the matter in the most favourable light, I found that the greater number of the most intelligent of the planters and proprietors in Santa Cruz—the gentlemen who

had the largest stake in the matter, and who were best acquainted with all the details—entertained the gloomiest apprehensions on the subject, fearing that the emancipation was an end of the island's prosperity, and that it had been gone about too suddenly, and with too little regard to the unprepared state of the society for the reception of the boon, to render it likely that it would be productive of anything save a lessening of their comforts even to the negro population themselves, at least for a long time to come. Such certainly were the views I heard most frequently expressed at the tables of the planters, and even at the table of the Governor-general, during my visit to the island; and it is therefore only just that I should say so. There were, however, others who took a more cheering and encouraging view of the matter, and of the future prospects of this charming island; and most sincerely do I hope that the latter may prove to be sound, and the former false prophets; and that, as regards the opinion of "anticipators of evil," it may be the case in this, as in other instances, that the "fear" and not the wish has been father to the thought.

Nor should I omit here to mention the fact, that both parties, the dismalists as well as the children of hope, unite in giving the present Governor-general (Hansen) credit, not only for the best intentions, but for the adoption of the wisest measures for the general prosperity of the island; and particularly for the measures he adopted to lessen the rudeness of the transition, and any injurious effects likely to result therefrom. In particular, General Hansen, immediately after entering on his duties as Governor-general, passed an act "to regulate the relations between the proprietors of landed estates and the rural population of free labourers," which has been found to work very beneficially. This act is known in Santa Cruz as "The Labour Act;" and, as I have heard it much commended by many planters, even in the British colonies, as containing numerous provisions of great wisdom, which might be advantageously followed by ourselves, I have deemed it advisable to give (for those who may wish to peruse it) a translation of it in the Appendix B.

Leaving Santa Cruz and my kind friends there with very great regret, and attended by my countryman, Mr. Lang, to the boat, I sailed again at six A. M. in the West End packet for St. Thomas; but, after a very rough handling on the part of Neptune, (who had hitherto proved so propitious and quiescent, that I had almost resolved to write a book to vindicate him from the aspersion of faithless, uncertain, and treacherous—

"Varium et mutabile semper"—

with which he is so often assailed by poets and others,) I reached

the Bay of St. Thomas about four o'clock A. M. of next morning; lying in my crib on board the packet till seven A. M. I landed again at St. Thomas, and employed the additional days of my stay in that island to a further exploration of it, and to the daily enjoyment of the superb view from the crest of the hill which overhangs the town, until the arrival of the steamship Tay, in which I was to proceed, and did, after a few days, proceed onward in my journeyings.

CHAPTER VI.

—"Not content
With every food of life to nourish man,
Thou mak'st all nature beauty to his eye
And music to his ear."—MILTON.

"The wild Maroons, impregnable and free,
Among the mountain-holds of liberty,
Sudden as lightning darted on their foe—
Seen like the flash, remembered like the blow."

LEAVING St. Thomas late in the evening, a sail of some twelve hours brought us to the fortified town of Saint Juan's, forming the capital of

PORTO RICO,

One of the Spanish West Indian possessions, situated between latitude 17° 55′ and 18° 30′ north, and longitude 65° 40′ and 67° 20′ west; about one hundred and twenty miles long and sixty broad, and containing a population of three hundred and sixty thousand inhabitants, of whom only about forty-two thousand are slaves, the rest of the population being composed of about one hundred and eighty-nine thousand whites, one hundred thousand mulattoes, and twenty-five thousand free blacks. Indeed, it is this circumstance—the smallness of its slave, and indeed of its negro population, as compared with the number of whites and coloured people—that may be said to form the chief characteristic of the colony of Porto Rico: the circumstance itself being accounted for by the fact that, for centuries, the island formed a penal settlement of the mother country. Not having done more than land at Porto Rico, I cannot add my personal testimony to that of the many travellers who have attested the fact, that Porto Rico, though not so romantic as some of the other larger islands, such as St. Domingo or Jamaica, (being much flatter,) is an island of great, nay, of excessive fertility—diversified with woods, valleys, and plains, watered by numerous rivers and springs, and abund-

antly well stocked with cattle of every kind and description common to these islands. Indeed, the value and extent of her exports in sugar, molasses, coffee, corn, and even rice, as well as the large revenue she yields to Spain, sufficiently prove the extreme fertility of this island; and that the fields of Porto Rico, cultivated as they certainly are chiefly by white men, and under a tropical sun of as overpowering heat as is to be found in any other part of the West Indies—Guiana alone excepted—are as well cultivated as any other of the tropical possessions. The capital, St. Juan de Porto Rico, with its fine bay and extensive fortifications, looks exceedingly well from the sea; but, like most Spanish towns, St. Juan's looks best at a distance. On closer inspection, it wants the element of cleanliness, so valued in an Englishman's estimate of superiority or of comfort.

Leaving St. Juan de Porto Rico after a short stay, and coasting along the shore of the island, the steamer next proceeds by a route of about sixty or seventy miles to the large island of

ST. DOMINGO, HISPANIOLA, OR HAYTI,

By nature the richest, as well as the largest, of all the islands in the West Indian Archipelago. The island of Hayti is four hundred miles in length by about seventy-five miles in breadth. It was first discovered by Columbus in 1492, and then named Hispaniola, under which name it was retained by Spain for one hundred and twenty years; and, during her despotic rule for that period, its population was reduced from nearly a million, to only sixty thousand inhabitants. Thereafter it was jointly occupied by France and Spain till 1795, when the whole of it fell into the hands of the French, who retained it until 1804, when it passed from their hands, and was proclaimed an independent empire under its first emperor, Dessalines, a black chief, who "assumed the imperial purple," under the imposing title of Emperor of Hayti—that being the ancient if not the original name of the island. From 1804 downwards, the history of this unfortunate island has been little or nothing else than the history of rapine—one black rising up to contest the sovereignty with another, and filling the island with scenes of confusion and misery, which go far to prove the theory of those who maintain that the negro race is by natural incapacity unfitted for self-government. Indeed, there is scarcely a page of the history of St. Domingo, from the date of its occupation by Spain (which is now, by a retributive justice, doing in her own person a kind of penance for her gross cruelty to the inhabitants of the West Indian Islands) that can be perused with pleasure by the friend of humanity; unless, perchance, it be that page which tells of the heroic struggles for the liberty of himself

and fellows, on the part of the African slave, and subsequent chief, Toussaint, who displayed a fortitude in adversity and a moderation in prosperity, which would have graced a person of infinitely higher opportunities and attainments; and whose perfidious seizure and destruction, (in the dungeon in which he was confined in France,) by the French, reflects very little credit on *la grande nation.* Lately, in this present year 1849, St. Domingo has been the theatre of a farce which promises to end in a renewal of some of the tragic scenes of which her poor inhabitants have been so often the victims. After having been for some time a republic, under the government of a President, and when it would almost seem as if the tendency of matters in Europe was—right or wrong, fault or no fault—to overturn thrones, empires, kingdoms, and monarchies, and transform them all into "republics,"—as if a change of name was in itself a correction of abuses—the ambition of President Soulouque has induced him to try the adoption of a different course, and by a little manœuvring he has managed to get himself elected to a throne under the title of "Emperor," and by some such imposing name as that of Soulouque Faustin II., Emperor of Hayti. But, of course, the Haytian public have quite a right to please themselves; and the whole matter would only be ridiculous, and as such might have almost escaped notice, were it not for the contrast it bears to the events lately transacted in Europe; or were it not for the fear that M. Soulouque's transposition from president to emperor may just be the forerunner of a renewal of those contests, in this island of independent blacks, of which there has for some years been so much, and so much to deplore. It is certainly to be regretted that an island so fertile, so romantic, and so capable of supporting a large population in comfort and luxury, should be under such governance, and have so many appearances of a retrogade course in civilization. But it is easier to deplore the fact than to point out a remedy; for, of course, (in these times of enlightenment, when it becomes nations to consider the question of *right,* instead of confining themselves exclusively to considering questions of *might,* before engaging in any attempt,) improvement or alteration, to be effected by force of arms, is not to be thought of.

The part of the island of St. Domingo at which, for the present, the English steamer touches, is Jacmel, a somewhat miserable village, lying in a very pretty bay on the south side of the island. Having there exchanged her mails, the steamer proceeds onwards in her course to the north, and next touches at the town of Kingston, in the island of

JAMAICA,

WELL known as the largest of the British islands in the West Indies, situated between 17° and 19° of north latitude, and 76° and 79° of west longitude. Jamaica is about one hundred and seventy miles long by about sixty broad. This noble island was discovered by Columbus, during the course of his second voyage of discovery, on the 3d of May, 1494. He named it Santiago—its present name, Jamaica, being simply a corruption of its previously existing Indian one of Xaymaca, or "the land of springs"—a name which at once points out one of the characteristics of this island, and emphatically illustrates the value the inhabitants of the tropics assign to a plentiful supply of spring-water.

Jamaica has been so long and so well known in this country, and also in America, and it is now, and has for many years been, so often visited, and so frequently described, that it were out of place were I to do more than glance at its history, and describe, in a general way, the scenes I visited when in it, and the impressions and effects the produced upon my mind.

The early history of Santiago or Jamaica, from the date of its discovery by Columbus in 1494, and during its occupation by the Spaniards, until the year 1655, when it was taken possession of by British forces during the Protectorate and iron rule of Oliver Cromwell, that hardest to be understood of all the rulers of England, is well known; and it is as well known that it consists almost entirely of a series of narratives of cruelty and oppression, perpetrated on the persons of the unfortunate aborigines, which cast a deep shade over the memory of the great discoverer of the New World, and make one read, with something like a feeling of satisfaction, the details of civil strife and foreign aggression which have ravaged the fertile fields of Spain in later years, and which seem almost as if they were acts of retributive justice, for the impious deceptions and atrocious cruelties perpetrated by the Spaniards on the gentle aborigines of the island of Jamaica. Seven hundred thousand Indians disappeared from the face of this single island, within the first twelve or thirteen years from the date of its first discovery! Caves are still to be found (or at least found at the time of the publication of Edwards' book) in the mountains, in which the ground is covered over with the bones of the unfortunate Indians, whom the rapacity of the so-called Christians had driven into such retreats, and who preferred the dreadful fate of perishing with hunger, to that of expiring by a lingering death under the heavy servitude and murderous cruelties of the white men. The simple fact that an island,—described by the discoverers them-

selves as being, at the date of discovery, filled to overflowing with a simple inoffensive people, in the possession of all the necessaries of life, and living in so much greater luxury than the natives of some of the other islands, that, when Columbus visited them, his ship was surrounded by "canoes of large size, handsomely painted both at the bow and stern, each of them made from the trunk of a single tree,"*—was, by a few years of Spanish domination, not only enslaved, but almost entirely depopulated, speaks volumes. Facts such as these require no comment: they speak for themselves, and fully prepare the mind for doing more than concurring in the gentle reprobation of the eloquent Irving, when he says, with reference to Columbus having sent some hundreds of the aborigines to Spain, to swell his triumph, and with the suggestion that they might be sold as slaves—"It is painful to find the brilliant renown of Columbus sullied by so foul a stain, and the glory of his enterprise degraded by such flagrant violations of humanity."

I have already said that the latter pages of Spanish history, as regards the transactions on her own soil, reveal something like the actings of a principle of retributive justice. The same observation may be made regarding the evanescent character of her colonial greatness. The discoverer and conqueror of South America, and the possessor of sundry islands to the north, and of nearly all that was valuable in the West Indian Archipelago,—the immense colonial empire of Spain has been gradually diminished into a mere fragment of its former self.

As above stated, Jamaica passed out of the hands of Spain into the hands of Great Britain, during the Protectorate of Cromwell, in 1655, and, with the exception of a few Spanish names, and, in particular, of the euphonious name of the former capital, (now the second town in the island, and still the residence of the British governor,) the town of Saint Iago de la Vega, (Spanish Town,) there is nothing to remind the visitor that the island was ever one of Spain's transatlantic possessions.

The very first sight of Jamaica is beautiful and inspiriting. The luxuriance of the tropical vegetation, combined with the grandeur of the mountain ranges of the Port Royal and Blue Mountains, (which are fully eight thousand feet at their highest elevation,) constitute and create views of rich and rare beauty. The coast is indented with numerous very beautiful, and, I believe, very safe bays; and although the land near the coast is flat and level, it soon begins to rise as you journey inwards, until it ascends to the height of the mountains already referred to, which traverse the island from east to west almost for its entire length. The mountains of Port

* I find it stated, on the authority of Mr. Irving, that one of these canoes, measured by Columbus himself, was of the almost incredible length of ninety-six feet.

Royal and the Blue Mountains, again, are intersected in every direction by deep fissures, glens, and "gullies," formed by the convulsions of nature during some one or other of the many earthquakes from which Jamaica has suffered, or by the washings of the impetuous torrents (which sweep down the mountain sides, carrying everything before them) during the frequent hurricanes by which the island has been devastated. And these glens, fissures, and ravines, again, being clothed to their bottom, and crowned to their crests, by a great variety of tropical trees, many of them of gigantic size, and most of them of exceeding beauty, the result is, that at almost every turn the traveller is delighted with scenes of the rarest formation as well as of the greatest beauty and grandeur. It has been said by some one, that Jamaica, as well as Martinique, has scenes "surpassing fable;" and if by this it is meant that it were difficult, even for the imagination of greatest power, to preconceive the extraordinary fantastic shapes and contortions of mountain and of glen, into which nature occasionally throws herself in this romantic island, nothing can be more just. To me it appeared (and the image, though a plain one, is the only one I can at present remember which gives my ideas with any sort of accuracy) as if the whole island had at one time been in a boiling state, then suddenly cooled down, when at its point of highest ebullition, and after that split in every possible direction, and the fissures, so formed, clothed with noblest flowers and foliage to their highest heights and innermost recesses.

It is among the Port Royal Mountains that the coffee plantations of Jamaica are chiefly to be seen; and it was on a visit to one of these that I first saw the remarkable scenery of which I have attempted the above very general description. An account of the visit will aid in giving the reader a more determinate idea of the scenery in question.

The ascent from Kingston up to a place called the "Botanic Garden," for a distance of nine miles, is by a tolerably good carriage road, and presents no features requiring special mention, although for some time ere you reach Botanic Garden, the scenery assumes a very Alpine character, and the mountains of Port Royal, which occupy the foreground of the picture, are very sublime. From Botanic Garden, to what I may call, in railway phraseology, the "summit level," is by a bridle-path, up a very precipitous winding ascent, inaccessible to carriages, and only to be travelled on horses or mules. From various points of elevation, different superb mountain-views present themselves; and from the mountain-top the scene which opens upon you is certainly one of the most magnificent that can well be conceived. It stretches away in every direction, behind and before, on either side of the Blue

Mountain range, and seaward as far as the eye can reach. Behind is the vale or glen whence you have toiled to an elevation of some four thousand feet, with the town and valley of Kingston beyond it, and the glorious sea stretching away in the far distance, as—

> "Without a mark, without a bound,
> It runneth the earth's wide regions round."

In front of you is a narrow glen, at the bottom of which a stream, called, I believe, the Yallows river, may be traced like a silver thread pursuing its tortuous course through the rock-obstructed, thickly-wooded vale. Beyond this glen, and overlooking it, the eye rests on another ridge of the same range of hills, on which ridge the mansion-house of Pleasant Hill estate stands conspicuous, perched, as it were, in mid air, and seemingly (for from the place the observer is presumed to stand, the road is not visible) only to be reached by the aid of a pair of wings. While still onwards, and beyond all that I have attempted to describe, is seen the gigantic summit of John Crow Hill, towering over everything in that particular direction. Again, when the attention of the observer is turned to either side, he is even still more entranced with the occasional views he will get, at different parts of the road, of the cloud-capped peak of the Blue Mountain range on the one side of him, or of the almost equally magnificent summit called St. Catherine's Peak on the other.

The trees that the European visitor will meet with in such a journey as this, will greatly interest him. In describing a ride in another part of the island, I shall have occasion to notice the extreme size and graceful beauty of the bamboos; but, in the course of my excursions among the mountain scenery of Jamaica, I did not observe any tree that appeared to me more remarkable than the silk cotton-tree, (Bombax,) of which I had already seen some extraordinary specimens in Antigua, and particularly in the ascent to Fig-Tree hill in that island. Many of these trees are of great size, being not less than fifteen feet in diameter; and, as they grow in the most fantastic shapes and directions, without any regard to symmetry or regularity, throwing their larger branches out at right angles with the trunk, and the smaller branches almost at right angles with their larger ones, the whole being nearly bare of leaves and covered over with a parasitic plant, (resembling the pine-apple plant somewhat in shape,) the result is an appearance which entitles it to be considered as a monster amongst forest trees. In its massive sturdy proportions, and naked appearance, the silk cotton-tree called up the poet's description so often applied to the British oak, as it stands, or withstands, the blasts of winter in our northern clime:—

"Pondere fixa suo est, nudosque per aëra ramos
Attolens, trunco non frondibus efficit umbram."

The name of "silk cotton-tree" is derived from its producing a pod filled with a silky white substance, which is of a very short fibre; and of which I could not ascertain that any use was made in any of the islands. Next to this remarkable production of nature, the tamarind-tree, the largest specimens of which, however, are to be found in the valleys, attracted most of my attention. Indeed, the West Indian tamarind-tree appeared to my eye one of the most beautiful trees I had ever seen. It does not grow to a great height, being seldom seen above forty feet high; but it sends off numerous branches from the trunk to a considerable distance, and with great regularity —has a small leaf of a lightish green colour—has a very pretty white or yellowish flower, with red veins, which gradually forms into the pod, (containing the tamarind enveloped in a pulpy matter); and whether in leaf, flower, or fruit, the West Indian tamarind-tree is one of the most graceful trees to be seen in any part of the world. The beautiful cedar-tree, red and white, is also to be seen in great abundance in Jamaica; and in many places in the interior may be likewise found the mahogany, the ebony, the boxwood, the rosewood, and many other trees, valuable on account of their uses or of their timber.

When travelling among the mountains of Jamaica, and particularly when spending the afternoon and evening at the mansion-house attached to a coffee plantation among the Port Royal mountains, (where, seemingly, far away from the heat and bustle of the plains and the busier haunts of man, and perched more than half way up the mountain-side, at an elevation of nearly five thousand feet above the level of the ocean, I enjoyed the unwonted luxury of a fireplace with a fire in it, and the additional luxuries of cold spring water, *un iced,* and a sleep under a blanket) I was surprised to find myself, when walking in the evening, surrounded by a host of fire-flies. I had of course seen these insects in the plains, but I had somewhere read that they were not to be found in the mountain ranges; and I was certainly not prepared to find them more numerous at the elevation described than I had ever before known them. In the language of the poet—

"Every hedge and copse was bright
With the quick fire-fly's playful light;
Like thousands of the sparkling gems
Which blaze in Eastern diadems."

It is said that these insects are occasionally enclosed in glass cases, and used as candles; and although I should think a million of them but a poor substitute for a gas, or even a candle lamp, I do not doubt the assertion. Nor do I doubt the truth of the statement made by

Mr. Turnbull, in his book on the island of Cuba, that "the late eccentric Mr. Joseph of Trinidad, (Cuba,) assured him that he had written *several volumes* by this sort of light." But whatever they may be as aids in literary composition, the fire-fly is a very beautiful object "in the starry light of a summer's night," on the hill-sides of Jamaica, flitting about from flower to flower, and from shrub to shrub, with their lamps burning with a clear pale flame.

It was in this part of the island of Jamaica that I first saw a coffee plantation. Indeed, it was to visit and inspect such plantations that I directed my steps to the Port Royal mountains. It is well known that the coffee plant has, for a long time, been extensively cultivated in this island. Indeed, the whole of the mountainous districts of Jamaica—and this includes a very great extent of land—is admirably adapted for this culture; and, particularly since the declaration of Haytian independence, coffee has been grown in Jamaica to a very large extent. It is, however, too much to be feared, that the days of its profitable culture in Jamaica are, for the present at least, at an end. On all hands was I assured, that nothing could now be made by growing coffee in the Island of Springs; that few or no new plantations had been formed of late years, and that the old ones were gradually going out of cultivation. Were it for nothing else than the beauty of the culture, this is deeply to be regretted. Anything in the way of cultivation more beautiful, or more fragrant, than a coffee plantation, I had not conceived; and oft did I say to myself, that if ever I became, from health or otherwise, a cultivator of the soil within the tropics, I would cultivate the coffee plant, even though I did so irrespective altogether of the profit that might be derived from so doing. Much has been written, and not without justice, of the rich fragrance of an orange grove; and at home we ofttimes hear of the sweet odours of a bean-field. I too have often enjoyed, in the Carse of Stirling and elsewhere in Scotland, the balmy breezes as they swept over the latter, particularly when the sun had burst out, with unusual strength, after a shower of rain. I have likewise, in Martinique, Santa Cruz, Jamaica, and Cuba, inhaled the gales wafted from the orangeries; but not for a moment would I compare either with the exquisite aromatic odours from a coffee plantation in full blow, when the hill-side—quite covered over with the regular rows of the tree-like shrub, with their millions of jessamine-like flowers—showers down upon you, as you ride up between the plants, a perfume of the most delicately delicious description. 'Tis worth going to the West Indies to see the sight and inhale the perfume.

The coffee plant is not a native of the West Indies, and the history of its introduction into these islands is worth recording. The tree or plant was first brought by the Dutch from Mocha into Ba-

tavia, and the bean or fruit was first sold in Europe at the fair of St. Germains in 1672. Thereafter, it was introduced into France by Louis XIV. as an exotic; and this introduction of the tree into Europe led to its being transferred in 1720 into the French island of Martinique. From Martinique the French transplanted some of the shrubs to St. Domingo, and thence the coffee plant spread to Jamaica and the other West Indian Islands. It grows best on the hill-sides, at a considerable elevation; and when grown in the plains (as in Porto Rico, Demerara, &c.,) it requires to have such loftier trees and shrubs as the orange or the plantain, &c., planted between the rows of coffee-trees or bushes, to shelter them from the ardour of the meridian sun. On the mountain-side the coffee plant is longer of coming to maturity, by reason of the greater coolness; and for the same reason it continues to bear fruit for a longer term of years. In the plains it sooner attains maturity, and is sooner exhausted by bearing; and this fact explains and accounts for the contrariety of statements regarding the date at which the coffee plant arrives at maturity, or the length of its fruit-bearing season. Both vary according to the climate in which the plant is grown; or, what is the same thing, according to the elevation at which it is grown. And thus the inquirer may be on one occasion truthfully told that the coffee plant arrives at perfection in four or five years, and ceases to bear at forty or fifty years of age; and on another, with equal truth, that it takes eight or ten years to arrive at maturity, but lasts till seventy or eighty years of age.

In a "caffetal" or coffee plantation, the plants (which are grown from suckers or slips) are planted in regular rows—each plant being allowed a space of from six to ten feet square to develop itself. If left to itself the plant or bush would grow to a height of seven or eight feet, or occasionally higher, but it is kept down by pruning, to about four feet high. The leaves are of the dark-green hue, and also of the form of the leaves of the common laurel, but smaller; and the flowers are white, in every respect like those of the jessamine, save only that those of the coffee plant are somewhat larger. The berries are like small cherries, and, like cherries, they progress in ripeness, from green to black or purple. The berries are also sweet and pulpy, and each of them contains two seeds—which seeds constitute what is with us called coffee beans. The processes of preparing coffee for the market are, pruning, picking, pulping, drying, and separating, which may be very shortly described as follows:—Pruning consists in tending the plants, and seeing that they do not waste their strength in growing wood instead of fruit. Picking is pulling the berries, carefully selecting only those that are ripe, and leaving the immature to be ripened by the sun; and it is in this part of the process that the want of

labourers in some of our British West Indian colonies (or rather the difficulty of getting the labourers to work) is chiefly felt. On the coffee plant the blossom, the unripe, and ripe fruit may occasionally be seen all at once; and hence it is that, in "picking" properly, the plant requires to be visited frequently, for the purpose, in the course of a season. In the Spanish island of Porto Rico, where labour is plentiful, and where there are means of compelling it, this is easily accomplished. The "pickers" visit the plant frequently; and the result is shown in the equal condition of the berries removed on each occasion. But in Jamaica, where labour is scarce, and where there are no means of inducing the labourers to work even at this light species of task, save by the temptation of excessive wages, (and even that does not always succeed,) the proprietor or manager of the caffetal is glad to get his coffee plants picked when and in what manner he can procure labourers to do it. The consequences may be anticipated. Pulping is performed by a "pulping mill," an engine of very ingenious construction, which deprives the seeds of the pulp by which they are surrounded, and also of the outer skin of the berry. The two seeds found in each berry are thus separated, and each of them is then found to be covered with a thin paper-like skin, which is taken off by another mill, adapted for the purpose. To be dried, the seeds are exposed to the sun on a "barbacue" or flat place, on the hill-top or hill-side, made with lime, plaster of Paris, and some other materials, (like a very dry malting floor) where the coffee-seeds are allowed to remain some time, (great care being taken to preserve them from wet) and after this the coffee-beans are removed from the barbecue, and the broken and inferior seeds separated from the rest—which rest are then ready to be put into bags, and conveyed by donkeys, mules, and horses across the mountains of Port Royal to the town of Kingston, for sale or for shipment.

Such is a very general description of coffee-growing, picking, and preparing, as practised in the island of Jamaica. In some plantations the smaller seeds, and also the bruised or broken ones, are separated from the better kind by a mill for the purpose; but more generally this is done by hand—this part of the process, as is also the picking, being conducted by women and children. In some coffee plantations there are more numerous appliances for accomplishing the different processes speedily and effectually than are to be found in others. But, in general, they are all as above described; and, as before stated, it is a very pretty cultivation, and a very cleanly process of preparation. Sorry, therefore, was I to learn on the spot that the competition of slave-grown coffee in the home market of Great Britain was likely to prove so great as

to drive the Jamaica coffee-planters out of the trade. This, however, is but one of the many injurious effects which have arisen from the Ministry of the day having included the West Indian colonies within the application of their category of free trade, (as regards their exports,) unmindful or regardless of the fact that, by previous legislation, the inhabitants of these colonies had been deprived of the power to cultivate their estates by means of slaves—their competitors in the populous and rich colonial possessions of Spain and Portugal having it still in their power so to do; forgetful, in short, of the circumstances which render the case of the British West Indian planter an exceptional one.

Returning to Kingston from a visit to the coffee plantations among the Port Royal mountains, the visitor may vary the scene by taking a somewhat different route than that by which he went. I did so, and returned by a road which led me across the summit at a different point, and by a gorge or cleft, which is so totally unseen until the traveller is just in it, that you are actually rounding the bluff corner or point ere you can persuade yourself that there can be a means of exit in that direction. The road, or bridle-path in question, pursues its way down the mountains, passing the barracks at Newcastle, which lie a little at the right. This garrison at Newcastle stands very beautifully among the mountain scenery, at an elevation, little, if anything, short of three thousand feet.

To describe the scenery of this day's ride, were almost to repeat what has been already written of the ascent. Though different, it was still the same—sufficiently varied to give renewed delight to the wanderer in search of the picturesque or grand, but not sufficiently different to enable one—or at least one not an adept at describing scenery—to record its peculiar characteristics, in such a way as to make the details interesting to the general reader. Indeed, the same remark may be made respecting the whole of the mountain scenery of Jamaica. It is unquestionably very grand—ofttimes surprisingly and sublimely so; and many of its scenes of enchantment are enshrined among my most valued recollections of the kind: but they are so marked by the same general features, that they may be often described in nearly the same general way. At all events, and unless the writer had the descriptive talent of a Scott or of a Dickens, it were not easy to give such variety to the written portraiture as to render it interesting to a reader. Very different, however, is it in the inspection. Then there is the perception of an unceasing variety, which prevents the possibility of a *feeling* of sameness.

Something has already been written of the exceeding beauty, or rather grace, of the bamboo-tree. It was in a visit to a scene in the island of Jamaica, of a different description from the mountain scenes

above delineated, that my attention was most directed to the peculiar elegance of this tree, with

> "Its feathery tufts, like plumage rare;
> Its stem so high, so strange, so fair."

And the view I refer to was one which the traveller in the Island of Springs should on no account leave unvisited. It rejoices in the somewhat strange cognomen of the "Bog Walk," but might much more fittingly be denominated the Mountain Glen or the Dark Valley. I visited it when *en route* to visit one of the most, if not the most, beautiful and fertile sugar-plantations in the island of Jamaica, (in compliance with the invitation of its enthusiastic, enterprising, and talented owner, who had been my fellow-voyager from England to Barbadoes, and who, if ever these lines meet his eye, will, I trust, remember the meeting with the same pleasure that I do;) and an account of the whole ride will, I hope, not prove unacceptable to the reader who is desirous of knowing something of a European's feelings and experiences in the island of Jamaica.

As far as Spanish Town—or (as I would prefer calling it, for the sake of euphony, by its Spanish name) as far as St. Iago de la Vega —the route is by railway, a distance of thirteen miles, performed in about half an hour, travelled by locomotives, passing through a low, flat country, now almost completely grown over with bush, (a species of prickly acacia,) but which, I was assured, was some years ago clear, a large part of it being excellent pasture land.

Spanish Town, though the seat of the government and the capital, does not afford many objects of interest. The Government-house is a spacious building, and the square in which it stands is neat, and neatly planted. In this square there is a marble statue, executed by Bacon, erected to the memory of Lord Rodney, in acknowledgment of the services rendered by him to his country on the occasion of the signal victory obtained by him and Hood in the West Indies, on the 12th April 1782, over the combined fleets of France and Spain, when they threatened an attack upon Jamaica. This victory was obtained at a time when Great Britain was contending with her revolted American colonies—which opportunity had been seized by France, assisted by Spain, for inflicting a blow against her island rival. I confess that, although the efforts of Jonathan to assert and to maintain his independence, and even his success in doing so, never moved my bile—although, indeed, I regard such struggles and such success, in a strife for liberty, as part of the Anglo-Saxon character —as something that Jonathan has inherited from his father, John Bull—I cannot forgive France the part she has so often played in the unnatural wars between Britain and the States. That without the aid of France, America could not have succeeded—at least, could

not have so soon succeeded—in vindicating her independence, will be acknowledged by every candid student of American history, on whichever side of the Atlantic he has been born or "raised." But, however desirable it was, or might be, that America should assert her independence, there was much that was unworthy in the motives which led France to throw her weight into the scale; and I cannot help regarding the growth of democratic and republican principles in France, and the destruction of her monarchy and monarchical institutions, with the uncertain tenure on which all things seem at present held in that country, as a kind of retributive justice towards her and her rulers for their ungenerous conduct towards England on the occasion of the wars with the revolted provinces in North America. Be this, however, as it may, it was when England was so engaged, single-handed, and against many enemies, that the naval might of France and Spain was humbled by the victory of Rodney and Hood, thus commemorated in the little square of the little town which rejoices in the euphonious Spanish name of St. Iago de la Vega.

The road from Spanish Town to the village of Ewarton passes through the scenery I have already referred to as known by the extraordinary cognomen of the "Bog Walk." As far as Ewarton the road is good. A few miles after leaving Spanish Town, you enter upon the glen, and, for a distance of about four or five miles, the eye is delighted by a succession of romantic scenes of singular formation and exceedingly picturesque beauty. The translucent stream, alongside of which the road winds, has forced for itself a passage through the opposing barrier of rock, which is occasionally fully four hundred feet high, as it rises overhead on either side. The luxuriant vegetation of the tropics has clothed the sides of this ravine closely, and to the very summits, with a host of flowering shrubs, and even with gigantic forest-trees, which throw their dark shadows down upon the pathway; while, overhead, are seen glimpses of the deep blue of the tropic sky—of a dark blue, and of a liquid clearness altogether unknown and undreamt of in our less genial but more bracing climate of the north. The whole forms one of the most pleasing scenes it has ever been my good fortune to witness. Further on, in the same ride, are to be seen the gigantic clusters of the bamboo, already mentioned, whose feathery foliage, when gently stirred by the breeze, moves and bends with all the grace of the plumes of the ostrich, and is indeed "beautiful exceedingly." These bamboo trees, as they may with propriety be called, are ofttimes seen of fully one hundred feet high, each stem being of six or eight, or even ten inches in diameter, and growing in tufts or clusters of fifty or sixty together, their nodding plumes hanging over your head and waving in the wind, as the traveller passes on under their grateful shade.

Beyond that part of the journey entitled the Bog Walk, the scenery of the ride from St. Iago de la Vega to the village of Ewarton is pleasing and often fine; and after leaving Ewarton the scenery-lover progresses into a mountainous district of much grandeur, revealing at almost every turn mountain glades where sunshine and shade repose almost side by side—forming precipices and abysses whose depth the eye is prevented from penetrating, by the deep, close fringe of foliage that covers their sides, and gigantic mountain-peaks rearing their magnificent, cloud-wreathed heads at almost every opening in the forest.

I have, since my return from the voyage of which these volumes contain a brief record, observed a growing tendency in the public mind in this country to regard Jamaica as a place of sanitary resort, and as likely, if not to supersede, at least greatly to interfere with the island of Madeira in that respect: and certainly truth compels me to admit that there are few places to which an invalid from Europe could go with better hope of benefit, than to the salubrious island of Jamaica. The voyage which—particularly when adventured on at the proper season of the year—is ofttimes the most beneficial part of the change, is no longer than that to the more frequented island of wine-growing celebrity; and Jamaica being much larger than Madeira, there is greater variety to occupy the attention of the invalid, and to prevent the approach of that ennui which is apt to steal over the exhausted frame. In the plains and in the towns of the Island of Springs, particularly in Kingston, it is warm, no doubt—hot, and perhaps to most persons very unpleasantly so, being but seldom under 100° of Fahrenheit in the shade. But by going a little way into the country, and up into the mountains, the visitor may literally secure for himself or herself a climate almost of any temperature, from the merely temperate heat of a spring or a summer's morning, to the noonday heat already mentioned. Add to this that the change of scene (which is always, I should think, of much importance, when the object is to draw off the invalid's attention from himself and his own feelings,) in going direct from Europe to Jamaica, is very great, much greater than it can be by limiting the voyage to the temperate zone. The skies, grains, shrubs, flowers, birds, fish, and above all the trees, are nearly all different and in different forms and combinations. So that the first novel, and no doubt often painful, impressions worn off, there is abundance to attract and occupy the attention, to the exclusion of depressing or other thoughts of self, even during a very extended stay. For the British visitor Jamaica has this further advantage, that the language, the forms and the arrangements of domestic life, and the public ordinances of religious worship, are all nearly the same as those of the mother country. I can, therefore, with great truth and satisfaction,

add my humble testimony to that of others who have preceded me, as to the salubrity of Jamaica, and the inducements it holds out as a place of sanitary resort for the invalid—particularly of the invalid whose lungs are affected, or suspected of being so. But, at the same time, similar remarks may be made of some others of the British West India possessions. So far as my own personal feelings are concerned, I should prefer a temporary location in the smaller island of St. Kitt's, with the advantage such residence affords of an occasional two hours' sail to the romantic isle of Nevis. No doubt the island of St. Christopher's is not so large as is Jamaica; nor are the mountains of the former so lofty as those of the latter. But, if these circumstances prevent the *variety* of climate, they render it more *equal;* and I have often heard residents in the West Indies complain of injurious effects resulting from a sudden transition from the temperate region of the hill-top, or of the hill-side, to the torrid zone of the plain below. Again, the visitor will not find, in the island of saintly name, so great variety either of society or of scenery as in its larger sister island of spring celebrity. But St. Christopher's is surrounded by a number of islands, particularly by those of the British Leeward group, to most of which there is easy and frequent access; and, by a two hours' sail to Nevis, or by a sail of a few hours longer to Montserrat or Antigua, or a day's sail in the steamer to St. Thomas, the visitor who makes St. Kitt's his headquarters may easily vary the scene almost *ad infinitum.* This, however, is a mere comparison of physical advantages. If the invalid has friends and relations in either place, he or she will of course be influenced by that consideration; and I would be very far from making an attempt to dissuade from such a course, although it would be displaying base ingratitude, and doing gross injustice to West Indian hospitality, were I not here to add, that there is no part of the world where the person *entirely* a stranger can go, with more certainty of receiving kindness and considerate attention, than to the British colonial possessions in the West Indies. To the native-born subjects of Great Britain this tribute is due. But they will, I trust, forgive me when I add, that I feel almost as if it were doubly due to the colonial-born subjects of our noble country. There seemed to me to be something in the Creole blood that engendered a graceful courtesy and disinterestedness of conduct—some generous peculiarity of mind, derived from the fact that a tropical birthplace had dissolved something of the natural caution of the northern race to which they belonged, and warmed them into a more generous sympathy. The observation applies to my Creole friends of both sexes. As regards the ladies, I may be permitted to add—and I make the addition with heartfelt sincerity—that to a natural kindness (if I may so speak) of manner, there is added an ease, a

grace, and a beauty, which at least proves that they have lost none of the charms of the race from which they have sprung, by their parents being transplanted into a warmer clime. I had heard something of the beauty of the Creole ladies ere I visited the West Indies. But I was not a week there ere I felt surprise that I had not heard much more. And, did not my feeling of what is due to propriety and the duties of private life prevent me from even partially lifting the veil which ought to preserve from publicity whatever the traveller may have seen, through his having been admitted into the circles of domestic life, I could name ladies, married as well as single, in Barbadoes, Antigua, St. Kitt's, Santa Cruz, and Jamaica, (particularly I confess in Antigua,) who, in personal charms, as well as accomplishments, would advantageously compare or contrast with any of the fairer part of creation it had ever been my own good fortune to meet. To the fullness and dignity derived from their Norman blood or Anglo-Saxon origin, they add an easy grace and elegance of motion, probably derived in some way from the circumstance of their birthplace being within the tropics. And, albeit their complexion is generally pale, this very circumstance supplies an additional interest; while the soft languor of their dark eyes, with their long eye-lashes, give many of these Creole ladies a very peculiar charm. Add to this, that it were difficult to find, in any part of the world, north or south, east or west, any ladies who better discharge their relative duties as daughters, wives, and mothers, than do our fellow-countrywomen in the British islands in the West Indian Archipelago.

From Kingston the traveller may, if he pleases, have an opportunity of visiting Port Royal, where the chief of the Government works are situated. The sail is by excellent wherries, which perform the voyage with great regularity; and the fare, (up or down,) which is fixed and determined by the Kingston authorities, is one shilling, which, for a distance of six or seven miles, is certainly moderate. This voyage is generally taken by the visitor to Kingston; but it is not one I would advise the invalid to adventure on. In addition to the desire to see the Government works at Port Royal, I had this other inducement, that I anxiously wished to visit the spot where lie the remains of one of the best and earliest friends of my youth—the remains of the excellent and able Dr. Archibald Lang, M. D., for several years surgeon of the naval hospital at Port Royal; of whom it is truly said on the beautiful tablet erected to his memory by the naval and military officers then on the West Indian station, in Port Royal church, that—

> "He was the good Samaritan, the sick man's
> Comforter, and the poor man's friend."

By one of those contingencies which strike the mind from their

infrequency, I had, without any pre-arrangement, visited Lang's grave on the anniversary of his death. That day twenty years he had been called by his Maker to give an account of his stewardship, having died in consequence of a wound received in the discharge of his duty as hospital surgeon; and now, twenty years afterwards, I, who had in early life enjoyed much of his favour and well-remembered kindness, stood by his gravestone for the first time. Good, worthy, excellent Dr. Lang! it required not the anecdotes still told in this far-off place of your labours and repose; nor the flattering tribute to your worth and memory in the *Naval Reminiscences* of Captain Scott; nor even the handsome testimonial which your brother officers, of both services, have inscribed on your tombstone within the hospital gates, and again on the marble tablet on the walls of the church; to inform me of the fact that you were indeed one of the Pilgrims of Mercy, or that—

> "Of first-rate talent in the healing art,
> Unwearied zeal, benevolence of heart;
> For rich, for poor, alike for high and low,
> Your philanthropic heart felt pity's glow.

But it was delightful to know that your character was so justly estimated by those who had the means of knowing, and the capacity for appreciating, your many and varied excellences of head and heart.

The church at Port Royal, in which is placed the beautiful tablet to the memory of my friend and relative, which I have above referred to, is worthy of a visit, were it only to observe the many tablets on its walls, inscribed with evidences of the destructiveness of yellow fever, which so often visits this part of the island. Port Royal, as some of my readers may be aware, stands on the extremity of a long, low, projecting, sandy point of land, which runs out from the side of the bay opposite Kingston, and which, by running across, (so as only to leave a neck as an entrance,) forms the bay or harbour of Kingston. Outside, the entrance to the harbour is obstructed, and in part protected, by a number of low sandy islets, which make the navigation somewhat difficult for sailing vessels, or during the darkness of night. And it is to this part of the island—Port Royal and its neighbourhood—that the reader may safely ascribe all that he may have read or heard of the unhealthiness of the climate of Jamaica. To talk of the island generally as unhealthy, is nothing short of a villainous scandal. *It is quite the reverse.* And I question if there are, in the whole limits of this fair world, more healthy locations than are to be found among the lovely velvety vales, or amidst the mountain ranges and rugged crags of Jamaica's fair isle. And were there only this one island in the whole surrounding sea, the

poet would have been only just when he described the West Indies as being a place where

> "The breath of ocean wanders through their vales,
> In morning breezes and in evening gales.
> Earth from her lap perennial verdure pours,
> Ambrosial fruits and amaranthine flowers.
> Over wild mountains and luxuriant plains,
> Nature in all the pomp of beauty reigns."

But the island is not all equally healthy; and that Port Royal must be understood as excepted from the general character of salubrity which the island deserves, most persons will be satisfied, in visiting the interior of the parish church in that place, and having his attention directed to the many tablets on its walls, commemorative of the ravages of yellow fever, and remembering it is the few who are thus chronicled, while the many lie in unmarked and unremembered graves. I was particularly struck by one neat simple tablet, erected (as it bears) "by their sorrowing commander," to the memory of three youths, of the respective ages of thirteen, fifteen, and sixteen years—all of them midshipmen belonging to the same ship, and all of whom had fallen victims to yellow fever at Port Royal at about the same time. Poor boys! they had chosen a gallant but a dangerous profession; and had they fallen in the strife of contending ships, or midst the storms of elemental war, there would have been something so natural in their mode of exit from the scene, that the mind might not have been so impressed with the hearing of it. But

> "They fell not in the battle's tug, or while their hopes were high;
> They sunk beneath the withering power of a scorching tropic sky."

CHAPTER VII.

> "The Negro, spoiled of all that nature gave
> To free-born man, thus sunk into a slave;
> His passive limbs, to measured tasks confined,
> Obey the impulse of another mind—
> A silent, secret, terrible control,
> That rules his sinews and restrains his soul.
> Where'er their grasping arms the spoilers spread,
> The Negro's joys, the Negro's virtues fled."
>
> "Still, slavery! thou art a bitter draught,
> Though thousands have been made to drink of thee."
>
> STERNE.

A SAIL in the steamer, of somewhat less than four days, takes the traveller from Jamaica to the town of Havanna, in the island of Cuba, situated between north latitude 19° and 23°, and west longitude 74° and 85°. Cuba is the largest of the West Indian Islands,

being not less than seven hundred miles in length, by about eighty miles of average breadth, covering an area of about thirty-six thousand square miles, and at present containing a population of nearly a million and a half. It was discovered by Columbus on 28th October 1492, and enjoys the unfortunate distinction of having been the scene of the greatest of the cruelties perpetrated by his followers on the unresisting natives. Columbus named it Ferdinando, or, as some say, "Juana," but it speedily regained its ancient Indian name of "Cuba." It is now, and has all along (with the exception of the occupation of it by Great Britain for about a year) been in the possession of Spain, and it is now the chief of her slave colonies. For this, and for other substantial reasons, to be immediately noticed, Cuba is at present a place to which much interest attaches, and towards which a good deal of public attention is drawn.

The sail from Kingston, Jamaica, to the town of Havanna, in the island of Cuba, is along the south side of the first-named island—thence by the Grand Cayman, (a low sandy islet of considerable extent, famous for the turtle that frequent it, and dangerous to mariners,) on the east end of which we could see a vessel stranded, and on her beam ends, the sea breaking over her at every return of the waves.

On passing the Cayman, the sail lay along the coast of Cuba, round Point Antonio, and past the ledge of rocks called the Colloradoes, on which the very steamship in which I sailed—the Tay—had gone ashore and been very nearly lost only a very few years before. Enlivened as the scene on board the steamer was by a very varied and miscellaneous freight of passengers, many of them destined for California, and with so many objects in sight, from time to time, to interest and amuse and call telescopes into requisition, the progress of time was scarcely remarked; and it was with agreeable surprise that, about six o'clock of a very fine morning, on reaching the deck of the steamship, I found her entering the noble harbour of Havanna. Never will I forget the inspiriting nature of the beautiful scene. In point of formation, the harbour of Havanna has been justly described as being in shape like a trefoil, or shamrock—of which the entrance represents the stalk. This entrance is guarded by two seemingly very strong forts, named respectively the Punta and the Moro, standing on the right and left. Besides these two fortresses for protection, the harbour of Havanna is guarded by three other protective citadels, named respectively Cabanas, Principe, and Atares. At the time of my visit the harbour was crowded with shipping; and so numerous and so various were the flags that were flying, that one might have supposed there were here marine representatives from all the nations of the world. I believe a similar scene presents itself here nearly at all times; and some idea of the num-

ber of ships frequenting the port of Havanna, (which is of course by far the largest sea-port in Cuba) may be gathered from the fact that the American tonnage alone, now employed in the trade with Cuba, is 476,773 tons. This is exclusive of the very large amount of British tonnage similarly engaged, and exclusive also of the tonnage of all the vessels from every other part of the globe. Indeed the study of the flags from the deck of the steamer was often a very amusing one. The British ensign, and the star and stripes of the United States of America, floated conspicuous and from many a mast-head. There were also many other well-known insignia of the "battle and the breeze;" but there were also many which it passed my naval reminiscences to discover the country of, without inquiry or assistance—and sometimes despite of both.

Landing at Havanna—or to give it the more sonorous name with which Spain has dignified it—landing on the quay of "La Siempre Fidelissima Ciudad de San Cristobal de la Habanna"—the first things to strike the stranger—at least if his landing be in the morning, previous to ten o'clock—will be the extreme noise, bustle, and activity of the scene into which he is suddenly plunged. Noises of every description assail his ears, sights of various kinds accost his eyes, and (last not least) odours of multifarious characters salute his olfactories; and for these it is best he should be prepared. Thereafter, and after having called on such officials or other residents as he may have letters to, or has resolved to pay his respects to, (among the latter of whom will generally be the gentleman who now holds, so honourably and so usefully, the important office of Consul-general for Great Britain in the island of Cuba, and to whose personal kindness I rejoice to have this opportunity of paying a passing tribute;) the first act of the stranger should be to hire a volante or quitrin, and take a drive in and about the town of Havanna, getting, if possible, a friend acquainted with the locality to accompany him in his ride. These vehicles are numerous, and are to be obtained at and after the rate of something less than a dollar (from three to four "pesétas") an hour. The distinction between the volante and the quitrin consists simply in this, that while the hood of the former is immovable, the hood of the latter shifts up and down, so that it can be thrown back when the heat of the sun is not too intense. They constitute almost the only kind of carriage used in Cuba, and their use is nearly universal. So universal, that I question whether there is any one article a young Spaniard or Creole of Cuba would sooner name as one of the indispensables of gay life in Havanna. It is not easy to give in writing a description of this unique but singularly graceful and picturesque vehicle, which will convey a graphic idea of its appearance to a reader; and the aid of a draughtsman has accordingly been called in to assist the following attempt. It is hoped that the two

combined will give the reader a graphic idea of the most appropriate and useful national vehicles to be found in any country in the world.

The volante or quitrin of Havanna has the head of a phaeton, and is placed upon two wheels of at least six feet in diameter. These wheels again are situated far back, at the very extremity of the shafts, the body of the carriage being suspended by leathern straps or springs, and placed so low, that the head of the traveller is never above, and is generally below, the level of the upper section of the wheels. The shafts of the volante are very long, and the horse or mule (the latter species of animal being in most general use) is attached to the vehicle by traces; the back band being fixed to rings placed at the outer extremity of the shaft; so that there is no portion of the shaft before the horse's shoulder—or, indeed, nearer thereto than the back part of the saddle, on which the driver rides *en postillion*. The shafts being very long, there is thus necessarily a long space between the croupe of the horse and the splash-board of the carriage. The object gained by this, as well as that secured by the universal practice of plaiting and tying up the tail of the horse or mule, is protection from mud in event of the roads being dirty.

The volante, or quitrin, is generally drawn by one horse or mule; and, from the narrowness of the streets *intra muros*, it would be inconvenient to have more than one in very general use. This fact has given rise to the statement that, by police regulation, it is prohibited to drive more than one horse abreast in a volante within the walls of Havanna—a statement, however, for which there is no other foundation. Without the walls, and in the interior of the island, volantes are frequently seen with two and even three horses or mules abreast; the second and third, if there be so many, being harnessed and attached to the carriage, outside the shafts, and much after the fashion known in Scotland under the term "outrigger." The conductor, called *il calesero*, is generally, if not always, a negro slave, and he rides on the horse or mule; and, where more than one is used, the outrigger, or one of the outriggers, is the one selected for that purpose. At first sight, and looking to the size and position of the wheels, the extreme length of the carriage, the distance of the horse from his draught, and the top-weight of heavy silver-mounted harness, and of the rider, which the animal carries, the impression is that the volante, or quitrin, is a carriage which must be very heavy to draw. But the smallness of the mules and horses in general use, the distances travelled, and the speed at which they move, lead to the conclusion that this is a mistake. At all events, this carriage is certainly a kind of conveyance remarkably well suited to a country like Cuba, where the streets of the towns are ill-paved, ill-kept, and uneven, and the country roads in general miserably bad. The wheels being very wide apart, it is next to impossible to over-

turn a volante; and, being very high, the ruts and stones upon the roads do not much incommode the traveller.

The private quitrin is usually a very handsome affair—glittering in silver ornaments, as does also the harness and other accoutrements of the horse and rider. My London friend and fellow-traveller, Mr. D——, formed a desire to transport one of them from the Paseo Isabel in Cuba, to Hyde Park, London; and, partly from curiosity, and partly to know what the experiment might cost, I inquired at various parties the price of such a vehicle, and found it to be somewhere between £90 and £120, according to the amount of ornament. But, without the black *calesero*, and his rich but *outré* dress, the volante would lose half of its attractions. He seems as if he were "to the manner born;" and the inability of transporting him with the carriage,

"As slaves cannot breathe in England,"

was in itself a preventive to my enthusiastic friend carrying his intention into effect. Indeed, the private *calesero* is a very unique object. In dress a cross between an officer of the Haytian army and a French postilion, he is usually garbed in a very handsome livery, richly embroidered with gold or silver lace, and a black hat with gold or silver band. The dress consisting of a jacket made of scarlet, green, or purple cloth or velvet, with white knee-breeches, and black leather greaves, boots or gaiters, highly polished, ornamented with silver, and coming nearly to a union with the shoe, but leaving at the front part of the foot a bare space, through which the black skin of the *calesero* displays itself. I did not observe a single instance in which the driver had stockings, but the black skin of the African had much the appearance of black silk ones.

Such is the private quitrin or volante; and it being considered a mark of wealth to change the vehicle and livery almost every year, while the old ones are sold for public conveyances, the volantes to be had on hire are just the tarnished dittos of those above described. For short distances the rate of hire is from three pesétas (sixty cents) to a dollar per hour. For longer distances, or where the vehicle is to be kept for several hours, a bargain should be made.

I could not ascertain that there were any means of finding out the exact number of such carriages at present in Havanna. They must, however, be very numerous. Almost every family of any note or means has its indispensable volante standing in the arched gateway, which thus forms at once the coach-house and the entrance to the dwellings, and ofttimes also the servants' hall; and I find it stated in public returns that, at the census in 1827, the carriages, private as well as public, amounted to 2651. In that year, the number of houses, taking those without as well as those within the

walls, was 11,639, (of which no less than 7968 were extra-mural.) Since that time the number of houses has increased very greatly, and (*particularly since the passing of the English Sugar Duties Bill in* 1846) that of carriages has increased in a still greater ratio; so that, at present, it would be quite safe to estimate their number at considerably above three thousand. Nor will the estimate appear extravagant to any one who has seen the display of vehicles on the Paseo Isabel or Paseo Tacon, on a festive occasion.

Besides the forts or citadels, to which reference has already been made, and into which it is very difficult for a stranger to obtain access—so jealous is Spain in all things relating to her power—there are many objects of interest in the town of Havanna. But the first thing the visitor ought to do, should be to obtain one or two of the best general views to be had of the very unique but villainously odoriferous city in which he finds himself for the first time. In the approach by sea, he has already had one of the finest views of it. There is another very favourite view to be had from a hill, named to me "Indio," which stands on the road between Regla and Guanabuço, on the side of the harbour opposite the town; and another looking back on the town from the road to Cerro, which is about three miles from Havanna. These views are all very fine, but they are all too distant for giving the visitor, on his immediate arrival, a bird's-eye view of the place. For this latter purpose, I advise a visit to the top of the hill on which stands the Cabañas fortress, which overlooks the town and harbour, and from which a very beautiful and very accessible general view of Havanna is to be had. To one who has never visited the tropics, it is difficult to give a clear enough idea of the bright vividness with which each distinctive building and characteristic of a tropical town stands out in the clear liquid light, without any haze or smoke to interrupt the view. After obtaining a general view of the whole, the next thing should be to visit, in detail, the various objects of interest which the town contains: such as—the church in which mass was first performed in the island by Columbus and his followers in 1492; the cathedral, and the tomb therein where repose the ashes of the great Colon; the Dominican church; the Plaza de Armas, in which is the residence of the Captain-general, as the governor of the island is called; the Tacon theatre and the Paseo Tacon; the Tacon prison; the Campo Santo, or public cemetery of Havanna; the Caza Beneficencia; the Valla de Gallos or cock-pits, &c.,—devoting to each of them such a measure of time and attention as the tastes, professions and habits of the visitor may dispose him to bestow.

In the cathedral mass is performed every morning about seven or eight o'clock, and this is, therefore a favourable, as well as a favourite hour of the day for visiting it. It is an ancient building, with

nothing very striking or remarkable either in its style or construction; but it is at the same time a handsome and elegantly finished edifice. There are some pictures of merit on its walls; in particular, one small picture near the principal altar, and which has below it an inscription on a brass plate, descriptive of its claims on acount of its great antiquity, as well as of its excellence. On the right of the principal altar there is the marble tablet on the wall above the spot where lies what was mortal of him

"Who scann'd Columbia through the wave,"

This tablet is about six or eight feet square, and contains a highly relieved bust of the great Colon, bearing the image usually given as his likeness. Beneath the image is an inscription, which, of course, says nothing of the chains and imprisonments with which the gratitude of Spain rewarded this man—the greatest of her benefactors, and the discoverer of a new world. The inscription is in these words—

"O restos e imagen del grande Colon!
Mi siglos durad guardados en la urna
Y en remembranza de nuestra nacion."

Translation.

"O remains an image of the great Columbus!
For a thousand ages continue preserved in this urn
And in the remembrance of our nation."

Columbus died in Spain, and his body rested for some time there; first in a convent at Valladolid, and afterwards in a magnificent monument in the Carthusian monastery at Seville, erected to the memory of Columbus by King Ferdinand, and on which is recorded the fact that—

"To Castille and to Leon
A new world Columbus gave."

In the year 1636 the justly venerated remains were, with great pomp and circumstance, removed from Seville, and transported to Hispaniola or St. Domingo, then the chief possession of Spain in the West Indian Archipelago; but on the island of St. Domingo, or Hispaniola, being ceded to the French, the honoured remains were again, with pomp and array greater even than before, removed to the place where they now lie, in the cathedral of the city of Havanna. This last transition was completed on the 15th of January, 1796; and since then, the bones of the greatest of discoverers have remained undisturbed. Whether the last is to be their final migration, remains yet to be seen. Whether Spain is to retain Cuba, and whether, in the event of her being induced or compelled to cede her possession of the island, these venerated relics of the discoverer of the New World will be allowed to rest in the cathedral of Havanna, are

questions which remain yet to be determined, but which will, in all probability, not remain much longer unresolved. I shall not here attempt to discuss the question of whether any justifiable effort could be made by the United States of America to possess herself of Cuba, by purchase or otherwise; or whether the American government would be acting wisely were it to make such an attempt; or whether the debt, owing by Spain to Great Britain, would entitle the latter to forbid and prevent any such contract: but I am inclined to believe, that Cuba would be a much better customer of England in the hands of our enterprising brethren of the New World, than she is at present in the hands of Spain; and I will without hesitation affirm, that the loss of Cuba would only be a just retribution—an act of retributive justice—suffered by Spain, not only for her cruelties to the aborigines, but also for the dishonourable manner in which she has made use of her possession of this island to evade the performance of her obligations contracted to and with England in the matter of the slave-trade. There can be no doubt of the fact, that during the last year the importation of slaves into the island of Cuba has been carried on in full vigour—so vigorously and extensively, that the price of slaves had fallen, in consequence of the plentiful supply, from four hundred and fifty or five hundred, to from two hundred and fifty to three hundred dollars. This fact is notorious, and I heard it authenticated by official authority. It is equally notorious in the island itself, that the agent of the Queen Mother of Spain was and is extensively engaged in the infamous traffic; and it is more than suspected that, directly or indirectly, his royal mistress is a large participator in the heavy gains her agent realizes from this trade in human flesh. Indeed, the traffic is little short of being a legalized one: the amount of dollars payable to the governor or to the Government (for there is much difference between these two) being, if not fixed by law or order, at least as well understood as if it were so. All this is, of course, in direct and manifest violation of the engagements and treaties made by Spain with England; and it is an ascertained fact that fully one-half of the slaves in Cuba are there held in abject bondage in violation of these solemn treaties and engagements. Indeed, were it otherwise, it were nearly impossible that the Spanish colonists of Cuba could find slaves to cultivate their fields. Every one who knows Cuba, and the brutal manner in which the great mass of the *agricultural* slaves are treated there, will laugh at the idea of the slave population of Cuba being self-supporting. Thanks to the lesson our Sugar Duties Bill of 1846 has taught them, the Cubans know well not only that slave labour is cheaper than free labour—so much cheaper that they can actually make, for seven or eight shillings per hundredweight, the sugar that costs the British, Danish, or French colonists, at the very least, ten

to twelve or fourteen shillings per hundredweight. But their knowledge of the statistics of the trade does not stop here; they also know that it is much cheaper to import slaves than to breed them. The planter in Cuba found this to be the case, even when the vigilance of the British and French cruisers had made slaves so scarce in Cuba, that the price of an able-bodied one was fully five hundred dollars. Of course, now that such vigilance has been, for a time, at least, relaxed, and the price of slaves has fallen to from two hundred and fifty to three hundred dollars, the greater economy of keeping up the breed by importation is too plain to be overlooked. Hence it is that the idea of a self-supporting system saems to be quite out of the Cuban's calculations, and that in the barracoons on his estates there are often to be found numerous bands of males and but a very few females, or oftimes none at all. It has been said, and it is generally credited by intelligent parties resident in Cuba, that the average duration of the life of a Cuban slave, after his arrival in the island, does not exceed seven or eight years. In short, that he is worked out in that time. His bodily frame cannot stand the excessive toil for a longer period; and, after that average period, his immortal spirit escapes from the tortured tenement of clay. Ye extenuators of slavery and of the slave trade, ponder this ascertained fact. Is it not enough to make the flesh creep, and to unite all civilized mankind to put an end at least to the traffic in slaves? Civilized men may reasonably differ in opinion as to how this is best to be accomplished—whether by treaties, commissions and blockading squadrons, or by legislative measures having for their object the diminishing the heavy seductive profits now realizing from the produce of slave cultivation and manufacture, or by a wise union of both. But surely one and all must agree in the position, that a nobler work never was adventured on by any nation than the destruction of the slave trade. For the present, England and France have the honour of standing almost alone in the furtherance of this great cause. It is to be hoped that neither of them will abandon their philanthropic labours, even although they may find it expedient to change the direction of them—to alter the *modus operandi.* It is the rather to be hoped that their example will dispose the other great powers, who have themselves already wiped off the stain of a participation in the slave trade from their national escutcheons, to follow the example, and join in the crusade.

The United States of America, though they have not yet put an end to slavery on their own soil, have, at all events, prohibited the importation of slaves into their Union, and have, therefore, every interest to move them to aid in compelling Spain and Brazil to the adoption of the same course. Denmark not only preceded other countries in declaring the slave trade to be piracy, but she has

lately manumitted the slaves in her own colonies. And when, if ever, the standards of England and of France, the "stars and stripes" of the United States of America (do not "the stripes" sound ominously?) and the national ensigns of Denmark and of Holland, are found zealously co-operating in this sacred cause of humanity, who can doubt but that this trade in human flesh, this gross violation of all natural right and law, would speedily be suppressed? But even should England and France stand alone, it is to be hoped that they will not desert the cause. The absence of co-operation may render expedient a change in the mode of carrying on the operations; but there can be no cause either for desertion or for despair. Nature, and the God of Nature, are manifestly fighting on the same side; and no one who has read the signs of human progress for the last century, but must see that slavery and the slave trade are among the things that are doomed to give way before the advancing light of the sun of civilization. As to the mode and time for putting an end to slavery, where it is interwoven with the institutions of the country, as is the case in the southern states of America, there may be some, there is much, difficulty; and I confess I am of those who think that some of the emancipationists of the United States, and of their brethren in England, have acted and are acting injudiciously, in the conduct by which they have attempted and are attempting to precipitate events in that country. But slavery in those countries into which the importation of slaves is not permitted, or secretly connived at, is but a modified slavery, compared with that which exists in countries into which there is such importation. Assuredly, then, the first step is to put an end to the traffic—to dry up the source of the supplies from without—ere we can expect either much to ameliorate the condition of, or to strike the shackles from those who are within. Nor is it only by treaties that Spain and Brazil are bound to cease their illegal traffic in human flesh. England has paid them large sums of money as the condition of their doing so; and these sums they have received and accepted, under the annexed and expressed condition. It has been unjustly said by some writers on the other side of the Atlantic—writers evidently in the pay of those who think it for their interest to prevent their country from sharing in the glory Great Britain has acquired and will acquire, by her efforts for suppressing and putting an end to the horrors of the slave trade—that Great Britain has no right to interfere with Spain and Brazil, as regards this trade in their own colonies; that slavery is a domestic institution, with which foreign nations have nothing whatever to do; and that, in debarring Spain and Brazil from the conduct of this traffic, the British lion is doing little more than acting the bully. Such writers forget the contract part of the

matter. Were England seeking, by threat or force of arms, to promote the emancipation of slaves within any country or any colony, large or small, there might be some foundation for the argument. As it is, there is none. She is only demanding and requiring that Spain and Brazil should do what they have promised and engaged to do, what they have been paid for doing, but what they have hitherto failed to perform. Happy is it for England that, in enforcing these claims, she is fighting in the sacred cause of humanity; and happy will it be for the other powerful nations already referred to, if their rulers see it their duty, or their interest, to give their zealous co-operation in the same great and noble cause.

Another argument against enforcing our slave treaties, which is not unfrequently used, particularly at home, is, that the effectual suppression of the slave trade is simply an impossibility. In other words that the profit acquired by the importation of a slave is just in proportion to the difficulty of importing him; and that human cupidity is such, that any amount of risk will be run, where there is the prospect of a proportionate gain. The corollary from this, of course, is, that the effect of sending out cruisers to put down the trade, is but to increase to the slaves the awful horrors of what is called the middle passage, by causing the slavers to be built small and low, and solely with a view to their sailing powers and capacities, and without any regard to the health and comfort of the unfortunate slaves themselves.

This argument is not unfrequently heard even in England. But (apart from the fact that it only touches one mode of suppressing the slave trade), its importance diminishes on investigation, and that for this simple reason, that there is a limit beyond which the price of a slave cannot go even in Cuba or Brazil. The slave-owner cannot afford *any* price for a slave, or more than the prices he himself gets for his slave-grown produce enable him to give. This, then, fixes a *maximum* of the price to be received for the article to be imported. The cost of importation, on the other hand, just depends on the extent of difficulty in the way. And in point of fact—and this is the practical answer—when the slave treaties were a few years ago better enforced, when the English and French preventive cruisers on the coast of Africa were more numerous and more vigilant, and consequently more successful, the price of slaves so rose in Cuba, that the demand for them greatly abated—seeing that at the price of importation the planters could scarce afford to buy. This fact is indisputable, and speaks volumes, and furnishes the best argument in favour of the position with which I conclude these remarks—introduced here *par parenthèse*—that justice, duty, interest, and humanity, call upon Great Britain to enforce the slave treaties, and that it were

just and noble, and a wise policy in the United States, as well as in the governments of France, Denmark, and Holland, to unite with England in the sacred cause. Besides, it is not only, or even chiefly, by means of preventive squadrons that the Spanish and Brazillian slave trade is to be effectually suppressed. Great Britain and France have other effective measures within their reach; and of these some mention will be made in an after part of this book.

But to return to the celebrities of Havanna. The church in which Columbus first had mass performed, when he landed at Cuba in 1492, is not interesting in any way, save because it enjoys the distinction referred to. In the Dominican church, the only object that struck me was one common enough in churches in Catholic countries, being an altar-piece where the scene of the "Marys at the crucifixion" is represented by highly-relieved, tawdrily-dressed female figures, one of them having a crown on, and both exhibiting all the appearances or signs of the deepest agony and woe. At the time of my first visit to this fashionable place of Roman Catholic worship in Havanna, there were a number of devotees performing their devotions around the shrine or altar-piece in question, which, an inscription tells the visitor, was erected .by special authority from a Pope Pius. In the dim cathedral light the eyes of the waxen figures seemed to be liquid with real tears, and their bosoms to swell and heave beneath the yellow satin, with real heart-rending sighs; while on the cheeks of some of the worshippers who knelt around, there were the evidences of sincerity and of genuine sorrow. I confess I cannot view a scene like this without emotion; and while my calmer reason does deeply deplore the fact that such devotion should be elicited by the exhibition of a mere semblance of human woe, I cannot refuse my respect, where the sincerity of the act is so apparent, much less could I "curse the shrine" where so many devout worshippers kneel to heaven.

There is another church, or at least a building which was once a church, in Havanna, which I deem worthy of notice, as it affords me an opportunity of recording a characteristic anecdote.

On passing through one of the narrow streets of this town of strange scenes, handsome buildings, but unsavoury smells, and in the immediate neighbourhood of the British Consulate, I observed an inscription over the door of a large building, which ran thus—

"La Commissaria de obras de Fortificacion."

Struck with the church-like appearance of the edifice, (despite its built-up windows,) and surprised that a consecrated building should, by so priest-ridden a people, be made a storehouse for warlike commodities, I made some inquiry on the subject; and, learning that the building was called the "Church of the Franciscans," my previous knowledge of some passages of Cuban his-

tory enabled me to understand the nature and cause of the transition from a Roman Catholic church to a military storehouse.

The state religion in Cuba is, of course, that of the Roman Catholic church; and, true to its natural policy, that church has there succeeded in getting liberty of *public* worship denied to all creeds save its own. But after the storming of the town and fortress of Havanna, by the British expedition under Lord Albemarle, in 1762, his lordship, as governor, demanded of the Roman Catholic bishop that he should set aside one of the churches for the Protestants to worship in; and a somewhat amusing correspondence ensued between Lord Albemarle and the reverend bishop on the subject. The bishop, if he did not explicitly refuse, at least diplomatized and evaded the demand, till brought to the point by the intimation from Lord Albemarle that, if a church was not assigned, "I shall take that which seems to be most suitable." This produced a reply, that since he, Lord Albemarle, "had so resolved, he might take whatever church he chose;" and it would be only prejudice to deny that, in this reply, there was much both of dignity and simplicity. The British governor took the bishop at his word. He chose the Church of the Franciscans; and during the one year's occupation of the island by Britain, and till the restitution of it to Spain in 1763, public worship, according to the forms of the Protestant Church of England, was regularly performed in the Franciscan church of Havanna. Then, of course, it was restored to Spain with the rest of the island, in accordance with that extra liberal and lavish policy which has so often guided British councils, leading at one time to the expenditure of great amounts of blood and treasure in the acquisition of territory, (witness in these seas Martinique, Guadaloupe, St. Thomas', and Cuba,) and the almost free surrender, or gift of them, back to the powers whence they were taken. Since that restitution of the island to Spain, the church of the Franciscans has ceased to be used as a church. Is its disuse to be ascribed to its supposed contamination by the heretics? One is almost irresistibly tempted to apply the *post hoc propter hoc* style of argument to such a case; and no one who has personally witnessed the light-obstructing spirit evinced by the Romish church, in such a dark spot as the isle of Cuba, where she is alone and triumphant in her domination, and is allowed the most ample scope for her pasos* and other ceremonials, will think the deduction an extravagant or an unjust one. At all events, the fact is as I have described it. The church selected by

* A paso is the name given in Spain to the idol figures borne along in the religious processions. The paso, however, strictly speaking, means only the figure of our Saviour, during his Passion. Such processions and pasos are numerous in Cuba.

Lord Albemarle as a place for Protestant worship, is now used by Spain as a government storehouse—"La commissaria de obras de fortificacion."

It may seem a contradiction to the character above assigned by me to the island of Cuba, as the seat both of a civil and a religious despotism, that there should be a considerable number of newspapers published in Havanna. But such is the fact. Indeed, it is a somewhat anomalous circumstance connected with the history and present state even of the mother-country of Spain, that, notwithstanding her literary deficiencies and state of ignorance, of which so much has been written, newspapers appear to flourish greatly both in Spain and her colonies. In Madrid there are no fewer than thirteen daily papers—being nearly as great a number as is published even in London; and some of these, such as the *Heraldo, Clamor Publico*, &c., have a very large circulation. But the newspapers of Havanna are most of them of small size, and much filled with advertisements; amongst which those offering negroes, sometimes female negroes with infant children, to be sold "with or without the child," will strike the mind of an Englishman with anything but an agreeable feeling. These papers are likewise all under a very strict and rigorous censorship—so strict that the wonder is that there should be so many, and that they are so good as they are.

The island of Cuba sends deputies to the Spanish Cortes at Madrid—Spain, like republican France, having in this respect adopted a course which many think, and the writer amongst the number, might be very advantageously followed in regard to the colonies of Great Britain. Besides the advantage of having colonial interests represented at home by parties nominated by the colonists themselves, and in whose fairness of representation the colonists repose confidence, there could not surely be a better mode of making our colonial brethren practically aware that they are, as they are entitled to be, regarded as an integral part of the empire. Much might be written on this subject; but it were out of place to continue it here—and therefore to return to Cuba.

The Governor or Captain-general of Cuba may be said to enjoy nearly despotic power. Indeed I was assured by a very accomplished travelling Spaniard, whom I had the pleasure of meeting in Cuba, and whose society I afterwards enjoyed during my voyage thence to America, that the present Governor (Roncali, Count of Alcoy) exercised his power here in a way more completely despotic than the head of the monarchy of Spain could, or at least does do, in the mother country. This gentleman, himself a member of the legal profession, assured me that he was by numbers of his own body informed that Roncali had, since his arrival in the island, constituted

himself as a supreme tribunal, having jurisdiction exclusive of, or co-ordinate with, that of all the other courts in the island, and competent to the adjudication of all kinds of cases. I had not the opportunity of witnessing his Excellency's freaks in this so-called summary court of justice; but if half what I heard of it were true, it must be a strange sight, in a civilised country, to see a comparatively illiterate soldier professing to decide, of his own knowledge and judgment, and after a few minutes, chiefly occupied by his own laying down of the law, questions involving intricate facts, disputed rights, and important principles. The defendant is summoned to the Governor's presence by a small writ, which contains no explanation save that a claim is made upon him by a party named; and it is said that—as indeed in some courts in more civilised, or at least freer countries—the plaintiff, the person who first applies for Count Roncali's aid, has always the best chance. Such is an account of the "private courts of the Captain-general of Cuba," as it was communicated to me on the spot. It is, however, only fair to add, that previous governors did something of the same kind, and also that other writers seem not to have regarded this secret tribunal, and its summary mode of procedure, in the same objectionable light as is here done. A late writer on Spain, when treating incidentally of her colonies, remarks, with reference to Cuba, that "the Governor gives audiences to the inhabitants in private disputes—a patriarchal procedure, by which much litigation is avoided" !!

In the ordinary courts of the island, the judicial proceedings are conducted in writing, *vivâ voce* pleading being almost, if not wholly, unheard-of. The fees of the lawyers depend upon the length of the written pleadings, and the judges are also paid by fees.

The law in use is, of course, that of the mother country of Spain, based, like that of Scotland, on the Code Justinian. The law of bankruptcy also seemed to me, from what I could learn of it, to be not very dissimilar, in principle at least, to that of Scotland. The affairs of a bankrupt are arranged, generally, under a *concurso voluntario y preventivo*, which seems a kind of trust-deed, by which the bankrupt is deprived of all power of alienating, or making away with his estate and effects to favoured creditors, or confident parties, to the prejudice of the general body. Another mode of winding up a bankrupt estate is by what is called a "cession de biennes," which seemed in reality, as well as in name, to be something like the Scotch deed of *cessio bonorum*, whereby a debtor yields up everything to a trustee for the general behoof of his creditors, on condition of getting a discharge, which discharge emanates from the court.

Such is the nature of the ordinary tribunals of justice in the island of Cuba; but, of course, Count Roncali's "patriarchal"

jurisdiction, as it is exclusive of these, so it sets itself above the principles which restrain the regularly trained judges.

It is also said, and universally credited, that the present Captain-general views the slave trade with an indulgent eye. At all events, it is indisputable that the importation of slaves into the island, which fell off greatly under the influence of England, and the activity of the English cruisers, during the latter years of the dynasty of the late governor, (Count O'Donnel,) has of late years, and since the Count of Alcoy assumed the reins of government, received a fresh impetus, and is now flourishing in fullest vigour. How far the Governor is personally concerned in the production of this result, it were next to impossible to ascertain exactly; but assuredly his correspondence with the representative of Britain in the island, as to the landing of slaves, in the course of which the British Consul-general offered to give his Excellency ocular evidence of the truth of his informant's story—that slaves had been lately landed from a slaver, and were then in course of sale—does not indicate any desire either to suppress the traffic or to keep faith with Britain. Indeed, it is publicly affirmed that a regularly fixed fee (some fifty dollars a-head) is exacted by the Governor on each slave that is brought in, besides sundry other fees to the captain of the port or harbour-master, and other officials, who have the power of prevention more or less in their hands. In short, the system is a complete one, and completely inoculated into the principles of Cuban government. No doubt, a semblance of respect for the solemn treaties made with Britain, and for the entering into which Spain has been paid, is kept up in the island. The barbarian victims of the inhuman slave trade are exposed to sale not as slaves, but as "goods" or "merchandise," (*bultos*,) and some such farce is occasionally exhibited as this:—A few of the imported slaves—such of them as are sick, disabled, infirm, or likely to die, and of course are of little or no value—are taken possession of by Government authority, and an attempt is made to "throw dust in the eyes of the English," by making a noise about the matter, and formally delivering up the miserable wretches, thus "seized," as slaves imported into Cuba, in violation of the solemn treaties made by Spain with England—much being vaunted, at the time, of Spanish honour and national good faith. If anything could make matters worse than the real disregard of the treaties, it would be conduct such as this—hypocrisy added to dishonesty, and the whole veiled in high-sounding words. And yet such pretended seizures and deliveries are often taking place. One had occurred only a few days before I reached Cuba, the number then seized being under twenty; while the known number of slaves actually introduced into the island, during that and the previous month,

had not been less than four thousand, and while the average rate of present import is not under two thousand per month.

Could any one, who has personally ascertained the truth of transactions and occurrences such as those before recorded, feel much regret were Cuba to pass out of the hands of Spain into those of the United States Government, or of any other civilized country which would keep better faith. If Cuba is to be ceded or bought at a cheap rate, Great Britain has unquestionably a much better right to her than any other power; and it were perhaps unjust, and, therefore, a thing England would not permit, were Spain to treat with any other country for the sale of Cuba, without first making payment of, or provision for, a large part of her debt to Great Britain. But the possession of Cuba by England were a matter more to be hoped for than to be expected. England had Cuba once, and generously (perhaps Quixotically) gave it back again to Spain. And to reacquire the possession, either by purchase or otherwise, would seem to be contrary to the general course of that policy which is now, and which has for a long time been pursued by our noble country; for certainly, and particularly after the experience of late events in India, no one can justly accuse England of an undue thirst for territorial acquisition. But I could not personally hear the grandiloquence of Spanish authorities in Cuba, or their contemptuous indifference to the treaties made with Great Britain, without almost wishing that some other power would step in, and obtain possession of the island. Were the United States of America to do so—and there is little doubt but the late secret expedition showed that the leaning of the popular mind was such that "the people," at least, would not be very scrupulous about the *modus acquirendi*—it would look something like retributive justice, inasmuch as it would be the descendants, at least, of the country with which Spain has not kept faith, who would then be the instruments of avenging the deception. Without professing any extravagance of affection for America or Americans, or thinking them, as a nation, either so far advanced or so great as they think themselves, I confess I do regard them as infinitely nearer to ourselves by blood, and tongue, and tie of every kind, than any other nation on the face of the earth.

No doubt, there are serious objections to the acquisition of Cuba by the United States of America. In the first place, there is the important want of a *causa belli* to justify anything like a forcible seizure. In not making with Spain such treaties as England has done, and covenanting with her for the suppression of the slave trade, and paying her money as the price of her consent, America has deprived herself of a justifying cause for warlike proceedings against Cuba, which she might now have turned to very good account. In the second place, a successful arrangement for the sale of Cuba from

Spain to America, not only labours under the little less than certainty of the powerful *veto* of England and France, but presumes that the cautious Yankee would pay Spain a much larger price for the possession than the island would be worth to himself. Spanish writers on Cuba call it the brightest jewel in the Spanish crown. Whether it be a jewel or not, (and it may be so, were the fable true which makes each toad the possessor of a jewel,) Cuba is at least Spain's richest colonial possession, and a source of a great part of her revenue. The value of Cuba to Spain is but little known to those who deem the acquisition of it by the United States, by a transaction of sale and purchase, a matter of probability. Cuba contains a superficies of thirty-seven thousand square miles; and a better idea of the extent of it will be formed by the Englishman, when he is reminded of the fact, that England (exclusive of Scotland) does not contain above 58,335 square miles. The present population of Cuba is estimated at 1,400,000—consisting of 610,000 whites, 190,000 free people of colour, and 600,000 slaves. Each of these slaves is worth from three hundred to three hundred and fifty dollars—making the gross value of the whole between one hundred and eighty and two hundred and ten millions of dollars, or (estimating the dollar at four shillings) between £36,000,000 and £42,000,000 sterling. Again, the value of exports from Cuba during 1848 was within a trifle of twenty-eight million of dollars, or £5,600,000 sterling; its imports during same year being 32,389,119 dollars. In the same year, the number of arrivals of ships at Cuban ports was 3740, and of departures 3310. Already there are nearly two hundred miles of railroad finished in the island, and above fifty miles more in course of being made. Indeed, the first railway laid down in the West Indies was laid down in Cuba. This railroad was originally formed to connect the capital Havanna, with the town of Guines, which is distant about twenty-five miles, through a smooth and fertile country. This railway is now connected with San Carlos de Matanzas, one of the principal seaports of the island, and a prosperous, though as yet but small town. Other branches connect the same railway with other parts of the coast; and thus the whole length of railway already open is about one hundred and ninety-five miles. The engineer of the original line from Havanna to Guines was a Mr. Alfred Cruger, of America, but the capital was English, being negotiated for in London by Mr. Alexander Robertson. The nominal capital was about half a million, but, being negotiated for at a high percentage, it did not produce more than about £340,000. There are also several steamers plying between the different ports of the island, and, in particular, steamers from Havanna to Matanzas, (a sail of about fifty miles;) and also steamers to Cardenas and St. Juan de Remedios, calling at intermediate places; besides a ferry steamer between

Havanna and Regla, on the opposite side of the harbour of Havanna. To this add that, while the island is very fertile, and yields largely, even at present, and under deficient culture, there is not above two-fifths of it cultivated; and not only is there a very large tract of fertile country uncultivated, but even many of those parts which are incapable of culture are covered with forests of mahogany, cedars, and a great variety of tropical and other woods of the most valuable kind. Cuba also contains valuable copper mines, which are now worked, and which are capable of being worked to much greater advantage and extent.

These details may be useful to the party who wishes to form an opinion as to the probability of a compact between Jonathan and Don Hidalgo of Spain, for the sale and purchase of the island of Cuba, about which so much is said. It also explains, in some measure, how it happens that Cuba is able to supply so liberally the Royal Exchequer of Spain, as to acquire for herself the more appropriate than elegant title of "The milch-cow of Spain."

Of course it is the fact that, by permitting the importation of slaves, a sufficient supply of good cheap labour is obtained, that makes Cuba so valuable a possession to Spain; and equally of course, were America to acquire Cuba, the nefarious source of gain must cease. For although the United States of America have not yet followed the example of Great Britain, by the emancipation of the slaves within her territory—and it must in candour be admiitted that there still exist great difficulties in the way of her doing so—yet she has long ago blotted out participation in the slave trade from among her national delinquencies; and it is not to be thonght of, that she would go back upon her onward course so far as to permit the importation of slaves into any part of her dominions or possessions. Indeed, an attempt so to do would cost that which a true American most dreads—would cost the Union itself. A legalising of slave traffic by America, in any way, would inevitably lead to the dismemberment of the Union. The free States unquestionably would not endure it. Even were she to get Cuba, America would get it under implied pledges, destructive of its value as a place of production.

But while, for the above reasons, I neither think it likely America will buy Cuba, nor have the same horror that some express at the idea of her taking it, I also differ from those who think that the possession of Cuba by the United States would strengthen the hands of the supporters of the slave system in America itself, and procrastinate or prevent the settlement of that question—the great national question of the American continent. *If it did, the possession would be to America herself a curse instead of a blessing.* But my conviction is, that it would just leave the slave question

where it is; while, at the same time, it would effectually put an end to the traffic in slaves—at least in so far as Cuba was concerned—and thereby prevent and put an end to much of the injurious competition to which the produce of our own colonists (which is suppled by means of free labour) is exposed, by the nefarious conduct of the Spanish colonist in supplying himself with the cheapest of all labour, and that by means of the violation of the treaties made by his country with Great Britain. That slave labour—at least when there is a mart out of which the ravages made by excessive toil may be supplied—is much cheaper than free labour, is now an ascertained fact—ascertained in the best of all ways—by actual experience of the consequences. So long as the Spanish colonist finds it cheaper to steal slaves or to buy them, knowing them to have been stolen, (which is nearly the same thing,) he will never breed them. It is idle to expect that he will. It is quite notorious that the slave population of Cuba is almost entirely supported by importation of slaves from the coast of Africa; and that the average duration of the life of a slave, after he arrives in the island of bondage, does not exceed seven or eight years: while it is equally well known that his cheap labour has been supplied to the Spanish colonist (at the expense of the British colonist whose produce is depreciated by it,) since the year 1820—and in manifest, open outrage and defiance of the treaty made in 1817 between the governments of Great Britain and of Spain, whereby his Catholic Majesty engaged that the slave trade should be abolished throughout the entire dominions of Spain, on the 30th of May 1820; and that from that period it "should not be lawful for any of the subjects of the crown of Spain *to purchase slaves, or to carry on the slave trade on the coast of Africa upon any pretext or in any manner whatever.*" The sixth article of this treaty is as follows;—"His Catholic Majesty will adopt, in conformity to the spirit of this treaty, the measures which are best calculated to give *full* and *complete* effect to the laudable objects which the high contracting parties have in view." How this treaty has been kept the historic muse will tell, to the immortal honour of that England which has been so long foremost in every work of humanity, and to the eternal disgrace of Spain: recording, as she must do, the signal, and at one time nearly successful efforts of England to suppress the traffic, and her expenditure of blood and treasure in her persevering endeavours so to do; and the base deceptive conduct of Spain in violating her solemn engagement, by permitting above thirty thousand Africans, (on a general average,) torn from their homes, to be annually imported into Cuba and Porto Rico alone, and there sold as slaves. It is not easy for one but lately come from visiting such scenes, and from viewing their disastrous effects on

the condition of the honest, upright, and intelligent British planter in our own colonial possessions in the West Indies, to write with temper of such matters. And again, I submit it to the public of my native country, that were Spain's debt to England, and for repayment of which Cuba may be considered as part of the security, duly provided for and secured, there is little or no interest which could or should prevent England from viewing the occupation of Cuba by our brethren of the United States of America with feelings of complacency. For the honour of America herself, such occupation, if it is to be gone about, should be gone about only on some justifying cause, or by a legitimate transaction of sale; and any gross violation of justice or the law of nations in the matter might justify or require the intervention of England, or the other powers of Europe in alliance with Spain, to forbid the bans between the United States and Cuba. But so far as interest is concerned, and apart from the question that Cuba forms part of the security for Spain's debt to Great Britain, interest to prevent American annexation England has none. I am aware that other writers have expressed themselves differently, but I cannot see the grounds of their opinions; and I know that there are in England persons who entertain an unworthy jealousy towards America, just as there are in the United States a great number of illiterate prejudiced persons, chiefly composed of renegade sons of Great Britain herself, who entertain unworthy and jealous feelings towards England. But such parties should be excluded from the consideration of the good, the true, and the well-informed, on both sides of the Atlantic; and while I have long known that the body of intelligent men in Great Britain look with extreme interest on the rapid advancement in knowledge, in art, and in science, of the young republic of America—remembering the source whence they sprang, and feeling anything but regret that, actuated by the feelings which animated their sires, they effectually resisted the tyranny of the government of the mother country—I also know that there are a vast number of intelligent, enlightened Americans, who look with friendly feelings towards England, and regard with pride and pleasure, not only their descent from her, and their common origin with her, but also the many matchless institutions which England possesses, and her noble efforts in the great cause of humanity. An American friend of my own, an officer of the American navy, whom I met with when at St. Kitt's and again at Santa Cruz, expressed the same feeling strongly to me in conversation when he said, "You are going to my country, sir; and, when travelling, you may hear much nonsense talked of England and America, and their feelings and position as regards each other; but, take my word for it, if America would ever like to see the

Old Country embroiled in a war with all the rest of Europe, it would only be because it would afford her an opportunity of stepping in to her relief, and fighting upon England's side." On another occasion, an intelligent Bostonian remarked to me at Niagara, that certainly the States were more jealous of insult from England than from any other country in the world. I asked why, assuring him that no intelligent man in England reciprocated this feeling; and his candid answer was, "Because, I suspect, we respect Great Britain more than we do any other country, and next to ourselves." Sincerely do I trust that my naval friend will never have the opportunity of showing his or his country's affection for Great Britain in the manner he so characteristically indicated. But I think there is much truth in the Bostonian's courteous explanation; and I deem it simply an act of justice, and of gratitude for the many kindnesses I received when in the United States of America, to record whatever fact is likely to tend to promote friendly relations between two countries which stand almost in the relationship of parent and child. And most sincerely honest am I in stating it to be a conviction formed, even after travelling through the length and breadth of the United States, that there is among the intelligence of America a much kindlier feeling towards Great Britain than is generally believed in this country.

Even if America gets Cuba, the possession may not be very valuable to herself (whatever it is under the present system to Spain;) but her doing so will, at all events, put an end to the slave trade, in so far at least as the importation of slaves into Cuba is concerned. And who doubts but that the system of slavery itself runs a chance of much more speedy abolishment at the hands of free and enlightened America, than at the hands of bigoted and enslaved Spain? Even the Southern planter, who most dreads emancipation—even the champion of that party which most opposed emancipation—even Colonel Hayne himself, who has in Congress most loudly, and I confess I think with some justice, complained against the conduct of the apostles of the Emancipationist party, who—

> "Fire in each eye, and paper in each hand
> Declaim and preach throughout the land,"

scattering firebrands among a people ready to be excited to violence—even parties such as these carry their arguments against emancipation no farther than this, that the proper time for it has not yet come. None of them, that I ever heard, say that the time is never to come. All they contend for is delay to prepare the country, the institutions, and the people for the change; and that in some sort of way it should be a gradual one In short, all parties in England and America seem to agree in this, that slavery as a system

has received its death-blow, although it is not yet extinct in the United States; and confident do I feel, from personally witnessing the feeling, both of the northern and southern States; hearing influential senators and others talk of it, and reading the local papers on both sides when on the spot, that a distinct, emphatic denial of this truth, on the part of the South, would lead to the mooting of the question of a "Repeal of the American Union."

But to return to Cuba, and to the scenes of this unique town of Havanna, with its narrow streets, and gay promenades, drives, and inhabitants.

The Plaza de Armas is a public square near the quays, in which is situated the town mansion of the Captain-general or Governor of the island. Though not large, it is very pretty and effective, being planted with trees, paved in the centre and towards the outside with broad flags, and surrounded with benches. Nearly every evening, and especially on Sunday evenings and holidays, and other days of special commemoration, there is a large concourse of the inhabitants assembled here, to listen to the magnificent music which is poured forth by the military bands, which attend for the purpose in front of the Captain-general's house. During my stay, there happened the anniversary of the birthday of the Queen-mother of Spain, and the public gaieties and rejoicings were on a scale of commemorative splendour proportionate to the importance of the event, or the Spaniard's notion of it. I therefore not only saw the Plaza de Armas, and also the Paseo Isabella Secunda, and other places of public resort, in their usual, but likewise in their holiday attire; and the scene was certainly a very gay and brilliant one. In the forenoon there was a levee at the house of the Captain-general, in which uniforms of scarlet, green, purple, and nearly every shade of colour, enriched with as much gold and silver as could be stuck upon them, contended for the mastery. I confess, however, that it struck me that the uniforms were much more gorgeous than tasteful, and that some of the grandees who figured in them looked much more like "flunkies" than senators or general officers. Add to this the unusual number of men of small stature, and that (as not unfrequently happens) the most insignificant in point of size were generally the most bedizened with uniform and orders, and the reader will see that the drawing-room of the Governor-general of Cuba did not impress me with very high notions either of Spanish stature or Spanish taste. But the remark only applies to the lordly portion of Cuban creation. It were the grossest injustice to apply it to the ladies. Indeed, it is only the simple truth to say that I was wholly unprepared for the beautiful forms and noble countenances of the Cuban ladies. For dark eyes, liquid in their lustrous light, and those long eyelashes which give so soft a radiance to the glance of a

fair Italienne, and for raven tresses, I was somewhat prepared; but certainly not for the full forms and handsome countenances these creole ladies of Cuba so generally display. No doubt they want that freshness of complexion to be found in more northern climes; but they have full figures, well-developed busts, noble countenances, and eyes of the most brilliant softness. Indeed there is about the ladies of Cuba an appearance of health which is somewhat at variance with the ascertained fact that they seldom, if ever, take any amount or degree of exercise, farther than a drive to the Paseo or to the shops and stores, or cafés, (where they are served, sitting in their carriages,) in the indispensable volante. Yet, with all this indolence—with us so certain an inducer of bad health—the ladies of Cuba have a breadth of shoulder and a fullness of bust which rival even those of the Norman beauty of England, and which the traveller will look for in vain among the fairy forms to be seen in the United States of America. In part explanation of this acknowledged fact, I have heard or read a reference made to the open nature of the houses in Havanna, and to the fact that thus the inhabitants may be said to live almost always in the open air—or at least to have always a free circulation of air around them; and I am satisfied there is much in this. Indeed, were it not for this, living in Havanna would scarcely be endurable. It would be rendered insupportable by the combined influence of the heat and of the odours. The streets are narrow, particularly those within the walls. Nor is the town in any degree entitled to a character for cleanliness; so that the olfactory nerves are often, as you go along the streets, offended with odours of the most villainous character, of which the smell of garlic seems always to form a part. When to this you add the occasional smells of tobacco, dried fish, rancid butter, damp bales, and the exhalations from the moist, and not particularly clean, skins of the negro slaves, and remember that the whole is to be encountered with the thermometer standing, in the shade, at or about 90 or 100° of Fahrenheit, it will be admitted that a free circulation of air is most desirable. And admirably are the Havanna houses adapted for receiving that free circulation. The ceilings are in general extremely lofty. The windows are also wide, and so high that they extend from the ceiling to the floor; and, being unglazed, and only closed by blinds which do not exclude the air, there is at all times a free circulation, without which the climate would be absolutely insupportable. These blinds are but seldom drawn, even in the evening; and it has a singular effect to a European or American eye, to observe that, as you walk along the narrow *trottoirs* of the narrow streets, you occasionally brush clothes with the handsomely dressed signoras and signors, as they lounge at their evening parties, or family reunions, leaning against the iron bars which run

from the top to the bottom of their lofty windows, dividing them from the street. The same circumstance—the openness of the windows, and the unfrequency of drawn blinds—enables, nay almost compels the passenger, as he walks along the street, to see the domestic operations and attitudes of the persons (generally the smaller class of shop and storekeepers) who occupy the houses fronting the narrower streets. But it is only fair to add that the privilege is one which is seldom abused, and one an abuse of which would meet with an immediate and indignant check, by the offender being at once given into charge for punishment. During the time I was in Cuba, I only saw one tipsy man, and he was either an Englishman or an American; and on no occasion did I hear or see any quarrel on the street, arising from the ladies or other persons at the windows being addressed by the passers-by who rubbed clothes with them, or from any other cause.

It is also a simple act of justice to pay a tribute to the manner—the excellent, tasteful, and cleanly manner—in which both the ladies and the gentlemen of Havanna dress themselves. In the manner in which they dress their children, they not unfrequeetly carry this to a ludicrous length. At the Tacon theatre, and when driving on the Paseo, I have ofttimes seen a couple, composed evidently of father and son, the latter an urchin of four, five, or six years of age, and both dressed precisely alike, even to the jewelled cane, the gold watch, the diamond ring. This surely is "ridiculous excess." But, as a general rule, the Cubans dress tastefully and well, both men and women. It seemed to me that the male part of the community had a great preference for black coats, with white waistcoats and continuations; and, if the coat be light in texture, this is a dress most admirably adapted for the climate. These Cuban gentlemen do also, as it appeared to me, endeavour to eschew hair on the sides of the cheek, and to promote its production on every other part of the face—a habit, I certainly think, filthy and unbecoming: but *de gustibus nil est disputandum.* The English traveller in these regions will find no persons who excel his own countrymen in extraordinary attempts at the growth of hair on the human face divine.

The ladies, save when occasions of a religious ceremony or family observance compel the use of black, do unquestionably prefer white dresses—that most effective of all dress for the young and fair, a white muslin dress. In these flowing muslins, and without bonnets or other head-dress, to hide the magnificent hair which nature has given them, they come out to the afternoon drive in the Paseo, or to the evening lounge on the Plaza de Armas; and, gracefully reclining, in easy indolence, in their volantes, which form a cordon around the whole square, they converse or flirt with their numerous beaus during the intervals between the music—the ample folds of their

dresses flowing over on each side of the steps of the carriage, but clear of contamination from the mud on the wheels, from the circumstance of the latter being placed so far back, in the manner before explained, when describing the vehicle. In short, I recollect of no instance in which I have seen anything of the kind more beautiful than a well-appointed Cuba volante, with two or three fair Creole ladies of Cuba sitting on it, their heads uncovered, and their white dresses flowing in graceful folds around them. Inside the volantes at the Plaza de Armas, there are rows of forms and chairs placed for those who prefer to sit; and within the whole is a place for promenading, the bands (for there are generally two, if not three,) being stationed around the statue in the centre. The square is lit with gas when occasion requires; and a more agreeable place for an evening promenade it were difficult to imagine.

The Paseo Isabel, which lies between the walls of Havanna and the streets of the new town, is another place of public resort, being the chief place to which the citizens repair with their volantes, to drive up and down on festival occasions—enjoying, at the same time, the luxury of seeing and of being seen, and the exquisite music discoursed by the military bands provided by the Government for the amusement of the people. I witnessed the scene on the occasion before mentioned—namely, on the anniversary of the birthday of the Queen-mother Christina—as well as at other times; and a very gay, cheerful scene it is. If I were to venture a conjecture as to the number of volantes I saw, at one time, driving up and down the Paseo, I fear I would scarcely be credited. It seemed as if all Havanna had turned out in honour of the occasion.

The hour of drive in the Paseo is generally early in the afternoon, about five o'clock; that of the promenade in the Plaza de Armas, considerably later—about eight o'clock. Indeed, it seemed to me that the fair Cubans just loitered at the one till it was time to go to the other; and many a voluptuous form, whom I had seen sitting in her volante as it drove along the Paseo, did I afterwards recognise reclining, with easy elegance, in the same vehicle at the Plaza.

On leaving the Plaza de Armas, the places of resort are the Theatre Tacon, (in which there is, generally, an operatic company of considerable merit,) when it is open; or the splendid cafés, of which there are, at least, two very large ones in the immediate vicinity of the Plaza. I can only speak from personal experience of one of these cafés—that called the Dominica—than which there is not a better appointed establishment of the kind in any part of the world. Indeed, all the English and Americans, as well as Cubans, I met with in Havanna, were loud in their praises of the Dominica. It was made by us our constant place of meeting and of call, whether we intended to patronise its tempting delicacies or not; and it is

simply an act of justice to record the fact, that nothing could exceed the attention and civility we received, whatever was the nature or purpose of the call. It is a very large establishment, capable of containing some hundreds of visitors at the same time. In the centre of it there is a large, open, paved court, with a fountain in the middle, in which court the visitors are also accommodated, being protected by a sail overhead, which can be drawn back or across, so as to form a roof, as occasion may require or render expedient.

To describe the variety of articles falling under the generic names "preserves" or "confectionaries," to be seen and tasted at the Dominica, were a tedious task to any one—an impossible one to such as have had their culinary education somewhat neglected, as has been my lot—but the flavour of some of them linger on my palate still. The spirited proprietor carries on a very large foreign as well as home trade; and I was not at all surprised when I was informed of the fact, and saw the statement verified, by witnessing the huge boxes of pine-apple jelly, guava jelly, preserved fruits of every description, and liquors of every possible name and colour, which came from "La Dominica" to the steamship Severn—Captain Vincent commander—to be conveyed to different parts of the world, to minister to the gratification of the rising generation and others. In short, the proprietor of the Dominica has a large home and foreign business; and he deserves to have it, were it only for his civility to strangers, and for the gallantry with which his numerous helps attend to the commands of the fair signorittas as they stop for refreshment of some kind, without alighting from the volante, after they leave the Plaza de Armas.

The Tacon theatre mentioned above is a very splendid building, very spacious—being indeed one of the largest in the world. When I first went to Havana, it was occupied as a place for the exhibition of feats of legerdemain and "digital dexterity," by a gentleman rejoicing in the somewhat mixed name of Signor M'Allister, and his lady, who were delighting the Cubans with their magical performances. The surname smacked strongly of Scotland; and the answer I received, on inquiring of a Scotch gentleman, resident in the island, was, that he knew Mr. M'Allister, and that he was a native of the land of mountain and of flood, having been born in the manufacturing village of Kirkintilloch, in the west of Scotland.

Having no great taste for such exhibitions, and having already seen several in my time—the court-performing "Wizard of the North" inclusive—it was not my countryman, or his "*neuva y variada funcion*," that attracted me to the Cuban theatre; although it is but fair to add, that never had I before seen such performances more skilfully executed than they were *por los esposes M'Al-*

lister, who contrived to keep a large, gay, and varied audience in a state of interested delight for a period, I should suppose—for I left ere it was finished—of about three hours.

My object, however, was to see the house, about the beauty of which I had previously heard much—and that much was certainly justified by the fact. It is indeed a superb, tasteful house, painted white, with gilded mouldings. There is a pit capable of containing fully a thousand people, each person being accommodated with a seat or stall separate from the rest, and these seats or stalls being numbered. Of the boxes there are three tiers or rows, and of the galleries there are two. The open formation of the boxes, with their movable jalousies behind, and, generally, the formation of the house, is not only beautiful and effective, but admirably adapted to promote coolness—which is, of course, the main object in a climate where the thermometer is rarely below ninety in the shade.

I visited the Tacon Theatre also in the forenoon, to correct any too favorable ideas I might have formed from having seen it when lit up by the splendid gas-lights which illume and adorn it, and graced by the numerous fairy forms, and brilliant or languishing eyes of the ladies who occupied the boxes. But day-light confirmed my opinion of its fine proportions; and, from having tried my own voice in it, and heard others speak in it, I would say, that it is as well adapted for speaking in as it is for seeing and for hearing. This theatre is chiefly used for operatic purposes; and ere I left the island, Madame Anna Bishop, with Bochsa and Valtalli, had arrived, and were gratifying the Cubans with their musical powers.

The Cuba Beneficencia I did not inspect, and the only thing connected with the exterior of it was a scene which is to be seen in Cuba in front of almost every place which is at all of a public character—and that is, soldiers on guard. Soldiers, soldiers, in every direction. On the Paseo, at the promenade, guarding the theatre, at the cemetery, and even in front of the hospitals. The number of troops in Cuba must be very great for the size of the island. There were not, at the time in question, less than twelve thousand in the town of Havanna alone.

A little apart from the city, and after passing through that gate in the town wall which is nearest the sea, you come to the public cemetery of Havanna, called the Campo Santo—a place of no beauty, but interesting as the spot which receives at last, and in rapid succession, the bodies of rich and poor in this town of bustling trade, after the lease of life held by each comes to an end. This graveyard is surrounded by a very thick wall, with an interior brick-work, in which are niches or openings in tiers, one above another, in numerous succession. These niches or recesses are deep, and look like large pigeon-holes; and they form the tombs

of the richer inhabitants of Havanna, the coffin being thrust into the niche, and the end built up or covered by a tablet, to remain so till it is opened for the next member of the family for whom death calls. In the yard within the walls, the poor are thrust, generally without coffins, into shallow graves—the process of decomposition being hastened by the use of quick-lime. If the visit is paid in the cool of the evening, the period of the day at which funerals usually take place, the visitor will have an opportunity of judging for himself of the manner in which funerals are conducted in Cuba, as scarcely an evening passes without numerous interments taking place. There is no funeral service at the grave, and ofttimes the corpse is brought for burial dressed in the clothes of every-day life. It was, on the whole, a sickening sight; and the vicinity of a lunatic establishment, at the windows of which some of the inmates were seen, helped to add to its disheartening effect.

It were to omit one of the pleasantest of Cuban reminiscences, not to mention the Baños Publicos, or public bathing-houses, to be found in and about Havanna. There are numerous establishments in the town, where hot and cold fresh-water baths may be had at a cost of from a quarter of a dollar to half a dollar; and it is only in a climate like Cuba that the luxury of such establishments is fully felt. But the baths worthy of special mention are the sea-baths along the coast, several of which you pass on the way to the Campo Santo. The coast of Cuba is formed or composed of a kind of honey-comb rock, and this is cut or hollowed out into baths, in lengths of about twenty feet square, or thereby, and of a depth varying from three to six, or even eight feet—the outer wall, between the bath and the sea, being perforated with holes, which admit the free flow of the water in and out, while they do not permit of the ingress of anything that can injure or annoy. In none of the other islands of the West Indian Archipelago are there sea-baths at all to compare with those of Havanna; and they only who have felt the luxury of a bath in sea water in the tropics, and know the danger of swimming in the open sea among these islands, can appreciate fully the advantage the Cubans enjoy in having such places for performing their ablutions. There are, of course, separate baths for the females; and there are larger baths into which several persons may go, while the visitor, who prefers it, can have one entirely to himself or herself. These baths are covered in by a wooden erection, and the charge for the bath and the use of towels is generally a peséta for the bath, and a real for the towels —about thirty cents, or 1*s.* 3*d.*

The Valla de Gallos, or public cockpits of Havanna, cannot be excluded from its characteristics and sights. They are situated in a

large enclosure outside the walls, and are composed of two amphitheatres, having benches round the sides, and a roof overhead with a circular area in the middle. These places are generally crowded, and the shouting of "Mata, mata," (kill, kill,) and other sounds, baffles description; while the quantity of money that changes hands, as each combat is brought to a conclusion by the one or other of the combatants in this inhuman and brutalising sport being killed or disabled, shows how deeply the practice and spirit of gambling generally have worked themselves into the national character. A cockpit, and a game at Monté, (which is a chance game at cards,) can, I believe, easily be seen in any part of Cuba, as well as in most parts either of Spain or of any of her colonies.

The stranger in Havanna is at once struck with the want of trees, particularly in the promenades. This in a tropical climate, is unquestionably a great want. The trees in the Paseo are young, scarcely more than shrubs; and throughout the whole town and suburbs there is the same want of shade from trees—a fact which is mainly to be attributed to the effects of a hurricane which visited the island in 1844, and produced much suffering and distress.

Within the walls, the streets of Havanna are both narrow and crooked—so narrow, that in some streets two Volantes can scarce pass each other. Outside the walls they are wider; and both "intra" and "extra muros" the buildings are large, having in general a courtyard in the centre, which is ofttimes paved with marble, around which courtyard are the entrances to the rooms, and the whole has altogether a very Moorish aspect. In the hotels or bording-houses, such as Madame d'Almy's or Miss Chambers's—both of which are excellent, well-conducted establishments, where everything may be had at public tables at a charge of about two dollars per day—the public rooms are good, and (which is the thing chiefly wanted in such a climate) airy and spacious, as well as tolerably well furnished. But the bedrooms are generally the worst rooms in the house; and altogether there is a great want of those domestic conveniences comprehended under the truly English term "comfort." In some of the private houses I had the pleasure of visiting, the rooms—the public ones especially—are very handsome; and I enjoyed the hospitalities of one friend, who, while his public rooms were good, had judiciously turned the two best rooms of his mansion into his own bedroom, and a nursery for his children; but he was an Englishman, at least a Scotchman. Rents in Havanna are very high, and altogether it is a very dear place to live in. The coins in general use are Spanish and Mexican dollars, half and quarter dollars, pesétas, or twenty-cent pieces, reals de plata, about the eighth of a dollar, and doubloons, of which there are two kinds—the one doubloon being Mexican, Columbian, or of some other South American state,

and being of the value of £3. 6s. 8d., and a legal tender for sixteen dollars; and the other, the old Spanish doubloon, or onza d'oro, value about £3. 10s. 10d., and a legal tender for seventeen silver dollars. Of the silver dollars, the Spanish pillar dollar is preferred.

When on the subject of coins, I would strongly recommend the traveller in these parts, before starting on his voyage, or as soon thereafter as possible, to possess himself of a book or pamphlet containing drawings of most coins in use, with a statement of their relative worth and value. Such pamphlets are published in America, by Taylor and others. I am not aware whether there are any works of a similar nature published in England; but, at all events, the American publication can easily be procured in this country, from any bookseller who deals in transatlantic publications. These pamphlets are issued in the States once a-month, and are *there* of especial use, as they contain descriptions of the numerous notes (paper money) of inferior value, or *of no value at all*, which are there in constant circulation, and with which the designing and dishonest often cheat the unwary traveller. They also give drawings and descriptions of most coins, with the relative value of each in cents.

Before leaving Cuba, I did my utmost to get as accurate information as possible, as to the general condition of the slave population; but the details differed so much, that it was next to impossible to lay down any statement of general application. The system is so very a despotism, and masters differ so widely, that what is true of one is untrue of another, and the shades of difference in the treatment of their slaves are just as numerous as the men. A few particulars, however, I ascertained as facts beyond dispute.

In the first place, the domestic slaves, those employed in the performance of menial offices in the families of their owners, are in general very well treated. Nor are they indiscriminately selected from the general body. The office is as it were hereditary; the children, if there are any, being brought up to the performance of domestic work as the parents die. It is plain that ties will thus be formed between the master and mistress, and their families, and their domestic servants, which will go far to soften the hardships of slavery, and to secure the comparative good treatment of the slaves. So it is in Cuba. The best-informed parties in Havanna assured me, and my own observation led me to the same conclusion, that, on the whole, the household slaves were a favoured race compared with their fellows in the field, and that instances in which *domestics* were ill treated were the exceptions, and not the rule.

Among the slaves, and particularly among the domestic slaves, it occasionally happens that a slave works out his or her freedom, under the operation of a law known as giving rise to what is called the

Cuartado system. By this system a slave can purchase his freedom if so inclined. If he has been purchased by his master, the price so paid is held also as the price which he must pay for his liberation; while, if he has been born in slavery to his master, he is entitled by law to have a price put upon himself by valuation, at which price he has the right to redeem himself from bondage. After this valuation, on paying one-sixth of the price, the slave becomes master of his own time, becomes free, as it were, for one day in the week; another sixth, two days, and so on; so that the capacity for acquiring freedom, as well as the desire so to do—like Virgil's impersonation of fame—*vires acquirit eundo.* If I remember aright, some such plan was once proposed by the British statesman Canning, for the gradual emancipation of the slaves in the British colonial possessions. When once adventured on, and to some length successfully prosecuted, the path to freedom by the Cuartado system is not a difficult one. But to commence,—*hic labor hoc opus est:* few even of the strongest and best-behaved can find the means of beginning to work out their liberty, and hence it is that there are but few Cuartados to be found in Cuba. But there are a few, and it is generally conceded—indeed, it may be readily supposed—that persons who have so adventured on a course of welldoing for the purchase of the dearest earthly right, will make the best and most faithful domestic servants, and are accordingly generally selected for that purpose.

The field-labourers are however, as a body, in a very different situation. As a general rule, their labour is very severe, and their treatment very harsh—during the process of sugar-making, especially so. When once the grinding or pressing the cane—the first step in sugar-making—is begun, it proceeds day and night, with the exception of Sundays and other holidays, (and ofttimes without even these exceptions,) till the whole is completed. The slaves work in gangs, and for six hours or so at a time—being kept closely at their work by the fear of the lash, and by its frequent application. In some estates there are no women—in others there are very few; and the men are, during the hours devoted to sleep, penned up in barracoons like so many cattle. No doubt the treatment varies on different estates. On some it is much more humane than on others, but as a general rule it is the very reverse of humane; and I could not, although I diligently inquired, hear of any estate on which the number of labourers was kept up by births on the estate itself. Indeed, the idea of making the slave population supply itself is the last thing that seems to enter a Cuban's mind; and it will be so long as, by violating the contract made with, and paid for by England in 1817, and by encouraging the disgusting slave trade, he can buy *much* cheaper than he can breed. To *breed* slaves is bad enough, but it is an evil unquestionably *second* to the stealing and selling of them;

and thus it is, it should be remembered, that to end slavery we must begin at the beginning: we must first put an end to the slave traffic. That is unquestionably the natural way.

Indeed, as to the condition and treatment of agricultural slaves in the island of Cuba, these two well-ascertained facts speak volumes, and render further inquiry almost unnecessary. In the first place, the Negro population is far, very far from supporting itself. The number of victims annually robbed from Africa and taken as slaves to Cuba, Porto Rico, and Brazil, are estimated at seventy-eight thousand. Of these the Spanish colonies get one-half. But whatever number may be landed at Porto Rico in the first instance, few are allowed to remain there, for the reason already pointed out when writing of the labouring population of that productive island. It is therefore within the truth to estimate the numbers annually taken to Cuba at thirty thousand; and that this amount of importation is required to make good the ravages by death, is proved by the fact, that whenever, through the vigilance of British cruisers or otherwise, there has been a failure in the number imported, the price has immediately and rapidly risen. It is a fact well known and universally admitted in Havanna, that when, in the spring or summer of 1847, intelligence reached Cuba that the British Government had actually passed the Sugar Duties Bill of 1846, (admitting slave-grown sugar into our markets,) the price of slaves immediately rose greatly; and such was the demand occasioned by the increase of sugar cultivation in the island, that slaves formerly considered so old, infirm, and superannuated, as to be exempted from working were again put to work; and some were drafted from the lighter work of the caffetal, or coffee plantations, on to the heavier labour of the sugar estates: and these consequences arose solely from the fact that the slavers were unable to supply the demand with sufficient rapidity, being prevented by the vigilance of the British and French cruising squadrons.

In the second place, it is now but too well known that the average life of a slave, after he reaches Cuba, does not exceed seven or eight years. This acknowledged fact requires no comment. It contains in itself at once the evidence and the explanation of the inhuman treatment which these unfortunates receive at the hands of their oppressors.

There are surely none, who can appreciate the horrors of such a a state of things, who would not gladly aid in and towards their suppression. That the issue is rapidly approaching seems very evident; but how it is to be brought about is not so plain. If to any I may seem to contemplate too liberally the possibility of the American Republic acquiring Cuba by purchase or otherwise, it is possible that my feelings thereto are somewhat influenced by the

conviction that such acquisition of the isle of Cuba would accelerate, instead of (as some think) retarding the glorious day of the abolition, not only of the slave trade, but of slavery, even in the American Union itself. Apart however from this, and even should Great Britain and France be left alone, as they may be said to have hitherto been, in their holy crusade against the system of slavery; and apart even from the vexed question of whether the African squadron is either a judicious or an efficient weapon for slave trade suppression, England and France have other, more powerful, and more universally applicable means at their command, for the accomplishment of their beneficent designs towards the swarthy sons of Africa. It will form part of the object of the next chapter to explain what these means are, and how they should be employed.

CHAPTER VIII.

"Great was the boon, my country, when you gave
To man his birthright, freedom to the slave."

THE concluding remarks of the last chapter have brought me to the date at which I left the West Indian Archipelago—never, in all probability, to return thereto. Thereafter crossing the Gulf of Mexico from Havanna to Mobile, I found myself for the first time, and with highly raised hopes, on the great continent of America.

But, before finally leaving the subject of the British colonial possessions in the West Indies, I am irresistibly impelled, nay, I feel it almost a duty, to record, in as few words as I can, the views and impressions, formed upon the scene, as to the claims, position and future prospects of these noble colonies of England. No doubt the subject is nearly threadbare. So much has been said and written upon it already, that it were perhaps scarcely to be hoped that any new fact should be here stated, any new view elicited, or the general subject discussed with greater clearness and force of argument than have been already brought to bear upon it by other and by abler writers. Still I am satisfied that much ignorance and misconception yet prevails, even regarding the facts on which the question at issue between England and her West Indian colonies depends; and perchance these remarks upon it may fall into hands which have not yet had access to other more extended and elaborate treatises or statements, and may induce some, who would not otherwise have done so, to investigate the matter for themselves. At all events, I have resolved to put in writing

my views of the present unfortunate, depressed state and condition of West Indian affairs, and of the remedies that might be applied to them; and if the subject seems too old, or too irksome, for the perusal of any who have gone with me thus far, I can only respectfully suggest that they turn over a few leaves, and join me at the commencement of the next volume.

The pages on which are inscribed the part that England has acted in the suppression of slavery, and in the emancipation of the slave, are unquestionably among the brightest pages of her national history. They shed a halo round the name of England which is imperishable, and beyond the reach of national mutation. That

> "Slaves cannot breathe in England; if their lungs
> Receive our air, that moment they are free,"

had become credited, almost as an axiom, even before the famous decision of Lord Mansfield, pronounced in the case of the slave Somerset, in June, 1772. Indeed—and this is a fact which is not generally known—the same point as that tried and decided in Somerset's case, had been brought solemnly before, and fully discussed in, the Supreme Court of Scotland, no less than fifteen years previously; and it is nothing less than certain, that a judgment similar in effect to that pronounced by Lord Mansfield would then have been given in Scotland, had the final decision of the case not been prevented by the unfortunate death of the negro, pending the discussion. Under date 4th July 1757, the following case is reported in the records of the Court of Session. "*Hearing in presence—Robert Sheddan against a Negro.* A Negro who had been bought in Virginia, and brought to Britain to be taught a trade, and who had been baptized in Britain, having claimed his liberty against his master, Robert Sheddan, who had put him on board a ship to carry him back to Virginia; the Lords *appointed counsel for the Negro,* and ordered memorials, and afterwards a hearing in presence, upon the respective claims of *liberty* and *servitude,* by the master and the negro. But, during the hearing in presence, the negro died—*so the point was not decided.*"

But, although the question had thus been previously mooted in Scotland, the glory yet remains to the great Mansfield, of having pronounced the decision which first promulgated the noble truth that England and slavery are incompatible terms—a decision which may be said to have roused into active exertion, in 1772, that spirit which animated a succession of men, such as Clarkson, Wilberforce, Brougham, Jeffrey, and Mackintosh, and of which the Emancipation Act of 1834 was only one of the later results. The circumstances of Somerset's case have often been recorded; but they deserve to be borne in mind, and they form a fitting introduction to

the consideration of what Great Britain has yet to do, if she would do justice to *all* parties in this great cause.

Somerset the slave had, after his arrival in England, become incapacitated for working. It was said that this was through the cruel treatment of his master; but it seems equally probable that it was through disease. His condition was made known to Mr. William Sharpe, then a surgeon in London, by whose philanthropic and skilful services the poor slave was healed. His master finding that he was so, again claimed his services as a slave; but, the circumstance coming to the ears of Granville Sharpe (the brother of the surgeon who had healed the man,) who had previously buckled on his mental armour in this great struggle for the rights of man, he brought the case before Lord Mansfield, who, on 22d June 1772, pronounced the memorable judgment, which is in these terms:

"Immemorial usage preserves the memory of positive law, long after the traces of the occasion, reason, authority, or time of its introduction are lost; and, in a case so odious as the condition of slaves, must be taken strictly. Tracing the subject of natural principles, the claim of slavery never can be supported. The power claimed by this return never was in use here. We cannot say the cause set forth by this return is allowed or approved of by the laws of this kingdom; and therefore the man must be discharged."

The spirit of opposition to slavery as a system, being thus awakened and encouraged—public attention being directed to the matter—the cause proceeded and prevailed, gathering strength as it advanced, until, after repeated defeats, Mr. Wilberforce, on the 25th of March 1807, carried his bill which pronounced the slave trade abolished forever, and the stain it had inflicted wiped off from the national escutcheon of England. Nor should the fact be overlooked, when noticing the subject, that it was in the very same year that America abolished the slave traffic, in so far as she was concerned, declaring it to be illegal for her subjects to carry it on—Denmark having preceded both England and America in this sacred cause.

But, the slave trade abolished, another evil only second to it still remained. Slavery still existed in the British colonial possessions. The supply from without was cut off, and thereby, no doubt, a great boon was conferred on those slaves already within—inasmuch as even the most inhuman master had now an inducement to treat his slaves with a kindness he had never exhibited to them before—the same inducement that the possessor of a horse has to treat him well, if he does not know how to replace him should he be lost. But the nation was not satisfied. The excitement and agitation proceeded, led on by Wilberforce and other well-known names, and, it cannot be denied, aided not a little by the well-authenticated cases of cruelty

perpetrated on slaves by individual masters in the West Indies,* until, in the year 1833, the Emancipation Act—which put an end, not merely to the traffic in slaves, but to slavery itself, throughout the dominions of Great Britain—passed the British Parliament. It is a coincidence, in connexion with the passing of this important statute, which is worthy of being recorded whenever mention of the subject is made, that, on the very night in which the House of Commons agreed to, and passed, the emancipating clause of the bill, the death of Wilberforce took place. It seemed almost as if the spirit of this great and good man had lingered in its tenement of clay, until it should be privileged to see the triumph of that cause to which his life had been devoted, and had then been itself emancipated from the sufferings of the flesh.

Before and at the time the Emancipation Bill was passed, the country was literally inundated with treatises and pamphlets, on both sides of the question; and there are some who even now affirm, that the bill was carried more by clamour, than in consequence of a general perception of the wisdom, justice, and prudence of the measure. Be this, however, as it may, there are few or none who now refuse to admit that the time had come when the abolition of slavery could not much longer be refused; and, throughout the length and breadth of the West Indies, never did I hear even the most complaining, indignant, or ruined planter declare either the possibility or the wisdom of a return to the enslaved state.

But let us consider, in a few sentences, the condition in which the passing of the Emancipation Act of 1833 placed the British colonist in the West Indies. If, to the date of that act, slavery had been a legalized thing in the British West Indies, the sin was not simply a colonial, it was a national one. England not merely permitted, but compelled the possessors of colonial estates to work their estates by means of slave labour. They had, indeed, no other labour to work them with—but *that* is not all. In most of the colonies, there was a law which required the maintenance of a certain proportion between the extent of the estate and the number of the slaves The West Indian proprietor must either keep slaves or give up his property. Let this not be forgotten. But England, in 1833, said, This shall cease; in future, you (the colonist) must work your estates by free labourers: and in so doing, she said that which was as consistent with wisdom, as it certainly was with justice and mercy. But the colonist replied, I cannot work my estate as cheaply by means of free men as by means of slaves.

* It were foreign to the object of this sketch to dwell on details; but the reader disposed to doubt this, or desirous of farther information, may consult the *Edinburgh Review*, and in particular the details connected with the trial and conviction of Hodge (one of the council of the Virgin Islands) for the murder of his slave in 1811; and the trial of Huggins, for excessive cruelty to his slaves, &c.

Now, what was the answer to this? *The fact was denied;* but, at the same time, it so far prevailed that compensation was given. Twenty millions sterling were agreed to be given; and it is certainly this twenty millions that blinds most persons in Great Britain so far as to prevent them from taking even a fair view of the present claims and position of the West Indian planter. Twenty millions were voted, and it was a handsome sum. There is no wish to deny that it was so; and I certainly am not one of those who would disparage this munificent act on England's part —an act which places her conduct in bright relief against the conduct of other countries, which have either refused their colonists compensation altogether, or have given a mere pittance in seeming compliance with the claim. But truth should be heard. What was this compensation for? Why was it fixed at twenty millions? It was given in consideration of the additional expense to be entailed on the planter from being compelled to hire labourers to work his fields and manufactories, instead of cultivating the one and carrying on the other by means of slaves—in consideration, in short, of the mother country having tied him up to one mode of culture, while he previously had an option of two. And it was fixed at twenty millions sterling, not because it was for a moment supposed that *that* sum would fairly represent the value of the slaves to be liberated, much less of the estates and works on and in which they were employed—but because it was, at the time, thought, that the injury would only be a temporary one, and that, as *the planters would all be on the same footing*, the result, in a few years, would be to make the profit from working sugar, coffee, and cotton estates, by free labour, as great as it had been during the time when Britain countenanced slavery. The soundness of this view may be maintained from the terms of the Emancipation Act itself. In the rubric these words occur, "For compensating the persons hitherto entitled to the *services* of such slaves." In the preamble, it is said that a reasonable compensation should be given "to the persons hitherto entitled to the services of the slaves, for the loss which they *may* incur by being deprived of *such* services." And by section twenty-fourth, the twenty millions are granted "towards compensating the persons hitherto entitled to the services of the slaves to be manumitted." Indeed, the statistics of the matter prove that this was the principle of the calculation. The value of the whole slaves in the British West Indian colonies was, by the Government commissioners, estimated and taken to be forty-three millions sterling; while the value of the estates, works, and machinery in and on which they were employed, was nearly twice that sum—making a formidable total of nearly one hundred and twenty-nine millions sterling. It is therefore out of the ques-

tion to talk of the twenty millions as being voted or intended to be given as representing anything more than the amount of supposed temporary loss the planter might sustain through the change in the condition of the labourer, and the consequent change in the nature of the relationship subsisting between that labourer and himself. Still the sum was a handsome one; and, if even the disappointed West Indian will fairly face the subject, he must admit that, *at the time*, and with the information which existed at the time, (whereby a glimpse into the probable consequences might have been obtained,) it was a munificent act of national justice, or at least intended to be so. *Indeed, had means been adopted for gradually procuring a sufficiency of free labourers—and had the measure of emancipation been left to itself, and to work out only its own effects, unaided and uninjured by subsequent legislation of a different and of a backward tendency—the amount given would have been found to have been a reasonable, if not a full, compensation.* In short, the transaction was this—and no reasonable man, either on the one side or the other, will deny that it was so: Britain said to her colonists.—" We have both been to blame—I in permitting, and even in legalizing slavery in my possessions; you, in taking advantage of that permission, to engage and continue in a traffic and trade which violates one of the first rights and principles of humanity. But a change of system is an experiment, although a just and a necessary one, and it will probably, if not certainly, be attended at first with loss. Now you, the colonist, ought to bear most of that loss, inasmuch as you have been actually engaged in the trade, and you or your predecessors on the estates have reaped such profit as has been derived from this objectionable and sinful mode of working your estates. Looking therefore to the whole matter—*totâ re perspecta*—I will compound my share of the delinquency by giving you the handsome sum of twenty millions sterling, besides aiding you to get free labourers for your estates, and any further loss arising from the natural effects of the measure must be borne by yourselves." Here then lies the whole question, and in my humble opinion here lies the strength and justice of the claims of the British colonist. For, be it observed, the Emancipation Act was not an isolated measure; it formed part of a great whole. In 1807 Great Britain had abolished the traffic in slaves by her own subjects. In 1817, she had entered into a treaty with Spain for the abolition of the slave trade by the subjects of his Catholic Majesty, paying the latter £400,000 as the price of his assent. In 1826, she had entered into a similar treaty with the Emperor of Brazil, whereby the latter renewed, recognized, and adopted the treaties that had previously been entered into, and were then subsisting between Great Britain and Portugal, for the

entire suppression of the slave trade. And now, in 1833, she declared her resolution to pay £20,000,000 to her own subjects, for the emancipation of the slaves in her own colonial possessions. In all this, the spirit which animated the counsels of England, and impelled her to these successive acts, was an intense, and seemingly a growing, permanent dislike to slavery in every shape and form, and a resolution to discountenance it in every possible way, even though the doing so involved pecuniary sacrifice and considerable loss. Such were undoubtedly the circumstances under which the Emancipation Bill—a bill the preamble of which indicated, that it was intended to ameliorate the condition of the planter as well as of the slave—was carried. No one who remembers the excitement that prevailed in Great Britain, and the numerous public meetings held in almost every city, town, village, hamlet, and institution, in every part of the country, to strengthen the hands of the Emancipationists, will be disposed to deny that the facts were as I have stated them.

Now, such being the circumstances attending the passing of the emancipation statute, were or were not the West Indian planters entitled to regard it as part of their compensation or protection against loss, that they would never have, in the home market at least, to compete with produce grown and manufactured by slaves? I confess I think they were. I am aware that there are those who deny this, maintaining that, as no Government is entitled to bind its successor, so no party treating with a Government is entitled to rely on its successor following out the same line of policy. But this is surely a very latitudinarian view of state morality. Suppose that the Government of the day had only paid one-fourth or one-half of the compensation-money, and that the Government that succeeded it, while it adhered to the statute as a law, yet refused to make payment of the remainder of the sum due,—would any one have attempted to justify such a course? And if not, what is the difference between refusing a part of the promised *money* compensation, and a part of the implied *protective* compensation? Moreover, whatever view the greatest advocate for the principle that one Government cannot bind a succeeding one, may take of this matter, he will not surely deny that it is a most extraordinary position of matters, when we see a Government professing to approve of the general policy of their predecessors in office, and yet going back from that same policy and acting in opposition to it in part. Nothing surely could be further from the thought of the most desponding West Indian planter than the idea that, while England voted so large a sum in 1833 towards putting an end to slavery in her own colonies, she would, in 1846, pass an act which would have the direct effect of encouraging and increasing slavery in the possessions of other countries. And yet that such

was the tendency, and that such has been the effect of the act of 1846, I will immediately show by the most conclusive of all evidence.

Before, however, leaving the subject of the twenty millions, and although the circumstance does not enter into the general argument, it may, for the sake of accuracy, and to prevent cavil, be proper to notice the fact, that, while the twenty millions were voted, the whole of that sum was not paid. The sum actually awarded was £18,669,-401 10*s.* 7*d.*; while, even of this last-mentioned sum, the West Indian colonists only received £16,461,000. These facts do not enter into the principle of my argument, although they tend to show still further that full compensation never was contemplated. But as there is a very general tendency to throw this twenty millions in the teeth of our West Indian friends, and many still believe that sum to have been actually paid, it is but right that the misconception should be removed by a statement of the truth. The argument, however, is independent of this fact. Who could have thought that England would tax herself to the extent of some £800,000 per annum to prevent her own colonists supplying her with cheap sugar by means of slave labour, and yet that, in a few years later, she would pass an act which admitted slave-grown sugar the produce of foreign possessions? That there was a distinct bargain or contract between the colonists and the mother country, to the effect that slave-grown sugar never was to be admitted into the markets of this country to compete on equal terms with British colonial free-grown sugar, and that the fact that they were to be protected against the competition of slaveholders was an argument used to make our colonists contented with the Emancipation Act, I am ready to prove—ready to prove it by a mass of testimony, and to the satisfaction of the most incredulous jury that ever were impannelled in a jury-box. Nay, more, I am ready to show that British Ministers have again and again admitted that such was the fact; that Lord Stanley, when, by mistake, he had used the words "slave-grown" for "foreign-grown," when speaking of a differential duty between foreign and British colonial sugar, and when the mistake was noticed, replied by admitting the mistake, adding that every one must have seen that it was a mistake, inasmuch as no one could ever think that Britain would admit slave-grown sugar into her markets, after her costly sacrifice to prevent sugar being made in her own colonies by means of slave labour. And Lord Glenelg, at a later date, made a well-known statement to the effect that they who were so foolish as to believe that Parliament would break its faith with the planters of the West Indies, by admitting slave-grown sugar into equal competition with that produced by them, displayed, by so believing, an "incapacity for conducting the ordinary affairs of life and business."

But apart from the question of contract, which is one of evidence, there is the natural, the necessary conclusion to be drawn—the conclusion which no one could avoid drawing—from the act itself. If at such cost England tied the hands of her own colonists as to the kind of labour by which they should make sugar, would any sane person have believed that she would buy her sugar from foreigners who made it in the very way she had so seriously and emphatically objected to and protested against? The idea could not have been entertained for a moment.

I maintain, then, that part of the compensation to be given the British colonists was, protection from competition with the slaveholder of Cuba, Porto Rico, and Brazil; and that the same principle of justice was violated by depriving him of this, as would have been violated in depriving him of a portion of the £20,000,000 which was the compensation in money.

Another subject of complaint, on the part of the West Indian colonist, against the conduct of the mother country, has reference to the abolition of the apprenticeship system in 1838. It was, say they, our bargain that we should have our full share of the £20,000,000 in money, the home market for our free-grown sugar, and an apprenticeship of seven years. But the mother country broke the bargain as to the last, by putting an end to the apprenticeship three years before the legal term of its expiry. There is much truth in this complaint, and I know of individual cases of great hardship which occurred in connexion with it. In particular, I know of a gentleman of British Guiana who was thereby utterly and unexpectedly stripped of the great bulk of a very handsome fortune. But still, with better arguments at my disposal, I am not inclined to press this one. There is an answer to it, which, if it does not meet the complaint, at least complicates the case. The planters of Antigua, from causes peculiar to that metropolitan island, declined the apprenticeship; and this fact, combined with authenticated cases in which the apprenticeship was abused, gave the Government of the country at least a plausible excuse for bringing the apprenticeship system to a summary termination.

Before leaving the subject of the price paid by England in token of her horror of slavery, and her resolution to put down production by means of slave labour, it is proper to refer to the annual cost of the squadron, and of the mixed commission, to prevent the slave trade from being carried on by the subjects of Spain and of Brazil. Enough has been said on this subject in a former part of this book; but the argument would not be complete were this part of the price paid by us, in the cause of humanity, to be kept out of view.

And now, to what end has all this anti-slavery policy been gone back upon, if not stultified, by the legislation of 1846 and subse-

quent thereto? That it has been so—that the act of 1846, altered, amended and extended as it was by the act of 1848, has operated as a direct encouragement to slavery and to the slave trade, and inflicted a heavy blow upon our own free colonies, already nearly prostrated—is now conceded by almost every one who has visited the West Indies. But lest there should be any who would desire some proof on the subject, let me briefly record a few of the leading facts.

Of the value of the slave trade—of the permission and means to cultivate their estates by slave labour, to the inhabitants of the island of Cuba—some graphic idea may be obtained from reflecting on the fact stated by Lord Castlereagh, when delivering, in the British House of Commons, his speech upon the bill for concluding with Spain the treaty of 1817 for the suppression of the slave trade, (by which treaty Great Britain covenanted to pay Spain £400,000 as the price of her assent.) His Lordship mentions a well-known fact—viz. that the merchants of Havanna had offered the Spanish Government many times the amount of the payment to have nothing to do with the treaty. "So far," says Lord Castlereagh, "from our money being the only motive which Spain has for acceding to this treaty, the Spanish merchants at Havanna had offered five times the amount (two millions sterling,) for the privilege of continuing the slave trade!" It is a somewhat humbling commentary on this statement of Lord Castlereagh, and on our own capacity, as a nation, to trade, to know that, although our French neighbours call us a nation of shopkeepers, we have allowed ourselves to be so far overreached in this bargain, that Spain has got the money from both. The £400,000 she got in cash from lavish England; the £2,000,000 she has got from Cuba, chiefly by the tax of fifty dollars a-head on all slaves imported into it, in direct evasion of the aforesaid slave treaty. As above mentioned, Cuba has been somewhere called the milch-cow of Spain; and well does she merit the appellation, yielding, as she does, not less than fifty millions of reals, or about half a million sterling, of direct annual revenue to the Spanish crown. That it is her slave trade, and her consequent ability to cultivate her fields with slave labour, that enables her to yield this large amount from taxation, is abundantly well known to all who have made the subject their study. No doubt Cuba is favoured as a place of production by the great fertility of her soil, its adaptation for the growth of tobacco as well as of sugar, and also by many other circumstances; but the cheapness and other advantages of her slave labour, constitute undoubtedly the main reason why she is able so to undersell the British West Indian colonist.

That the effect of the Sugar Act of 1846 was to give an increased impetus to the slave trade, and to advance the prosperity of the slave-owner of Spain and Brazil, has often been shown.

The statement has indeed been denied, and attention has, in the way of answer, been directed to the fact that, in 1846, before the act passed the British legislature, or at least before intelligence of its having passed could have reached Brazil, or the colonies of Spain, the slave trade was in active and increased operation. But this is a mere evasion of the argument. If the general rumour, that such an act was in preparation, and likely to be carried, was not sufficient to account for such activity by anticipation, as I think it was, there remains the well known fact, that *after* the news of the act having passed reached Cuba, land in that island rose in value full thirty per cent., and that, in the summer of 1847, the demand for slaves was greater than the slavers could supply. While, of the effect of the passing of the act on the trade in slaves, it is ascertained that while in 1834 and 1835 the trade was nearly extinct, at least in Cuba, in 1846 the number of slaves imported was sixty-four thousand, and in 1847 sixty-three thousand.

It is no doubt true, that the diminished number of the slaves imported into Cuba in the years first above mentioned, (1834 and 1835,) was in some measure owing to the better faith kept, at that time, with the British Government by the Spanish authorities at Madrid, and their colonial representative, General Valdez, the then Captain-general of the island of Cuba. But still, the coincidence between the passing of the act of 1846 and the vast increase in the activity of the slave trade, coupled with the acknowledged improvement which, at the same time, developed itself in the sugar cultivation in this island, is pregnant with evidence of the most important character. It is a favourite argument with those who are disposed to defend the legislation which has, of late years, so injuriously affected the interests of the British West Indian planters, that their necessities will compel these gentlemen to more economical management, and to the adoption of modern improvements on cane cultivation and in sugar making. No doubt it is a truism that what a man has not, he cannot, of his own, spend, either in lavish management or otherwise. But without here going further into the general argument, or doing more than affirming that the British colonial planters have retrenched their expenses of management in every possible way, (pared them down to one half of what they formerly were,) and also that they have been most liberal in their introduction of steam-engines, improved ploughs, and patent pans, *et hoc genus omne*, it may be here asked, whether this fact—that it was an increase in the demand, and in their profits, and not a falling off, that induced the planters of Cuba and of Porto Rico to improve their estates and sugar-works—does not practically militate against the above application of the theory of "necessity the mother of invention."

But while such was the effect of the Sugar Duties Bill of 1846, and subsequent legislation of 1848, in enhancing the value of property in slaveholding and sugar-producing countries, and in increasing the activity of the slave trade, what has been their effects on the property of our own colonists in the West Indies? *That* is a matter of too great notoriety to justify or require lengthened statement or illustration. That the British West Indian colonists have been loudly complaining that they are ruined, is a fact so generally acknowledged, that the very loudness and frequency of the complaint has been made a reason for disregarding or undervaluing the grounds of it. That the West Indians are always grumbling is an observation often heard; and, no doubt, it is very true that they are so. But let any one who thinks that the extent and clamour of the complaint exceeds the magnitude of the distress which has called it forth, go to the West Indies, and judge for himself. Let him see with his own eyes the neglected and abandoned estates—the uncultivated fields fast hurrying back into a state of nature, with all the speed of tropical luxuriance—the dismantled and silent machinery, the crumbling walls and deserted mansions, which are familiar sights in most of the British West Indian colonies. Let him then transport himself to the Spanish Islands of Porto Rico and Cuba, and witness the life and activity which in these slave colonies prevail. Let him observe for himself the activity of the slavers—the improvements daily making in the cultivation of the fields, and in the processes carried on at the Ingenios or sugar-mills, and the general indescribable air of thriving and prosperity which surrounds the whole—and then let him come back to England and say, if he honestly can, that the British West Indian planters and proprietors are grumblers who complain without adequate cause.

Take Jamaica, the chief of the British islands, as a sample of the present condition of the British possessions in these seas, and *ex uno disce omnes.* It appears from the report of the committee of the House of Assembly in that island, appointed in 1847 to inquire into the cause and extent of the agricultural distress, that, of the 653 sugar estates in cultivation in Jamaica in the year 1834, (the year of emancipation) only 503 were cultivated in 1847, the remaining 150 estates, containing 168,032 acres of land, and employing upwards of 23,000 labourers, having been abandoned. This was in 1847: the downward tendency has certainly not been checked since then—matters are now a great deal worse than they were in 1847 as regards the growth of the sugar-cane in Jamaica. Were we to take into view the coffee cultivation, the detail would be still more distressing. To the one fact above stated a thousand might be added, and all to the same disheartening effect; but the one fact will be easiest remembered, and it speaks volumes. The same observation as to the deser-

tion of estates may be made with regard to all the other colonies, (Barbadoes alone excepted,) though not to the same extent or in the same proportion. In particular, British Guiana has suffered much from the abandonment of estates; and even while I write, I have before me (supplied me by the kindness of an intelligent friend in that colony) a list of fifty-six cotton, coffee, but chiefly sugar estates, deserted and abandoned in that productive and vast possession of late years, because wholly unprofitable. Indeed, this colony has suffered very severely and peculiarly from this cause; which arises no doubt from the great extent of territory embraced within its limits, and the paucity of the negro population wherewith to carry on the cultivation.

No doubt, it has been said that much of the unprofitable results of sugar cultivation in the British West Indies is due to the profuse habits of the planters and proprietors, and the expensive system of agriculture and manufacture which they pursued; and it has been further said, that if they introduced machinery—steam-engines, and patent processes for preparing their sugar—they would so cheapen the productions as at once to put themselves in a position successfully to compete with the slaveholder. In so far as this charge of profuse management applies to sugar cultivation in the British West Indies, up to the passing of the Emancipation Act, or even for some time subsequent thereto, I might, as the result of my inquiries into the past condition of the colonies, be prepared to admit that there was some truth in it. Large profits will generally, and in all countries, lead to undue profusion both of living and of management; and it were idle to deny that, for many years, the profits from West Indian cultivation were great—were occasionally very great when compared with the remuneration from other sources of investment. So late even as the year 1846, the British colonists were getting in the markets of this country so high a price for their sugar as from £38 to £40 for a hogshead, weighing from seventeen or eighteen hundredweight; and, when it is kept in view that an acre of planted canes would produce two-and-a-half or three of such hogsheads; and that, excessively various as certainly are the estimates of the cost of sugar-making in the different colonies, or even on different estates in the same colony, few would estimate that expense in 1846 at more than from 18s. to 20s. a hundredweight, exclusive of freight and shipping charges, it cannot be denied, even by the colonist of most extravagant hopes, that the above-stated remuneration was at a very handsome rate. This extreme remuneration, however, was only for a short time, and in very peculiar circumstances.

But if the charge of profusion of living, expensiveness of management, or neglect of modern improvements, is intended to apply to to the state of all or of any of the islands of Barbadoes, Antigua, St.

Kitt's, Nevis, Montserrat, or Jamaica, in the year 1849, I give it advisedly and deliberately the most emphatic, decided, and unqualified contradiction. As regards improvements in modes of cultivation, and the introduction of steam-engines and other machinery, the wonder only is, that, with such a backgoing trade, the West Indian planters have had the courage so to lay out their own funds or come under obligations to others. Hope, however, delights to brighten the prospects of the future; and thus it is that the British West Indian planter goes on from year to year, struggling against his downward progress, and still hoping that something may yet turn up, to retrieve his ruined fortunes. But all do not struggle on. Many have given in, and many more can and will confirm the statement of a venerable friend of my own—a gentleman high in office in one of the islands above-mentioned—who, when showing me his own estate and sugar-works, assured me, that for above a quarter of a century they had yielded him nearly £2000 per annum; and that now, despite all his efforts and improvements, (which were many,) he could scarcely manage to make the cultivation pay itself. Instances of this kind might be multiplied till the reader was tired, and even heartsick, of such details. But what need of such? Is it not notorious? Has it not been proved by the numerous failures that have taken place of late years, among our most extensive West Indian merchants? Are not the reports of almost all the governors of our colonial possessions filled with statements to the effect, that great depreciation of property has taken place in all and each of our West Indian colonies, and that great has been the distress consequent thereupon? These governors are, of course, all of them imbued, to some extent, with the Ministerial policy—at least it is reasonable to assume that they are so. At all events, whether they are so or not, their position almost necessitates their doing their utmost to carry out, with success, the Ministerial views and general policy. To embody the substance of the answer given by a talented Lieutenant-governor, in my own hearing, to an address which set forth, somewhat strongly, the ruined prospects and wasted fortunes of the colonists under his government,—"It must, or it ought to be, the object and the desire of every Governor or Lieutenant-governor, in the British West Indian islands, to disappoint and stultify, if he can, the prognostications of coming ruin with which the addresses he receives from time to time are continually charged." Yet what say these Governors? Do not the reports of one and all of them confirm the above statement as to the deplorable state of distress to which the West Indian planters, in the British colonies, are now reduced? No doubt, (and the pages of any popular review since 1807 bear testimony to the fact,) we have had a long continuance of complaint—nay, even of the cry of distress—from the West Indian proprietors. Since the abolition of

the slave trade, we have never wanted the party watchword of "justice to the colonies." But let us take care that we do not apply the philosophy of the fable of the boy and the wolf. Whatever may have been the amount of cause for complaint in days gone by, there is no doubt of the fact that now the British West Indian planters have been brought, *actually* and *literally*, to the verge of ruin; and I know not what that minister or statesman would deserve of this country, who would devise and carry out the measure that would lead to a restoration to a self-supporting or moderately prosperous condition. Often, while witnessing those evidences of decadence, which were so constantly obtruding themselves, did I wish that the vote could have been taken over again on the Sugar Duties Bill of 1846—each member of the House of Commons having, previous to voting, prepared himself by a trip through the West Indian islands. How different would have been the result! It is one thing to hear a matter discussed, particularly where there is only a half or a halting account given of its truth, but it is quite another thing to contemplate the facts of the case for one's self; and thoroughly confident am I that, as "seeing is believing," if our legislators saw the actual condition of our West Indian colonies, there would not be perseverance in the present system of legislation regarding them—or, if there was, some counteracting and remedial measures at least would be devised and carried out.

In the colonial speech of the Premier of Great Britain, in the early part of the present session of Parliament, he distinctly and emphatically enunciated these positions,—"That England must retain her colonies; and that, while it was her duty as well as her interest so to do, she could not, consistently with the discharge of that duty or with her general policy, permit the native or imported races in any portion of these possessions to relapse into barbarism." These are noble principles and professions. How they are all to be carried out as regards the West Indian colonies, consistently with perseverance in free trade in sugar—slave as well as free grown—it passes my comprehension to know.

And where is all this downward tendency—this *facilis descensus*—to end? The object in view in passing the statutes of 1846 and 1848 was cheap sugar, and to carry out the principles of free trade in all their integrity and purity. It was and is said, (and truly said,) that sugar has become, not an article of luxury, but of necessity; and also that the consumption of it is increasing and will increase; and that it is unjust to tax the home consumer for the benefit of the colonial producer. And it is farther said, that, having adventured on a great experiment of free trade, it behoved the Government to carry it out in all its integrity; that it would not have done to have stopped short in its application, from a

regard to any one particular interest. Now these arguments may, to a certain extent, and as postulates, be conceded, without justifying the Ministerial policy in reference to the Sugar Duties Bill, and the subsequent legislation. I say to a certain extent; for I do not mean to carry the admission the length of holding that cheap sugar is a matter of so much necessity as to justify the Government in promoting a reduction of its price in the home market, *fas aut nefas*—by unlawful as well as by lawful means—by breach of agreement as well as by more legitimate courses. Nor do I mean to admit that "free trade" is so desirable; or that, once adventured on, even as an experiment, it is so necessary to apply it to everything—to carry it out in all its integrity—for that is the clap-trap phrase—that everything must give way to such considerations, so as to leave no room for exceptional cases. But, short of carrying the admission this insane length, it may be conceded that sugar is an article, not merely of luxury to the rich, but of necessity to the poor, so that the Government are bound to do everything lawful to cheapen the sugar market; and further, that free trade, once adventured on, should not be abandoned till fairly tried, and until the results, being tested by experience, are found to be unjust and injurious. But mark the answers that remain, even after such admissions have been made. The measure of 1846 will not, in the end, tend to the cheapening of the sugar market in this country. It will necessarily lead to the withdrawal of the British colonists from the competion—if not to the lapsing of the British West Indian islands into a state of Haytian semi-barbarism and unproductiveness—if they do not, in the hands of some other power, and when abandoned by England, return to an enslaved condition. Again, and with reference to the second branch of the argument under answer, the principles of free trade can never be properly applied, if the effect of the application be to place in one and the same category the man who is unfettered in his mode of working, and the man who is fettered. Not to weary my readers, I shall content myself with a very few simple remarks, in illustration of my meaning as regards both of these positions.

Sugar has fallen in price since the passing of the act in 1846. Every old lady knows the fact in the saving of her twopence or threepence a-week, and many, no doubt, rejoice in it. But why has it fallen? Because slave-grown sugar was then admitted to compete with and keep down the price of free-grown sugar. The first and immediate effect was to produce a great diminution in the importation of sugar from the British possessions in the West Indies—only 107,368 tons being thence brought in 1846, while 142,700 tons were imported in 1845.

No doubt, the statute retained an advantage in favour of free-grown sugar, in the shape of a gradually lessening protective duty

—(although, it may be remarked in passing, that it will be found, on a comparison of the scales of duty for the different kinds of sugar, that this advantage is not quite so great as at first sight appears.) But I have written to little purpose if I have not already shown that sugar produced by the labour of slaves can afford to give "free-grown sugar" even a greater advantage than the statute concedes to it. In a circular of Messrs. Drake, Brothers, & Co., of Havanna, for the year 1844 (the writers being then, and I presume now, among the leading merchants of that town of gay life and unsavoury smells,) it is openly announced to the world, "That they (Messrs. D. B. & Co.) had no expectation of the price of sugar (*i. e.* Cuban sugar) being improved, except by having the English market opened to the produce of the island;" adding, "if this were effected, at a rate even of *fifty per cent. above the duty on English colonial sugar*, still they should obtain for their produce double the amount they can obtain at present." This is surely sufficiently cool and conclusive. These long-headed, enterprising Havanna merchants quietly tell their equally knowing customers, that fifty per cent. of a differential duty, in favour of the British planter, would virtually be but little of a protection; or, at least, that the slave-owner of Cuba could easily afford him so much. When we find practical men addressing practical men in such terms as these, it is surely not to be wondered at that our West Indian suffering friends should display some degree of impatience when they hear it urged in the high places of Parliament, and elsewhere, that with economy of management, and improvements in cultivation, they ought to be able to contend successfully in a competition with sugar which is the produce of slave-labour.

To the same effect, and in strict consistency, we find the intelligent foreign merchants above referred to—Messrs. Drake, Brothers, and Co. of Havanna—on the 8th of January, 1848, addressing their constituents in these terms—the intelligent reader will mark the contrast,—"The production of 1847 has far exceeded that of any previous year, and the prices obtained by planters have been so highly remunerative, that they are enabled to adopt every means for the further extension of their crops." And that the cause of such unprecedented prosperity of the slave-owner, and of his highly remunerative prices, which so enabled him to carry out the most extensive improvements on his cane cultivation, might not be disputed or unappreciated by himself or others, another circular says—"During the past year the prices of sugar in our markets were supported at high rates, with but slight and temporary fluctuations, notwithstanding the large crop. This was mainly owing to the unprecedentedly heavy shipments to the United States *and to Great Britain*, aided by a well-sustained inquiry from Spain,

with a fair demand from other parts." To show that the writers of these circulars were quite correct, in ascribing the increase in the Cuban production of 1847 over that of 1846 to the opening of the British markets, and the supporting of the prices to the "unprecedentedly heavy shipments to Great Britain," it may be proper to mention the fact, that the quantity of foreign sugar (a large portion of it being from Cuba) imported into Great Britain in 1847, was nearly double that of 1846; the respective quantities being 63,211 tons of foreign sugar imported in 1846, and 123,762 tons of foreign sugar imported in 1847.

It was a free-trade argument used by Mr. Bright, in 1848, that the statute of 1846 could not be said to have increased the slave trade—or, in other words, the prosperity of the slave countries and colonies—seeing that the number of slaves imported into Cuba in 1846 exceeded (which they did by about a thousand) the number imported in 1847. And it has often, in the British House of Commons and elsewhere, been said, that the evidence adduced on the subject of West India distress is to be regarded with distrust and suspicion, being the evidence of interested parties. But without going into this oft-agitated question, or attempting any answer to this very convenient way of disposing of the concurrent statements of a host of persons, all otherwise most credible, what is to be said of this evidence from the slaveholders themselves? We have here a statement on the part of the Cubans, that they were able, even before the passing of the act of 1846, to undersell the British colonist, were he protected in the home market by a differential duty of fifty per cent; and further, we have the same parties consistently accounting for the large crop and highly remunerating prices of 1847, by attributing both to the encouragement given, and demand created, by the large exportation to Great Britain consequent on the passing of that act.

Nor can it be said that it is anything connected with his climate, soil, or mode of cultivation, that gives the slaveholder so great an advantage. It cannot be said that he has surpassed, or even come up to the British colonist, in regard to the improved modes of culture or of manufacturing; *that* has not, and cannot be said. The existence of slavery, the liberty to work his fields and manufacture his crop by means of slaves, is the alone cause which creates the difference in the expense.

But if the Cuban or other slaveholder can undersell, or compete with, the British colonist, even when the latter is protected by a differential duty, what is to be the result when the parties shall be placed on an entire equality, as they will now, under the operation of the Sugar Duties Bill, be at no very distant date? It is this consideration I would earnestly desire to draw attention to; and, in

particular I would desire to draw to it the attention of the numerous friends of the Negro race. I make no pretensions to the spirit of prophecy, and I confess myself very much at sea as to the future prospects of these beautiful islands of the Western Archipelago, in which I passed so many pleasant days. But, without pretending to see far into the future, there are one or two things that may safely be predicated as to the ulterior results. Should the downward, ruinous tendency continue—if it be not arrested by the legislative measures of England, or by some other contingency—one of two things will certainly follow: either the British West Indian Islands will cease to be cultivated for the growth of sugar, and the estates, at present so occupied, will be devoted to the culture of other things; or, ceasing to be cultivated at all for purposes of exportation, these estates will be deserted entirely by their European proprietors, and either allowed to become overgrown with "bush," or be taken possession of for Negro gardens and independent villages. In either case, what becomes of our cheap sugar? The price is now kept down chiefly by the competition between the free-grown sugar of the British possessions and the slave-grown sugar of Brazil, Cuba, and Porto Rico There is a supply from the colonial possessions of other countries, &c., but that supply is not so considerable as to affect the present argument. Now, what would be the effect of the supply of sugar from the British colonial possessions, in the western seas, being destroyed, or even materially lessened? What consequences might naturally be expected to ensue from a serious diminution in the sugar productions of the British West Indies?* The first most obvious answer to these questions is, —That such a falling off in the supply would of necessity produce

* In reference to this part of the subject, it was in view to have given the reader a tabular statistical statement, showing the proportion which the production of, and the amount of importations *from*, the British West Indian possessions bears to the sugar productions of the whole world, and to the total importation of sugar into Great Britain; and also the proportion which the British West Indian sugar retained for consumption, bears to the whole sugar consumed in this country—as well as some additional particulars on these subjects. Indeed I had possessed myself of many materials to enable me to do this with accuracy; and, in the collection of these, had availed myself of the information and intelligence of several gentlemen practically and minutely acquainted with the sugar trade, among whom I would respectfully name Messrs. Connal & Co., of Glasgow. But the details and particulars being collected, I have found the total sugar production of the whole world so variously stated, and subject to so many explanations; the annual importation of sugar into Great Britain so fluctuating, and its consumption therein so various, (depending mainly on the rate of wages;) and the proportion between foreign sugar and molasses, and colonial sugar and molasses used in this country liable to so many qualifying explanations, that to carry out the task I thus contemplated, would have led me far beyond the limits to which this Chapter ought to extend. Besides, I also found, that for all the purposes of my argument, and without in the least affecting the soundness of the conclusions arrived at, the statistical premises may be set forth in a general way, and in round numbers. Of this the reader will of course judge for himself, when he has completed his perusal of my remarks.

an enhancing of the price. On this all are agreed. But, would this enhancement of the price be temporary or permanent? and, if merely the former, would it endure for a great length of time? Without, at least for the present, considering the *value* of the argument which arises from supposing that the proper answer to this question is, that any advancement of price so created would not be of long duration—I am solicitous of considering the soundness of the opinion such an answer embodies; and that chiefly because I have found the opinion one generally prevalent among some men whose views are entitled to the highest respect. Now, the most careful consideration I have been able to give the subject, leads me to the conclusion that any considerable diminution in the cultivation—and consequently in the sugar production—of the British West Indies, would to a certainty lead to such a permanent, or at least long continued, enhancement of the price of sugar in this country, as would seriously interfere with its consumption, enrich the slave-holders of Brazil and of Spain, and their respective governments, encourage slavery, and procrastinate the period of its endurance; and prove that the English sugar legislation of 1846 and 1848 had been at least but a short-sighted policy. Let the soundness of this opinion be tested by the consideration of the following facts.

The production of, and the demand for, sugar throughout the world is nearly balanced; so that any derangement in the sources of supply only leads to an enhancing of the price in all the markets; and any additional demand in one country can only be supplied by a proportionate withdrawal from the others. Nay, more: if the supply of sugar has increased, the consumption has increased in even more than an equal ratio. Up to 1842, the quantity of sugar made for exportation by the whole sugar-making countries and colonies of the world, was estimated at about 670,000 tons; in 1849, (according to the circular of Messrs Trueman & Rouse, dated 1st June of that year,) about 970,000 tons. Both these estimates are exclusive of the beetroot-sugar of France, Prussia, and Belgium, &c., which may safely be taken at 100,000 tons in 1842, and 90,000 tons in 1849; the production of sugar from beet having unquestionably fallen off during later years. The total sugar production of 1842 was thus under 800,000 tons, and that of 1849 above 1,050,000 tons. Now, while such was the production for the supply of this necessary of life for the whole world, what was the quantity, or about the average quantity, consumed in Great Britain? And what was and is the proportion of that consumption supplied by those noble West Indian possessions, whose possible abandonment we are now contemplating? Here, too, the statistics might be given in round numbers, without affecting the argument. The numbers stated will, however, be found to be as nearly as possible correct. It appears, from the valuable

tables of Mr. Porter, that the quantity of sugar (including molasses, equivalent to sugar) retained in this country for consumption for each of the ten years between, and inclusive of, the years 1830 and 1840, was about 200,000 tons (the numbers ranging between 190,000 tons and 220,000 tons, nearly, according to the rise and fall in the rate of wages). We have seen that, up to 1840, the total production (beetroot-sugar inclusive) was considerably short of 800,000 tons. But by 1849 both numbers had greatly increased; that which indicates the consumption of this country having, however, increased in the greater ratio. As above stated, the whole sugar (beet included) produced in 1849, may be estimated at about 1,050,000 tons. But the consumption of sugar in Great Britain for 1849 was 299,880 tons, and of molasses 40,620 tons; and, reducing the molasses to sugar, the total consumption of Great Britain for 1849 may safely be stated at upwards of 317,000 tons.

With the above-stated facts before him, it is quite unnecessary to say to any one that a serious diminution in the sugar production of the British West Indian colonies would operate very injuriously on the comforts as well as on the pockets of the people of Great Britain. But we are brought even still more conclusively, to the same result, when we consider the proportion which the importation from the British possessions in the West Indies bears to the whole importation of sugar into this country. If not from time immemorial, at least ever since sugar became the necessary of life it is now regarded, the sugar consumed in Great Britain has been mainly supplied from her own colonial empire. As a matter of course, this remark is made without reference to the earlier introduction of sugar into England in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, when, according to Mr. M'Culloch, it was brought over to this country by the Venetians and Genoese in small quantities, and as an article of high luxury. Indeed, it was not till about the beginning of the eighteenth century that the consumption of sugar in Great Britain reached an amount to call for special notice. Even during the first year of that century, the total consumption was only 10,000 tons; while up to the year 1786 the increase had raised it to 81,000 tons, or thereby. Its subsequent rapid increase may be understood from remarks which have been previously made; and had it not been made so very much a subject of taxation and of revenue, there can be no doubt but that the consumption would have extended itself with much greater rapidity, to the increase of the population, the extension of the cultivation, and the advancement of the general prosperity of the British West Indies. Now, till within the last few years, nearly the whole of the sugar thus supplied for home consumption has been drawn from the dependencies of Great Britain—the duty on the importation on foreign sugar being so high as to amount to a prohibition, or

nearly so. Nay more, up to about the year 1820, almost the whole of the sugar used in this country was brought from our tropical possessions in the West Indian seas. Up to the year named, the importation of East Indian sugar was very trifling; and it was not till 1825, when the sugar of the Mauritius was placed on an equal footing with that imported from the British colonies in the West Indies, that the importation of sugar from the Mauritius became considerable in its amount.

Even yet, and notwithstanding the great change which has come over the spirit of our commercial policy; leaving out of view that system under which, if not in consequence of which, Great Britain attained a position of commercial greatness unrivalled in ancient, and without paralled in modern times; and notwithstanding, also, that by the philanthropic abolition of slavery in our own colonies, while it yet continued in the colonies which surrounded them, and in which produce similar to theirs is manufactured, we have made the sugar question a special and exceptional case; notwithstanding that, in disregard of these and other considerations, the door has been opened to a competition between foreign slave-grown and colonial free-grown sugar in the markets of this country—still, a very large proportion of the whole sugar consumed in Great Britain is supplied from our own colonial possessions in the West Indian Archipelago. By lessening the number of labourers for conducting the operations in the fields, or at the boiling-house and distillery, one of the effects of the Emancipation Act was to inflict a heavy blow upon the production of the British West Indies. It fell off very greatly. In 1834 it was 192,098 tons; in 1841 it had fallen to 107,500 tons; thereafter it revived in consequence of the introduction of machinery, and the adoption of improved modes of husbandry and manufacture, till 1846 when it again fell off to 107,368 tons. It has since somewhat improved, and in 1849 the quantity of sugar imported into this country from the British West Indies was 142,240 tons; while 120,870 tons were brought from the Mauritius and the East Indies, and 98,045 tons from foreign parts—all exclusive of the importation of molasses.

It is thus seen that, even yet, the sugar imported from her own possessions in the West Indies forms a large proportion of the whole sugar imported into Great Britain; so that any serious diminution in the amount of that import, (or, in other words, in the extent of the sugar cultivation of the British West Indies,) would have a very serious effect on the price of sugar in this country. But the most important consideration is yet to come. Nothing more conclusively appears, from a comparison of the statistical tables relative to the sugar trade, then does the fact that while, on a comparison of years, the importation of foreign sugar is increasing, that of British colo-

nial is diminishing. The relative proportions may vary in different years, but the general result is as I have stated it. The supply of foreign sugar and molasses is increasing; and if matters progress even just as they have been doing, the gradual increase in the amount required will be supplied by importations from foreign, and almost entirely from slaveholding countries and colonies, to the great encouragement of slavery and of the slave trade, if not to the ruin of the free sugar-growing colonies of Great Britain.

But will not a continuance of the present system eventuate in the ruin of the British West Indian colonies, at least as sugar-producing countries? To my mind it appears that it must do so. Already the present competition in the home market, between free and slave grown sugar, has had the effect of throwing out of cultivation many of the sugar estates in the British possessions. If such is the case even now, when there exists a protective or differential duty of about 5s. 9d. per cwt., what is to be the effect in 1854, when the operation of this principle of competition has been pushed to its climax? Must not that effect be the sure, though gradual, withdrawal of the British West Indian colonists altogether from the competition? And if so, must not the price of sugar then rise, and rise very greatly? No doubt it has been and may be said, that even were such a deplorable result to be the legitimate issue of a continuance of our free-trade policy as regards the article of sugar, yet the effect would not be the permanent enhancement of the price of this now necessary commodity, inasmuch as any serious falling off in the production in the British colonies would stimulate production in foreign countries, and the extent of territory in which sugar might be grown being very great, the consequence of that stimulated production would be the maintenance of present prices. Now, apart from the answer to this argument, that it resolves the whole question into one of cheapness of price, I more than question its soundness; nay, I deny that it is sound. We have seen that, even with the production of the tropical possessions of England in the West Indies, the production of the sugar produced in all parts of the globe has not increased in a greater ratio than the demand for it has done; and we have also seen how large a proportion of that total production is the sugar made in the British West Indian possessions. I cannot, therefore, suppose that even the most enthusiastic advocate for the integrity of free-trade principles, or the most credulous believer in the sufficiency of such principles to maintain and preserve a due equilibrium between the demand and the supply, can imagine that, should the time ever come when the competition of Brazilian, Cuban, and other slave-grown sugar shall have driven the British planter out of the market, the former will not have a virtual monopoly of the sugar market, and the advantage of the enhanced prices which such mono-

poly will of necessity create. Is there any one, who knows anything of the statistics of the sugar trade, who supposes for a moment that the supply of sugar to be had from the British possessions in the East, the Mauritius, the free colonies of other countries, or any other place, would suffice to prevent the production of such a result? The sugar annually made by means of slaves in Brazil, and in the colonies of Spain, at present amounts to nearly a third more than the whole quantity made in the British West Indian colonies, British India, and the Mauritius. Were the first of the three last-mentioned sources of supply cut off, (as my argument supposes,) the production from the two last-mentioned would not amount to much more than the quantity at present exported from Brazil alone. It is not, then, to be supposed that even the party most desirous of the continuance of the present system of colonial policy, and most prepared to go the whole length of meeting all the consequences that may or can result from its application, rather than go back upon any part of this favourite theory of free trade, will be disposed to conduct the argument upon the assumption or admission, that probably, or even possibly, a continuance of the present system of placing slave-grown and free-grown sugar on an equality, in the home market, may eventuate in driving the British colonist out of the market altogether. Such person will rather be disposed to deny the probability, or even the possibility, of such a result. Indeed, it is plainly the only course which there is left for him to pursue. It would never do to suppose the possibility of our West Indian colonies ceasing entirely to export sugar to the mother country. Not only is the very idea one that, if seriously entertained, would rouse the feelings and excite the energies of the whole nation; not only would it involve the supposition, that all oft-quoted £20,000,000 of compensation money had been thrown away; not only would it be to assume that all Britain's efforts to ameliorate the condition of the unfortunate sons of Ham in the West Indies had only terminated in leaving them in a worse condition that that in which they were, when first, in 1807, our course of legislative philanthropy was adventured on; not only would the idea of the British West Indian colonists abandoning the cultivation of the sugar-cane involve all this and more: it would likewise involve the admission that the policy of the sugar duties, statutes of 1846 and 1848 had failed; that, while the object aimed at by our new legislative acts was to cheapen sugar to the British consumer, that object had not been eventually attained—nay, the result had been the other way. After a few years of cheapness, caused by unequal competition between slave and free grown sugar, the production of the latter had been given up as unprofitable; and the manufacturer of the former, having it all his own way, or nearly so, had advanced prices to a higher point than they had ever attained before

the introduction of the measure which had thus driven the British planter from the field of competition.

Supposing the Cuban or Brazilian to be actuated by the ordinary principles of human nature, such a result may be predicated, with certainty, as the issue of the British West Indies being driven out of the sugar market. But even supposing these parties to be so negligent to their own interests, or so enamoured of the principles of free trade, as to allow prices to remain at the minimum to which competition had reduced them, there is still the little less than certainty of the Spanish and Brazilian governments imposing export duties, or additional export duties, so soon as they found that their doing so would not prevent the consumption of their sugar by England and her possessions.

Now, if there be any probability in the views above stated—if there be any grounds even, for supposing that the result contemplated is within the immense cycle of possible things—is this not a subject which is well worthy of the serious consideration, not only of the statesmen and legislators of this great country, but of the whole thinking portion of the nation? And if it be the fact, as many do now aver, and offer to prove it to be, (by a host of witnesses too practical to be themselves deceived, too honest to desire to deceive others, and too consistent and concurrent in their testimony to be easily gainsayed), that the anticipated issue is, even now, in operation; that the resultts of that legislation which will in 1854 place colonial, free, and foreign slave-grown sugar on an equal footing,—in respect of duties, for, relative value considered, they are already on an equality—has been to lessen, and will be to destroy, the production of the former kind altogether,—surely it is high time for all who feel an interest in the welfare of England, or of her West India colonies, or even a desire for permanent cheapness of sugar, to exert themselves, if they may, by so doing, discover a means whereby so great an evil may be prevented or avoided. Here the question is only considered as it is likely to affect the interests of the sugar consumers of Great Britain. We have, for the present, nothing to do with the effects of the possible or probable lessening or abandonment of sugar cultivation of the West Indies by the British colonist, on the condition and destinies of these colonies, or of the Negro race which at present inhabit them—that is a separate question; and it is a wide and an important one, for which we may, or may not, have room to treat in this work. The subject here in hand is the interest the whole inhabitants of Great Britain have in the consideration of the question of whether a continuance of that legislation, which will eventually place slave and free productions on an equal footing in the markets of England, is, or is not, likely to lead to the abandonment or serious diminution of sugar cultivation in the West Indies

—and this question will be found to be a sufficiently important one. To treat of it at the length it would justify, if not require, were beyond the limits of a work like this; but a few facts and considerations will, it is conceived, be sufficient to place the subject in a light which will show that it at least deserves, and loudly calls for, the most serious attention.

Were the subject not encircled with elements of painful reflection to most persons who have personally witnessed the blighted hopes and ruined fortunes of our fellow-subjects in the West Indies, it would be simply amusing to see the manner in which the topic of West Indian distress is generally treated, by specimens of every class of politicians in this country. It is not confined to one class, it seems to pervade all—Tory, Conservative, Whig, Radical, and Chartist—all seem to adopt something of the same style of getting over or away from the consideration of the subject. All the parties here referred to profess to admit the existence of West Indian distress, and all of them seem also to admit that the West Indians have not had justice done to them, and to deplore that such is the fact; but all of them, at the same time, decline to commit themselves to any practical remedy, or at least decline to admit that any such remedy can possibly be looked for in an interference with their own peculiar and favourite political nostrums. The Tory or Conservative will shake his head, and, while he admits that the West Indies are nearly ruined, he will point, at the same time, to the fact that the landed interests of England have also had much of depressing influence to contend against—as if there were any proper or legitimate bond of connexion between the two; or as if, even though there were, the repetition of an injustice were an extenuation, instead of an aggravation, of an offence. The Radical and Chartist, also, will complacently admit the fact of West Indian depression; but they will, at the same time, declaim loudly of sugar being now a necessary of the poor man's life—of the advantages of cheap sugar—and of its being expedient, in all cases, that a nation should buy in the cheapest as well as sell in the dearest markets: as if it were a settled thing that the present free-trade policy, as regards this commodity, were the one most calculated to produce a permanent lowering of the price; or as if there were nothing either in national faith, or in national consistency, where self-interest, or what was supposed to be so, stood in the way. Now it is only right that all this evasion of the real argument should be put aside, and that this truly great West Indian question should be viewed apart from all political views, either of one kind or of another. The question is one of interest as well as of justice, and the sooner the nation views it in this light, the better for all parties. It is the interest as well as the bargain of this country, that she should protect her colonists from the competition of slave-grown

produce. It is her bargain, because, when she tied the hands of these colonists, by precluding them from the employment of slaves in the cultivation and management of their estates, she conditioned, as well expressly as by implication, that at no future period would they ever find her so far and so decidedly encouraging slavery as to expose them to competition from the slave-grown produce of foreigners, at least in the home market. It is her interest, because, it having been to demonstration and by experience proven, that, in the present state of the West Indies, culture or labour by freemen can never be so remunerative (in other words, can never compete with) the labour of slaves, the necessary effect of placing the two on equal footing must be to drive the free produce out of the market; and, consequently, to lead eventually to the abandonment of the sugar plantations, boiling-houses, and distilleries, at present in cultivation and operation in the free colonies of England. The word advisedly used here is "eventually"—not because there is, even now, any doubt of the fact that the cultivation of a sugar estate, in most of the British colonies in the West Indies, cannot be profitably conducted in the face of a competition on equal terms (as will soon be the case) with the slave-grown sugar of Cuba, Porto Rico, or the Brazils—no; the qualifying word is employed, simply because the writer has had many opportunities of observing the "hope against hope" which animates the great body of West Indian planters in the British colonies. With their all perilled on the venture, and knowing personally and full well how important to England is the preservation of her colonies, as accessories and aids to her mercantile and naval supremacy, and strong in an ardent attachment to the constitution and institutions of their native land, these West Indian proprietors cannot permit themselves to believe that the present system of misgovernment is to last for ever. They cannot think that it will be allowed to work out its dire results; they hope and trust that the eyes of those in power at home will be opened to the real existing state of things; and that the voices of the many, and the really interested, are not to be silenced or disregarded for ever, because of the mis-statements of the few, who find it to be their interests to echo—no matter at what expense of consistency or of truth—the opinions of those to whom their statements are addressed. Thus it is that the great body of West Indian planters and proprietors have gone on, year after year, struggling against the difficulties with which they have had to contend. But it were a curious inquiry—one both painful and profitable—to inquire into the sacrifices at which the struggle has been kept up. It formed one of the arguments in favour of the Emancipation Bill of 1833, that it would improve the condition as well of the planter as of the slave. How has this promise been kept? No doubt, the emancipation money went to relieve the

estates that had been previously burdened with debt, and to relieve also the anxieties of many mortgages, who were previously somewhat doubtful about the security on which their advances had been made. Nay, even the fact that their estates were relieved in this way from their former debts, operated injuriously as regards many of the proprietors of West Indian properties.

At the time the emancipation money was paid, many of these estates were burdened so helplessly, and under such circumstances, that, for a present and immediate payment of two-thirds of the amount of the mortgage, the creditor who held it would have been glad to have given up his security altogether. Nay, in many cases creditors would have been well paid to have got settlement on these terms. An estate nominally valued at £50,000 was burdened with debt to the extent of £35,000; but the real selling value of the property was probably not much more than the amount of the mortgage, and the holder of the security very probably would gladly have given some deduction from the amount of his bond, to have been put into possession of hard cash for the balance of it—at least he would have been so, had he foreseen the result of subsequent legislation. But the Emancipation Act, with its attendant compensation, came; and it being the principle of the statute that the compensation money should go, in the first place, to the wiping off the real debt on the burdened estates; the mortgagee found himself in possession of a present payment of one-half of his debt, with still the security of the whole estate for the payment of the other moiety. The effect of this partial payment of mortgages on estates, under the operation of the emancipation statute, coupled with the depreciation in the value of West Indian properties, consequent upon the actual working of that act, has thus led to a very strange state of things, and of feeling, in some of our West Indian possessions. I cannot better illustrate this than by giving the substance of an argument I once heard maintained by a professional friend, whose acquaintance I made in one of the Leeward Islands. Speaking of an actual case, in which he had been consulted, he told me that it was his intention to urge in court the plea that the mortgagee, seeking to foreclose, had no right to do so, for recovery of the amount or balance stated in the face of his mortgage. His reasoning, or that he purposed making use of, was this—You, the mortgagee, lent your £35,000, on my client's estate, at a time when you and he both believed it to be worth £50,000; and, in doing so, you acted on, and were solely influenced by that belief. But the Emancipation Act came; and while, under its operation, you received some £10,000 or £15,000 of your debt, the other effect of it was to reduce the value of the whole estate to a sum not more than adequate for the payment of your balance. Seeing, then, that we both adventured on a principle or valuation

which has turned out fallacious—seeing that the estate we mutually supposed to be worth £50,000 has, through the effects of legislative interference, turned out to be worth not more than £20,000, why should I, the owner, be the sole loser, while you the mortgagee, should lose nothing at all? The fallacy in such an argument is, of course, very obvious; and I doubt not but that my sharp-witted friend himself also saw it. But the fact, that such an argument was made use of by a professional man of ability, and that it met with acceptance from the party at a governor's table who heard it, affords an element for consideration, in endeavouring to arrive at a correct estimate of the sentiments generally prevalent in the colonies themselves, on the subject of the treatment they have received under the legislative measures of the mother country.

While, however, in their hope of better things, the vast majority of the British planters in the West Indies have gone on struggling against the depreciating influences to which they have been exposed —and while I doubt not but that they, or the major number of them, will continue still to do so for perhaps many years to come, even though no legislative attempt should be made to arrest their downward progress—nay more, while even this very depression may, in illustration of the principle that "sweet are the uses of adversity," teach some of these planters an economy or frugality of living and of management they would not otherwise have practised—yet sure am I of two things, and these two things I would desire to impress on the minds of all who unite with me in the opinion that, without her colonies, England would be but a skeleton of her present self; and who, consequently, like me, desire that the prosperity of these colonies should be looked after, just as if they formed an integral part of the empire of Great Britain. The facts referred to are these: —In the first place, the evils predicated as likely to arise from exposing colonial sugar to an equal competition with foreign slave-grown sugar, have been felt in part already. In several of the colonies, estates formerly flourishing are now deserted, and are hastening back to a state of nature with all the luxuriant rankness of tropical vegetation. Free labour may possibly, in other circumstances, compete wich slave labour, even in sugar making; but it certainly cannot do so with the means of labour at present to be had in the British West Indies—the colony of Barbadoes alone excepted. In the other colonies it has never been afforded a fair chance. In the second place, the same thing is now going on, and is evidencing its operation by the withdrawal of capital from the cultivation of the soil and from the manufacture of the juices produced from the cut cane. The inevitable result must be—if no interposing cause prevent—that in some ten, or it may perchance be twenty years, although I cannot think it can be so long, the sugar production of the British West

Indian colonies will form no barrier in the way of a rise of prices for the benefit of Brazil, or of the slave-employing colonies of Spain. This opinion will to some seem extravagant; but I would that the question presently at issue between the British West Indian planters and the home government could be brought to this arbitrament —could be determined by the former being brought to an assize, and challenged to the proof of the two specific positions. The desertion of estates, and the causes of such desertion, could be established by the evidence of their unfortunate owners—the only objection to their examination being the great amount of time that would be consumed in hearing the dispiriting statements of so many witnesses, speaking each from his own personal and dear-bought experience;—while the continued operation of the same cause in the production of the same result, and the annual lessening of the number of acres devoted to cane cultivation, might be established—not only by the united testimonies of the West Indian planters and proprietors, but by the evidence of nearly every Governor who has held the reins of power in the West Indian colonies for the last four years. It has been already remarked that it was to be expected that these gentlemen, if not themselves thoroughly impressed with the wisdom of the present colonial policy, would at least do their utmost to contradict or controvert the tales of decadence and ruin which the West Indians have of late years been annually pouring forth. No doubt, neither governors nor governed could deny the extensive failures that have of late years been so common among West Indian merchants in this country, and which, it is notorious, have arisen from no other cause than the unexpected introduction of slave-grown produce to compete with the produce of those who are neither allowed to work their estates by means of slaves, nor provided with a sufficient supply of freemen wherewith to cultivate them, although the latter was unquestionably promised them. Neither could any candid man deny the evidence of back-going afforded by abandoned estates and deserted sugar-works—the former becoming overgrown with brushwood, with that rapidity which is characteristic of growth within the tropics, and the latter fast crumbling into ruin and decay. Such real evidence is not to be gainsayed. But what cannot be denied may sometimes be extenuated; and, instead of leaving the dry details to tell their own tale of blighted hopes and ruined expectations, any one, desirous of giving only a favourable account of matters, could point to grounds of hope—to collateral causes that may have aided in the production of unfortunate results—and to the removal of these minor causes as likely to lead to an amended state of matters. And, to some extent at least, this has been done by the governors of our West Indian possessions. So far as truth could justify, or as a ground of hope for the future exists, these gentlemen have been

most assiduous in pointing out sources of consolation and of improvement; and certainly the most cheering description of West Indian positions and prospects that can, without violation of truth, be given, are those contained in the able despatches and reports from such governors as Lord Harris, Colonel Reid, Mr. Higginson, or Sir Charles Grey, &c., to be found in the pages of the Blue Books. And yet what do these reports bear? Do not one and all of them bear out the assertions I have advanced—that the consequence of the Sugar Duties Bill of 1846 has been to throw land out of cultivation in the British colonies; and that this result is still progressing, and, if unchecked, must end in the serious diminution of the sugar production of the British West Indies? In a despatch of Lord Harris, of 18th September 1847, after alluding to the decrease in production, and to the abandonment of estates, his Lordship says—"I do not hesitate to express to your Lordship my conviction, that if this colony (Trinidad) is not to be left to subside into a state of comparative barbarism, which would result from the ruin of its larger proprietors, some more than ordinary relief is necessary to support it in the contest which it, in common with the other British West Indian colonies, is now engaged in. Circumstanced as it is, *I believe it incapable* of successfully competing in the British market with the produce of countries in which slavery is still permitted." Colonel Reid, in 1848, thus records his sentiments—"My opinion is, that sugar cultivation, by free labour, cannot yet withstand competition on equal terms, with slave labour, and that freedom should be nursed by protection for a considerable time to come." And again—"If there be no protection, the cultivation of sugar will be further given up in Granada, and it will dwindle in all the Windward islands, excepting Barbadoes." It will be kept in view that Colonel Reid is only reporting as to the islands composing the Windward group, and that his somewhat questionable exception, even, of Little England, (Barbadoes,) is on account of its excessive population making labour cheap, and thus enabling the planters in that island to hold head against the competition of the slaveholder. It is important that this be kept in view, as it bears upon the question of remedy, to be, in conclusion of this chapter, very briefly noticed.

To the same effect, Governor-general Higginson, writing from, and mainly of, the populous and, as I have already shown, *comparatively* prosperous island of Antigua, says,—"It must be conceded that, for obvious reasons, free-grown sugar can never yield so lucrative a return as that produced by foreign slaves." While with equal definiteness writes Sir Charles C. Grey from Jamaica, on 21st September, 1847, (and in various other despatches,)—"There is a sincere apprehension amongst the persons most thoroughly acquainted with the subject, that, at the present Lon-

don prices of West Indian sugar, and the present rate of duties, *it will be impossible to carry on here, without loss and ruin, the cultivation of sugar for exportation.*"

Sufficient as they are for the case I undertook to prove—abundant as they are to show, to the satisfaction of every unbiassed mind, that the ablest of the representatives of the crown of England, resident in the West Indies, admit both the present desertion of estates, and its probable continuance and extension, unless something be done to arrest its progress:—the passages I have quoted are far from being all that is contained, even in the despatches quoted from, to the same effect. Neither have these despatches been selected (any more than are the passages from them excerpted) with any degree of care; both are taken almost at random. Nearly all the despatches from these governors to the Colonial Office, since 1840, have borne evidence to the fact of West Indian decadence, and of the impossibility of the British West Indian planter, with the means of labour at present at his command, competing with the slave-owner of Brazil, Cuba, or Porto Rico. Does not such evidence establish the assertion that, unless the British planter be aided or protected in some way, the result must eventually be the withdrawal of the British colonies from the competition of the sugar market? And when such result has been produced, what then becomes of the argument of "cheap sugar"?—that argument by the use of which the people of England were reconciled to the adoption of a measure which has depressed the value of land in the British West Indian colonies *far more than one half*, and increased the value of real estate in Cuba and Porto Rico *fully one third*. If any one doubts this, let him consult any capitalist acquainted with the subject, or let him inquire if, and on what terms, money can be raised on the security of a sugar estate, boiling-works, and distillery in Trinidad or Jamaica, and on a sugar plantation and an *ingenio* in Cuba. The result will more than confirm my assertion, and startle the incredulous inquirer not a little.

But the passages above quoted from some of the despatches of the Governors of the British West Indian possessions, remind me that there is yet another branch of this subject which ought not to be wholly overlooked, however shortly it may require to be noticed.

We have hitherto been considering the subject exclusively in its application to the sugar consumers in this country,—solely in a selfish light, and in its relation to the question of cheap or dear sugar to the people of England. But Lord Harris is of opinion, that the lapsing of the fertile island of Trinidad into a state of barbarism may be regarded as a not improbable event, if the present system be persevered in; and Colonel Reid feels convinced "that,

without protection, the *most* serious result would not be the loss of sugar; but the consummation of the greatest act of human legislation—the abolition of slavery—will be retarded, and perhaps endangered." Analogous passages, from the despatches of other governors, might be quoted; and surely the fact that such men, so situated and so experienced, have deemed it not merely their province, but their duty, to lift up their warning—their almost prophetic voices—to that Government of whom their appointments were held, in the way of caution against a continued perseverance in the Ministerial policy, is in itself one of the strongest facts that go to prove the existence of the danger which is here referred to. Will any man of sense and reason permit himself to doubt that, were the governors who penned these admirable and truth-telling despatches to be now appointed a commission, with power to legislate for the West Indian colonies in their relationship to the mother country, their very first act would be to make a very serious inroad upon the principles of that legislation which influenced the Sugar Duties Bills of 1846 and 1848? It is impossible to doubt but that such would be the case? And again, does not this in itself prove the necessity for the immediate adoption of remedial measures? That a body of enlightened men—chosen because fit to govern in tropical climes—after residing for years in the society and midst the scenes of which they write, have (many of them, in the face of preconceived opinions, which retarded conviction) arrived at the conclusions, 1st. That slave-grown produce will drive free-grown produce out of the market altogether; and 2d. That, if this be the issue, the British colonies will lapse into barbarism—appears to me to be the strongest of all possible reasons for urging the adoption of some measures of relief. If it be said that the statements of these governors is but testimony—evidence capable of being rebutted by contrary proof; I answer—Be it so. But it is at least testimony *omni exceptione major*—the evidence of persons entitled to the very fullest belief—at all events, until an equal amount of unexceptionable testimony has been adduced on the other side of the question. Let it also be observed, that this testimony to West Indian decadence, thus drawn from despatches sent to the Government, is altogether apart from, and independent of, the testimony of the British West Indian planters themselves—men who have been so often and so undeservedly accused of making a parade of their distress.

And why should it be doubted, either that the non-profitable cultivation of a sugar estate and the unremunerative working of a boiling-house and distillery, should lead to their abandonment? or that the abandonment of the cultivation should lead to the lapsing of the colonies into a state of worse than pristine barbarism?

The first is simply the operation of the law of self-preservation. Tropical agriculture, and sugar and rum-making, are not carried on by the British any more than by the Spanish planter as a luxury, or for his own gratification; nor are these operations conducted save at very heavy annual outlay and expense. People will carry on a losing trade so long as previously made profits and capital last, or as there is hope of the dawn of a brighter state of things. But the ceasing of the profits will sooner or later lead to the exhaustion of the capital; and, there being no "star of hope" seen in the horizon of the future, it is only in accordance with a principle of self-preservation, that the cultivation and the manufacture should be eventually given up.

And if the cultivation of the sugar-cane, and the manufacture and distillation of its juice be abandoned, what is there to induce the British colonists to remain in the West Indies? Does any one imagine that it is from the love of a tropical climate, or of tropical scenery, that the European conducts his operations under the sweltering heat of an almost vertical sun? Does any one think that there is anything like a considerable body of the white population in the West Indies, who would remain in them one hour longer than they can help, if all hope of the profitable cultivation of these colonies were at an end? If so, such person labours under a grievous misconception. There are many charming things to be seen and tasted within the tropics. Tropical nights are very lovely; tropical trees are ofttimes very graceful; some tropical dishes and fruits—turtle-soup and pine-apples in particular—are very delicious. But these, and all other tropical luxuries besides, would not suffice to detain our enterprising fellow-countrymen or their fair companions within the torrid zone, were it not that they have hitherto found it to be their interest to be there. The fair lady of British birth, whom love or duty has caused to make the beautiful islands of the Western Archipelago her temporary home; or her equally fair countrywoman of Creole origin, born of British parentage but within the tropic line, may give an occasional shudder, and draw her shawl or cloak closer around her form, as she listens to or feels the blasts of a northern winter. But I am quite sure that I declare the sentiments of the great mass of the European inhabitants of the British West Indies, when I say, that there is not one of them who would consent to exchange *for ever* the bracing influences and fond associations of Great Britain, for all the brightness of that tropic sun—

"Which scorches those it beams upon."

Nay, more, I venture to assert, that the vast majority of the par-

ties I refer to would not consent to remain in the West Indies one year longer than interest, duty, or necessity required.

If there be any one who doubts this, let him introduce the topic on board a West Indian steamer, and among a party expatriating themselves from England, and as the steamer slowly progresses in her south-west course. And if it be imagined that it is the tender recollections of those ties they are leaving behind them, that so moves the whole party to confess their love for England as a place of permanent residence, let the inquirer observe how the eye flashes, and the cheek kindles, among the family circles in the best of the West Indian mansions, when the conversation turns upon the far-off home on English ground. No! There is not, there cannot be, a doubt of the fact. So soon as the West Indian colonies cease to be valuable possessions for the culture of the sugar-cane and the manufacture of its juices into sugar and into rum, from that hour we may date the commencement of their abandonment as places of residence or colonization by Europeans. This may be predicated of all the islands in the Western Archipelago, whether they belong to England, France, Spain, Denmark, Holland, or Sweden. But the observation has a peculiar appositeness and propriety, when considered with reference to the feelings usually, and in the West Indies pre-eminently, entertained by British colonists towards the mother country. It has been remarked as frequently as justly that, great as England has been and is as a colonizing country, the fact of her being so has not proceeded from any dislike entertained by her emigrant children towards the land of their nativity. No colonists in the world carry abroad with them a greater love of home, more intense feelings of patriotism, or a larger amount of the *amor patriæ*, than do the colonists that leave her shores for settlement on a distant strand. To prove this fact, examples might be selected almost from every quarter of the globe. As a general rule, the colonists of Great Britain sympathize in every home feeling. Of England they may truly say that—

> "Each flash of her genius their pathway enlightens,
> Every field she explores they are beckoned to tread;
> Each laurel she gathers their future day brightens;
> They rejoice with her living, and mourn with her dead."

Of this patriotic feeling of our colonial fellow-subjects, towards the "queen of the islands" whence they have sprung, and with which they are connected, the traveller among the islands of the West Indian archipelago will have abundant and frequent evidence. "Home" is the term universally applied to England by the white inhabitants of the British West Indian possessions. And in a periodical, oft-repeated visit to that "home," is to be found the

most highly prized of all the British colonist's pleasures of memory and of hope.

Impressed with these convictions, I cannot suppose that any person acquainted either with West Indian climate, culture, and manufacture, or versant in the feelings of the white and even the coloured population of the British colonies, will contradict my assertion—that the cessation of cane-cultivation in the British West Indies would eventuate in their total abandonment by their present proprietors. The change might be very gradual; most probably it would be so: but, if there be any soundness in the premises which have guided me thus far in my reasoning, it would certainly be very sure. And if the period so to be anticipated should ever come, in what state would it leave these at present noble possessions? and what would then become of all that has been done, at such cost of life and treasure, to ameliorate the condition of the Negro race in the British West Indies? To what state would the colonies themselves be reduced? Would any other nation be disposed to take up what England had thus thrown away? Suppose England to permit this to be done, what people would be inclined to try so Quixotic an experiment—unless indeed under a return to a system, or a modified system, of slavery?

Is the Negro population of the West Indies yet in a fit state for self-government? With St. Domingo experience ringing in his ears, he would be a bold man who would express much confidence in an affirmative answer to this question. And even though such answer could be with confidence given, on what principle is it expected that Negroes, under Negro domination, would work with advantage that soil which British energy had given up in despair? It were bootless, however, to prosecute the subject further; it is sufficient to point attention to the possibility of such events resulting from a continued perseverance in a certain line of policy. If there be any reasonable amount of truth in the statements which governors, planters, professional residents, and occasional visitors have, for the last four years, been pouring forth, as to the practical effects produced by British legislation on the cultivation of the sugar-cane in England's noble colonial possessions in the West Indies, the possibility becomes a probability. The conclusion is so manifest that there seems to be no mode of evading it, save by a denial of the premises on which it is based. Whether there are grounds on which such a denial can be supported, is a question that will be answered by each one according to his leanings, or to his views of the evidence. The views recorded in this chapter are those formed on personal and dispassionate observation; and, midst the distrust incident to promulgating opinions on a question involving great interests, and to the expiscation and settlement of which great—the greatest—talents

have been devoted, it certainly gratifies and encourages the writer not a little to observe that, however ingenious, and however ably advocated, may have been the opinions of an opposite nature, the great majority of those men who have visited the West Indies, and who are practically acquainted with West Indian affairs, have expressed opinions of a confirmatory nature—have done so whatever may have been the nature of their business, or the objects of their visit.

But it may be said that all the preceding argument is based upon an assumption. I admit that it is so. It is acknowledged that, throughout the preceding reasoning—or rather, as the foundation of that reasoning—it has been assumed that, *in the present state of the labour market in the British West Indies, the produce of free labour cannot compete with that of slave labour, as regards the cost of production.* In other words, I have reasoned on the assumption that the oft-quoted and much-abused dictum, that free labour is as cheap as slave labour, has been found to be fallacious when applied to sugar-cultivation within the tropics. It is said that this has been taken for granted—and I would deem it a reprehensible waste of my reader's time to occupy it by proving at length a position so clear as is the one thus assumed. It is demonstrated by the experience of the past—particularly by that of the last four years; and a very brief summary of facts will show that it is so.

The duties at present exigible in Great Britain, on foreign and colonial sugar, are as follows:—

FOREIGN.			
White clayed sugar, or equal thereto, .	19s.	10d.	per cwt.
Brown clayed sugar, or equal thereto, .	18s.	6d.	"
Muscovado, or not equal to brown clayed,	17s.	0d.	"
COLONIAL.			
White clayed or equal thereto, . .	14s.	0d.	"
Muscovado, or not equal to white clayed,	12s.	0d.	"

On a general view of this table, it would seem that, at present, there is a protective duty of nearly 6s. per hundredweight in favour of the produce of British colonies. But in operation it is not so; and that not merely because the greater part of the foreign slave-grown sugar, imported into this country, is generally of relatively higher value than the sugar brought from our own colonies, (so much more valuable that, quantity considered, foreign and colonial sugar may even at present be considered to be on an equality,) but also because there are three scales of duty applicable to foreign sugars, while there are only two that apply to colonial. The great mass of the foreign sugars brought into England for consumption, is of the kind called "brown clayed, or equal thereto," which at present (in March 1850) pays a duty of 18s. 6d. per cwt.; and, if the foreign sugar

imported does not come quite up to that standard, it is admitted as foreign muscovado, &c., at a duty of 17s. per cwt. Now this foreign sugar, admitted at 17s. per cwt. (nearly the whole of it slave-grown) comes into competition with the colonial muscovado, which pays a duty of 12s. per cwt. The differential duty, therefore, cannot be fairly called more than 5s. per cwt.—a difference, quality considered, which practically amounts to no protection at all. A large quantity of the British colonial sugar imported into Great Britain, and particularly much of that brought from the West Indies, is of an inferior kind; and, even were the present state of things to continue, it seems obvious that it would be an equitable advantage to the British colonist, were there a third and a lower scale of duty, applicable to a third and an inferior description of colonial sugar.

But to return to the general argument—While the duties on the sugar imported into Great Britain are for the present as they have been above-stated, they are in a transition state. So far as it is differential, the duty will in a short time be equalized. On 5th July, 1851, the duty on British plantation sugar will be reduced to 10s. per cwt., but, at the same time, the duty on foreign brown clayed sugar will be reduced to 15s. 6d. per cwt.; and thereafter, by a gradually descending scale, this differential duty will annually lessen until 3d July, 1854, when it will disappear altogether, and the colonial and foreign sugars (slave-grown as well as free-grown) will then be admitted at the uniform and equal rate of 10s. per cwt. What effect an approximation to this state of things has already had, and what effect its complete realization must necessarily have on British interests, on sugar cultivation in the British West Indies, and on the destinies of the African race, enslaved and free, may be gathered from the following facts:—

One of the consequences which resulted from the emancipation of the slaves, in the British West Indian possessions, was, to decrease the sugar production in them, and to increase it in Cuba and Porto Rico. This was the case, even while foreign sugars were virtually excluded from the English market. The fact of the decrease in the British colonies appears from statistics already given. In 1834, the production was above 190,000 tons. Next year the quantity produced was less; and it continued to fall off till 1841, when it was so low as 107,500 tons. Since 1841 it has improved; and last year, the quantity exported from the British West Indies was 142,240 tons, exclusive of molasses. But it has never reached the average production previous to emancipation, notwithstanding that the increase of the sugar-consuming population has greatly increased the demand.

Now, while such has been one of the consequences of the Emancipation Act upon the British West Indian colonies, what has been

its results in the colonies of Spain—that country whose colonial dependencies, aided by Brazil, produce that slave-grown sugar, which is the great competitor of free-grown produce in the markets of Europe? Here we are presented with a very different state of matters. Since 1843, Cuba and Porto Rico have more than trebled their productions. In 1828, they exported only 93,000 tons of sugar; in 1847 they exported 305,000 tons. But here let me anticipate an objection to the application of the fact last stated, as aiding the argument in hand. It may be seen, that the great increase in the production of sugar in Cuba and Porto Rico, in 1847, was mainly owing to the impetus given to the cultivation in these islands, by the English Sugar Duties Bill of 1846. No doubt such is the fact; but, instead of militating against it, the fact assists the present reasoning. It shows that slave labour in the tropics is so much cheaper than free labour, that the former can afford to give the latter great seeming advantages, and yet undersell it; and, apart from this, it points attention to the true cause why, since Emancipation, sugar production has fallen off in the British colonial possessions—that cause being the felt deficiency in the means of labour. . . . For be it remembered that it is only in its connexion with the present condition of the labour market in the British West Indies, that it is said that "free labour cannot compete with slave labour." Indeed, it is here that the essence of the great West Indian question may be said to lie. As an abstract proposition, I do not doubt, or rather I should be sorry to doubt, the equality, nay, the superiority of the labour of freemen over the tasked labour of slaves. But it is the circumstance which makes the case of the British West Indian planter an exceptional case—a *casus improvisus* in free-trade legislation, that, while a large portion of the "power" he had, wherewith to conduct his agricultural and manufacturing operations, has been taken from him, no adequate attempt has been made to redeem the promise that a substitute for it would be provided.

Nor can this result surprise any one acquainted, even in a slight degree, with slave labour and free labour within the tropic line. The Emancipation Act of 1843 diminished the production of the British colonies, because it lessened the number of the labourers who tilled the fields and conducted the manufacturing operations. And the same statute, coupled with the Sugar Duties Act of 1846, increased the production of Cuba, Porto Rico, &c., because, while they opened up to the planters in these fertile islands an extensive new market for their produce, they had the means of coercing their existing labourers to extra, and, unfortunately, ofttimes to excessive exertion, and also of getting, from without, such additional workmen as it might be their interest to purchase or employ. Both results were the most natural that could be conceived. Before emancipation,

there was no exuberance of supply in the labour market of the British colonies. The slaves were all profitably engaged. But the gradual consequence of that measure was the withdrawal of a portion of the labourers to other pursuits and occupations. The production, therefore, fell off. But the demand for the article produced continued, and was increasing. Whence, then, was that demand to be thereafter supplied, if not from those differently situated proprietors whose means of labour continued, and who had opportunity of adding to them to any extent expedient or necessary? The duty, amounting to a prohibition, was the only obstacle: that removed, the result was plain—and it as plainly was the one that might have been predicted from the beginning.

The argument would be incomplete, were notice not taken of the fact that there is, in the very nature of cane cultivation and sugar-making in the tropics, something which places the agriculturist or manufacturer, who is imperfectly supplied with workpeople, or who has an imperfect control over them, at a peculiar disadvantage, when he is called on to compete with such proprietors as can command a sufficient amount of labour at the time it is required. The planting season and crop-time are the two periods of the year in which the farmer and sugar-maker, within the tropics, require special aid. It is literally true that, at these seasons, he can scarcely have too many labourers. At other times he may compensate for the want of labour in one point of his operations, by drawing it from another; but, during the seasons of planting and of sugar-making, he cannot proceed with too great rapidity. Hence it is that, in Cuba and Porto Rico, when cane-cutting is once commenced, it and the consequent operations in the boiling-house are carried on without intermission, till the whole crop is secured and manufactured into sugar—the slaves working in relays or gangs, each for about six hours at a time. Great advantages are thus secured as regards quantity and quality of production and economy of working. The canes are cut at the proper time. No time is lost in securing all the juice that can be extracted from them by the mill; and, the latter being kept continuously going, there is not only a plentiful stream of liquor for the operations of the boiling-house, but (and perhaps this is one of the greatest advantages of getting over "crop-time" as speedily as possible) the conduits are not allowed to run dry, and perchance to "sour," to the injury of the whole manufacture, or of a considerable part of it.

But, from the cause already assigned—from the diminution in the number of the labourers for the cane-field, or for the mill and boiling-house—such desirable rapidity and continuity of operations is not generally practicable in the British plantations. This posi-

tion could be illustrated by the mention of many very strong instances of injury and expense, resulting from the operations being delayed through the deficiency of labour or the difficulty of getting the Negroes to work. I prefer, however, narrating an illustrative incident, which occurred under my own observation: it is a case somewhat in point; and if it wants the power of being an extreme case, it has at least the claim of being fact, *meipso teste.*

When riding in the island of Antigua with my friend Mr. Martin, he observed that the windmill on one of his estates had suddenly ceased to revolve. On inquiry at the sugar-works, it was ascertained that the cause of cessation was a deficiency in the supply of canes. Aware that, if his arrangements had been duly carried out, this should not have occurred, Mr. Martin immediately proceeded to the cane-field, at which the reapers, or rather "cutters," were at work. There he learned the nature of the obstacle which was interrupting the proceedings at the mill; while I was not a little interested, and somewhat amused, by the discussion which ensued between my friend and the Negro overseer, relative to the subject which had brought us to the field. Like the other proprietors on the island, Mr. Martin had succeeded in getting the wages of the field labourers reduced to about three-fourths of what they had been during the preceding year. But, during crop-time of that preceding year, Sambo had been in use to cut four loads of canes each working-day, and his reasoning now was, that, as his wages had been reduced one-fourth, it was right and fair that his work should diminish in an equal ratio—a position to which he stuck with no little pertinacity, and defended with no little ingenuity. Intimately acquainted with Negro character, the intelligent proprietor of the estate gratified the "Negro love for talk with massa," by arguing with his people on the unreasonableness of supposing that, while "slave competition" compelled him to lower wages one-fourth, the reduction would benefit either him or them, if the work done was lessened to an equal extent; and his argument, (coupled with promise of additional pay for extra work beyond the *four* loads,) produced the desired result, and enabled the operations of the mill and of the boiling-house to be immediately resumed.

Apart, therefore, from the question of wages, (which is a very obvious one,) the free cultivator of the British possessions in the West Indian Archipelago labours under a disadvantage in conducting his operations, as compared with the slave cultivator of Cuba, Porto Rico, or Brasil.

But not to exhaust the patience of the reader, or to allow this Chapter to extend beyond proper and prescribed limits, I must now hasten to a conclusion, by devoting a few pages to the consi-

deration of the remedies that ought to be, or that may be, applied towards the alleviation or the removal of West Indian distress. To prevent misconception, the remarks to be made on this important branch of the subject are prefaced with the two following observations:—In the first place, it were only prejudice to deny that the question is one which is attended with many and serious difficulties. *Audi alteram partem* is a principle of wise legislation, as well as of judicial proceedure; and, amid the conflicting claims created by the multiplied ramifications of British commerce and British interests, it is no easy matter for the legislature to determine what course to pursue for the attainment of the desired end —even after the conclusion has been arrived at, that national faith with the West Indian proprietors has not been kept, that great injustice has been done them, and that they have been unfairly exposed to a ruinous competition, the final issue of which is likely to defeat the very object for which it has been permitted. But though the road which leads to it be intricate and difficult, the end, when arrived at, is satisfactory and clear. Though it be true that here, as in most other cases of wrong and rectification, it has been easier to point to the injury than to the means or mode of cure, there are no parts of the observations recorded in this Chapter on this great national question, of the soundness of which a stronger opinion is entertained by the writer, than those in which, in as few words as possible, he will now record the opinions to which his review of the subject has brought him, regarding the course to be pursued in order most effectually and permanently to cheapen the price of sugar; to do justice to the West Indian colonists; to resuscitate the British possessions in the Western Archipelago; and to suppress the slave trade and slavery all over the world.

In the second place, while the measures to be suggested, and to some extent advocated, are those which appear most obviously requisite for the realisation of the objects above stated, and while they admittedly involve the abnegation of the policy which dictated the legislation of 1846 and 1848, on the question of the sugar duties, it is not asserted either that there are no other measures of effectual and permanent relief, or that some means of alleviation may not be suggested, consistently even with the preservation, in its integrity, of the principles of the existing acts. No pretension is made to the promulgation, and much less to the discovery, of a panacea for West Indian distress. The remedial measures to be suggested are advocated simply because, of many, they appear to the writer to be the most practicable, the most intermediate between extremes, and the most consistent with the true interests of the home consumer as well as of the colonial producer; and even should the legislature, in its wisdom, resolve to adhere to the principle of the existing statutes,

there are yet, in such measures as an extension of the period of their application, and the introduction of a third and lower scale of duty for the importation of a third and lower description of colonial sugar, and the allowing the use of molasses as well as of sugar in distilleries and breweries, (to the improvement of spirits and malt liquors, and the cheapening of bread,) means whereby much may be done to ward off and procrastinate, if they do not prevent, the fatal issue of those measures which have so prostrated the British West Indian colonies. Moreover, there is not merely a possibility, but even a probability, of some event ere long occurring which may bring suddenly to a termination—perhaps to a bloody one—the existence of slavery in the colonial dependencies of Spain in the West Indian Archipelago. The conspiracy at Matanzas, (in Cuba,) of 1844, is pregnant with important lessons; and the chances of repetition of some such tragedy, with the important difference of an opposite result, will not be lost sight of by the student of British West Indian interests, or indeed by any one desirous of taking, on this really momentous question, a view as removed from despondence or despair on the one side, as from ill-founded expectation or credulity on the other.

Introduced and qualified by these preliminary observations, the following are advocated as the measures most practicable, and most likely to be available, for the permanent removal of the distress which now extends its depressing influences over the British possessions in the West Indies.

If I have been correct in affirming that there is at present, in these colonies, a retrograde movement, as regards prosperity, culture, and civilisation, then assuredly must I also be right in asserting, that the first and the most obvious measure to arrest the back-going, is an immediate resolution to extend the duration of the differential duties. But if, on the other hand, there be soundness in the view, that the cause of depression and retrogression is one which is remediable, then as certainly may the period of extension be limited to the time necessary for the effectual carrying out of those means in the use of which a sufficient cure is to be found. Combining these principles, the result arrived at is, that an extension of the protective duty for ten years longer would, if accompanied by other measures, suffice, not only to alleviate West Indian distress, but to remove the causes of it.

That there was justice in, or necessity for, a differential duty in favour of British colonial sugar, was conceded in 1846, by many even of that body in this country who arrogate to themselves the title of "the Free-trade party;" and the statutes now in operation are in part framed in accordance with that admission. But, if this justice or necessity existed in 1846 or 1848, can it be with truth

affirmed that it does not exist in 1850? Matters certainly have not improved in the British colonies in the Western seas, within the last four years. On the contrary, and in many respects, they have deteriorated. They have retrograded with a rapidity which is most appalling to those best acquainted with West Indian affairs; nay, this backgoing now threatens to engulf interests which, in 1846, seemed remote from its operations. Nor can matters improve in the British colonies in the Western Archipelago until,

In the next place, the amount of the differential duty between slave-grown and free-grown *sugar* is increased to about 12s. per cwt. This, no doubt, involves a change both in the amount and on the basis of the protective duty. But a change on both seems expedient, if not essential. As regards amount, it appears plain that, if there is to be any protective duty at all, it cannot wisely be made less than that which will be sufficient—sufficient to stimulate to an increase in colonial production. Now, the result of all the consideration I have been able to give this subject is, that, looking to matters as they are, a smaller differential duty than 12s. would not secure the wished-for result. Any smaller increase would not suffice for protection to British interests, while it might stimulate to increased exertion on the part of foreigners, to retain the vantage ground they now occupy in the British market. The details which go to the formation of this opinion, are to be found in the preceding remarks on the comparative cheapness of slave-grown over free-grown commodities, and the relative superiority in value of slave-produced over free-produced sugars: a repetition of these is unnecessary. Aware of the objections to changing the principle of the differential duty, and altering it as now proposed, the above-stated position is maintained in a full knowledge of the argument, that such change would tend to encourage smuggling; and it is so mainly on the ground that the maintenance of a clear distinction, between slave and free produce, is the most powerful weapon philanthropy can wield; and that the risk of occasional, or even of frequent cases of evasion, does not furnish a sufficient reason for departing from that grand line of beneficent policy on which Great Britain first adventured, when in 1807 she passed the world-renowned act of abolition—that statute which struck the first blow for liberating the slave from his fetters, and in furtherance of which our noble country has since made such lavish expenditure of treasure and blood.

If the grounds upon which an increase of the differential duty is advocated, do not sufficiently appear from what has been already written, as to the deficiency of the means of labour in the British West Indies, the consequent comparative cheapness of slave over free labour cultivation, the reasons why these causes are more operative in the tropics than they would be in more northern climes, and the

admissions of the slaveholders themselves as to the nature and extent of the advantages they enjoy,—repetition here would not avail to make them more apparent or convincing. The amount stated is required, and it seems the lowest that would suffice; while it would not, or at least would not necessarily, (for, in all matters involving a change in the rate of a duty, while necessary results may be calculated, actual ones are beyond our reach,) involve an increase in the price of sugar to the consumer greater than would be caused by a very moderate enhancement of the present price. When it is kept in view that the object of submitting to some such temporary advance is the maintenance of national faith, and the alleviation of West Indian distress, and the preservation of these colonies—not only as colonies, but as sugar-supplying countries—it will surely not be thought by any one that the object in view is unworthy of the sacrifice, if a sacrifice it can be called. I have said temporary advance, for it is not contemplated that such differential duty should be permanent: on the principles already at some length adverted to, it is unnecessary that it should be so.

If to the measures above indicated there were added a vigorous, well-directed effort to promote immigration of free labourers from the shores of Africa, such immigration would redeem something like a national obligation; and under its ameliorating influences, the British West Indian possessions would, ere the expiry of the proposed protective period, be in a situation to compete with any sugar-producing country in the world. This would be the case even were the abolition of slavery, in the territories of Spain and of Brazil, indefinitely protracted or hopelessly postponed. Let the person who questions the accuracy of this opinion, inquire why it is that the island of Barbadoes is in so different a position from that of her sister colonies—why it is that Colonel Reid, in his graphic, truth-telling description, makes special exception of "Little England," when writing of the Windward group? It is not said that free labour in the tropics is as cheap as slave labour, in all respects, or as regards every particular; but it is said that the difference is not so great as to place the slave-owner on an unapproachable vantage ground—provided always the supply of the one kind be as plentiful as that of the other: and in evidence of this Barbadoes is referred to, in exclusion of further argument.

The question of African immigration—the *modus operandi*—the appliances for conducting it—or the national guarantees which ought to form the basis of it—involve questions too important and too extensive to be here discussed. Much has lately been written upon them; and it is not supposed that it will now be disputed, by any one who has given attention to the subject, that, while Africa is the field to which the West Indians naturally look for a supply of

labourers, a system of free immigration from that vast continent to the British colonies in the Western Archipelago—conducted under the guarantee of Britain's good faith—would confer a great boon, as well on the Africans so conveyed from the one land to the other, as on the tropical agriculturist who might afterwards employ them.

But while my space compels me to omit the evidence * which relates to the practicability, philanthropy, and efficiency of emigration from Africa, as a means of cure for the evils affecting the labour market in the British West Indies, I can, as the result of personal observation, vouch for the cordiality of the reception which such emigrants would receive, were they provided with the means of so transporting themselves. Being in one of the Leeward Islands in 1849, when a vessel arrived having a number of African labourers on board, an opportunity was offered me of observing both the anxiety of the planters to secure their services, and the attention given to the promotion of their health and comfort. These people very speedily adapted themselves to the peaceful occupations of their new homes, in a congenial clime. Many months afterwards I was rejoiced to learn, from one of the most influential planters in the island, that these emigrant labourers were amongst the best workpeople which the colony at the time contained.

But whence, it may be asked, are the pecuniary means for this emigration to come? The financial is always the most difficult part of every practical question. But while it is very difficult, that very fact makes it very important; the preceding observations, therefore, would be defective, were they not fittingly terminated by some remarks on the monetary branch of the present inquiry.

There are two sources whence the national part of the expense of African emigration might be provided: these are—the sums now annually expended on the slave squadron, and the balance of the compensation money. Some, even among those who have considered the question, and who may otherwise be favourably disposed to the adoption of the writer's views, will hesitate to acknowledge any acquiescence in this opinion; but it is conceived that a few sentences will suffice to prove both its justice and its expediency.

The squadron for the prevention of the slave trade, while it is the last remaining, so it is the most emphatic of Great Britain's numerous manifestations of her detestation of slavery. It may then be naturally enough asked how, and with what consistency, a writer who advocates a return to measures that tend to repress slave production, can advocate the abandonment of one to which such an observation applies. Now I apprehend that a sufficient answer to

* The reader will find a judicious exposition of the evidence on this subject in a pamphlet entitled *Effects of an Alteration in the Sugar Duties, &c.*, by my friend Mr. M'Gregor Laird. London: 1844. Effingham Wilson.

this argument is to be found in discriminating between measures effectual and measures ineffectual; and between the slave squadron as an auxiliary measure—while British legislation was otherwise consistent with its existence—and that squadron as a preventive check, standing by itself, when the scope and policy of English legislation on the sugar question has been entirely changed. So long as England discountenanced production by means of slaves, there was consistency in attempting to prevent other countries getting slaves wherewith to cultivate their lands. But consistency and entireness of policy was lost, when the statute of 1846 passed into a law. Thereafter we have been holding out a bonus on slave production, while, by the preventive squadron, we have been trying to counteract the effect of the temptation. To illustrate the argument by a parallel case, there was a time when British legislation prevented the emigration of the artisan; and then, consistently enough, it also prohibited the exportation of certain kinds of machinery which the artisan made. The first branch of this consistent system of unwise law was first abrogated, and in a brief space it became evident, that the sooner the second branch of it was wiped out of the statute book the better. So it is with the laws relative to slaves and slave produce. As long as we discountenanced and refused the latter, so long could we consistently, and with hope of success, interfere by treaty and preventive squadrons, to put a stop to the former; but when the bill of 1846 became a law, the consistency of the national policy departed with the system which it displaced.

Again, the argument for or against the maintenance of the slave squadron on the African coast, hangs entirely on the question of efficiency or non-efficiency. An inefficient check only aggravates the evil it is intended to prevent; and in the case of the slave trade, the aggravation becomes doubly deplorable from the excessive sacrifice of human life which is one of its effects. Before the slave trade was declared to be piracy—when it was a legal thing for the white savage to rob and sell his fellow-men—the mortality of the "middle passage" was greatly less than it has been since that event. At all times the slave trade has been productive of an appalling waste of human life. Anterior to the attempt to suppress it by treaty and by squadron, the mortality was from 10 to 15 per cent of the numbers shipped; it has since risen to 33 per cent—the harrowing increase being caused by the crowding of the miserable cargo on board vessels built small, low, and narrow, and with little regard to anything save their sailing powers. The fact that it has been productive of this consequence, is in itself sufficient to prove the insufficiency of the "blockading check." But its insufficiency is a matter of notoriety, and even now it is being brought prominently before the attention of the British public and legislature, in the petitions

presented to Parliament by Jamaica, St. Kitt's, and others of our West Indian Colonies. But is it possible to make this check an efficacious one? There are many who maintain that it is not, and, in a word, I confess myself a reluctant convert to that opinion. Looking to the fact that a blockade of the African coast, to be effectual for the suppression of the slave trade, must extend for a length of 6000 miles and more, it does seem to be visionary to expect the suppression of the traffic in human flesh simply by the presence, on the African coast, of a naval armament—and that particularly now, when, by our own great demand for slave-produced sugar, molasses, and rum, we are presenting a continuously operative inducement to encounter the hazard of the middle passage, and run the gauntlet through our ships of war. No doubt something—nay much—might be done by giving to the courts of mixed commission greater authority and more extended power; but it seems the teaching of a dear-bought experience that, with all appliances, we need not hope that, by slave treaties and slave squadrons *alone*, we will ever succeed in effectually putting an end to the multiplied horrors of that greatest production of

"Man's inhumanity to man,"

the accursed slave trade.

Such are some of the grounds upon which the withdrawal of the slave squadron, and the appropriation for a few years of its annual costs to the promotion of free immigration into the British West Indian colonies from the continent of Africa, is placed prominently among the measures for the removal of West Indian depression and distress. Be it remembered, that the withdrawal of this hitherto notoriously inefficient preventive measure, is only advocated in connexion with the re-establishment of a less costly, but infinitely more effectual one; and were the squadron removed, there could not surely be a wiser or a more appropriate application of the moneys thereby saved, than to the adoption of a measure which will retain our own sugar-producing colonies, and eventually tend to that state of things under which it can alone be truly said, "that free-labour is as cheap as slave-labour." So soon as that issue is arrived at, then, and not till then, (unless some unforeseen contingency occur,) will the time arrive when cultivation by means of slaves will be abandoned as an unnecessary, because a profitless, violation of the rights of man.

But, apart from the above-stated method of providing the means for enabling the British colonists successfully to compete with the subjects or colonists of those countries where slave cultivation is legalised and encouraged, there is the other source of provision—viz., the balance of the compensation money. In a former part of

this chapter the fact was referred to, that, of the £20,000,000 promised, only £18,669,401 10s. 7d. has been yet paid. The remaining £1,330,598 9s. 5d. yet stands as an unexpended balance. There are difficulties in the way of appropriating this sum, or any part of it, to a purpose different from—though collateral to—that for which it was originally designed, but there are no such difficulties as cannot be overcome by a British statute.

Having now detained my reader longer on this subject than I originally either desired or intended, I now take leave of it, with the concluding observation, that if the results, which time only can develop, should go to falsify any or all of the preceding observations, in so far as they are prophetic of evil to the British colonial possessions in the West Indian Archipelago, no one will more heartily rejoice in that issue than will the writer, who has committed such prognostications to the press. A sense of expediency, as well as of justice, has been his guide in making his remarks; and if they do not appear to others so conclusive as they seem to himself, he can only say, in language before used, by other and abler writers,

"What is writ is writ, would it were worthier."

CHAPTER IX.

"Hail Columbia!"

"United States, your banner waves,
Two emblems—one of fame."

CAMPBELL.

THE sail from Cuba down the Gulf of Mexico to Mobile Point, on the great continent of North America, a distance of about five hundred and fifty miles, is performed by the steam-ships in somewhere under two days and a half; and when the weather is fine, as it generally is, a more agreeable sea-voyage is almost nowhere to be found. At the time when I performed it, in the R. M. steam-ship Severn, the English steamers did not proceed further than Mobile Point, whence to the town of Mobile, a distance of some twenty miles, the passengers were conveyed by a small river steamer. At the period referred to, the arrangements of the British West Indian Steam Packet Company, in some of their operations, were in their infancy —the former place of the steamer's call having been New Orleans. But if matters continued as they then were, (in 1849,) there is much reason, as well as room, for improvement. It is certainly not very comfortable for any traveller, and particularly for ladies and invalids, to be roused from sleep at midnight, and called on to disembark,

during a rough night, from the large steam-ship into the small, miserable little screw-propelled steam-boat, into which we were transhipped at the mouth of the Mobile river. The charge, too—three dollars a-head for conveying the passengers from Mobile Point to the town of Mobile in the river steam-boat—seems excessive, particularly to those accustomed to the very moderate fares exacted in the steamers, or rather steam-ships, of the United States. It was, therefore, not without reason that there was much grumbling at such arrangements on the part of my fellow-passengers and myself.

Observing that the cabin-lights remained unquenched beyond the usual hour for "turning in," and also some other prognostications of a coming change, I had a presentiment that we might be called upon to leave the ship (which would then steam onward across the Gulf of Mexico) ere morning dawned. Therefore my preparations were made for such contingency, and with some Spanish fellow-passengers I was "sitting up," waiting the course of events. Several of my compatriots had, however, made up their minds to remaining on board the steam-ship till daybreak at least, and, animated by such vain expectations, had, so soon as the ship passed into smooth water under the "lee of the land," made themselves comfortable for the night in their circumscribed "state rooms." These voyagers were, as might have been supposed, the chief malcontents. But the disaffection was general. It was an ill-arranged affair; and, if the system be not yet amended, it certainly requires very much to be so. The matter might very easily be more comfortably and more economically arranged. There are numerous excellent steamers sailing between Mobile and New Orleans at very moderate fares; and, by an arrangement with the owner or master of one or other of the steamers, or with some other of the Mobile steam-boat proprietors, the English company might very easily secure much greater comfort, at a much more moderate rate, for the numerous voyagers of all countries who patronise their steam-ships, and who, in this age of competition, can only be expected to continue so to do, if due attention be paid to their convenience and comfort.

The approach to that part of the coast of North America where Mobile river debouches, presents no features of attraction; low, flat, and dreary are its prevailing characteristics. It must also be of very dangerous navigation, and, even as we approached, we saw a large ship of about 700 tons burthen lying stranded on a sand-bank, and with the sea breaking over her at each return of the wave. She had gone on shore some weeks before, laden with a cargo of salt, and efforts were then making to get her off.

The name "Mobile River" is of a nomenclature which is calculated to mislead. Properly speaking, it is the estuary of the Alabama, or at least it is formed by the confluence of that noble stream

with the river Tombeckbee. Of the scenery between the bay and the town I can say nothing, (save that report makes little mention of it,) seeing that the four hours spent on it were passed on the small, slow, screw-propelled steam-boat in the darkness of night.

In the town of Mobile there is not much to detain the traveller who has no other objects save pleasure and health in view. Although now a town of some standing, containing about 14,000 inhabitants, it is only of late years that Mobile has sprung into importance. It is a thriving, bustling, and improving place, and carries on a large trade, chiefly in cotton, with many parts of the world, and especially with Great Britain. As a port for the shipment of cotton, it is now second only to New Orleans.

From Mobile to New Orleans the sail is by steamers, and along the coast, inside of certain sandy islets, which stretch along the low flat shore for nearly the whole way to the entrance to Lake Pontchartrain. The distance is about a hundred and seventy miles; and the steamer I journeyed in, rejoiced in the once controversial name of the Oregon. She was a large, excellent, well-appointed boat; and for the moderate cabin fare of five dollars, the voyage is made in her in great comfort. Indeed, I may here, once for all, say, that throughout my journeyings in the United States of America, I found that all I had read or heard regarding the comparative discomfort of American steamers from the jostling of fellow-passengers and intrusiveness of strangers, was either altogether untrue or grossly exaggerated. There is no doubt that there are in the United States, as there are everywhere else, varieties in the travellers you are destined to meet with, as well as in the comforts and accommodations of the steam-boats you are induced or compelled to travel in. But he or she to whom such variety is a source of discomfort, or to whom it is not a source of amusement and of interest, had better not travel at all, being altogether unfitted for doing so. Nor need it be concealed that in America, and particularly in the Western States, where society is in a state of rapid advancement and transition, the traveller is more apt to meet with persons of intrusive and offensive manners, than when travelling in the older countries of Europe, or at least in England. But cases of offensiveness are the exceptions, and the rare ones. And it is not even always, when the traveller in America meets with a person peculiarly intrusive, that he can justly consider the intrusion as impertinence. Ofttimes did I find, on a little cross-questioning of the interrogator, who displayed at any time an unusual desire to make himself acquainted with my past life, present objects, and future prospects, that there was no idea in his mind that the detail could be anything save grateful to my feelings; and not unfrequently did I discover that the person whose obtrusiveness, when on the river or the road, was most marked, if not most

offensive, displyed most anxiety to be useful in facilitating my arrangements at the termination of the voyage or journey. Besides, it should be remembered that the United States of America are peculiarly a "land of travel," where that party which may there at least be denominated *par excellence* "the people" move much about, from one part of the country to another; so that to give the conduct or conversation of such persons as fair specimens of the conduct and conversation of the more refined circles of Transatlantic society, were to commit an injustice which, however often it has been committed, is most flagrant and unpardonable.

I have thought it just to record these remarks, as the result of my personal observation while travelling in America, because of the frequency with which, even still, and of late years, one sees attempts made to prove that an offensive familiarity and obstrusiveness are very general characteristics among our American brethren. At the same time I never had the desire, and I certainly have not the intention, to be an indiscriminate panegyrist of the land of "stars and stripes." True to my motto, I will "nothing extenuate," even while I sit down "naught in malice." It is therefore that I add that, at least when travelling in the Western States of the American Union, the European traveller must expect to hear and to see many things which, there can be no doubt, contrast unfavourably with European, and particularly with English habits and customs; and which even the educated and intelligent among Americans will themselves admit may be much amended. Only to mention a few of such particulars in evidence of the general truth of this remark:—the habit, I had almost said vice, of boasting, so common in the States, where it is not simply amusing, is certainly offensive. When one finds it deforming the character of a person, otherwise agreeable and intelligent, its exhibition is not a little provoking; but, generally, it is exhibited to an offensive extent only by the comparatively ignorant and illiterate, and is based on an almost entire unacquaintance with the advances made in science and art throughout Europe during the last twenty years. Confining their attention, in a great measure, to the transactions of their own continent, many of the persons one meets with in public conveyances in the United States, know little or nothing of European affairs; or only know of them vaguely, and through the medium of the inferior part of their public press, which, echoing and reflecting the prejudices of "the people," caters for their appetite for praise, by giving only such versions of what passes in Europe as will afford that comparison with things in the Republic which is most flattering to themselves. Thus it happens that, while all Americans see, as they cannot fail to do, the rapid advances in every department of art and science, made in their own country, they are apt to think that such advances are confined to their Union; that,

while they have been progressing, Europe generally, and especially England, has been standing still. Of course, it is not worth while to stop to point out the greatness of such a mistake, or the errors in reasoning into which it will necessarily lead. My object is not to laud my native land, but to give a fair exposition of my experience when travelling in the United States of America.

But it is only a duty, and a compliance with the principle set out with, to add, that in many, indeed in most of the cases in which I heard ridiculous, ignorant boasting relative to American affairs or American resources, or offensive remarks and allusions to other countries, and to Great Britain in particular, I found, on inquiry, that the ignorant utterer was not a native-born American, but—I confess it with shame—a native of the land to which his obnoxious remarks were intended to refer. I find it recorded among my experiences, when sailing up the Mississippi, that the Englishmen or Irishmen who have left their own country in comparatively early life, and probably from disappointed hopes, and have been located in the United States for some fifteen or twenty years, are, of all classes, the most offensive which one meets when travelling the ordinary routes of travel in the United States of America. Although, perchance, and not unfrequently, these persons are of those

"Who leave their country for their country's good,"

the idea seems to possess them that the fact of they themselves having been compelled, by want of industry or of success, to leave their native land, gives them a title to abuse her and her institutions. The abuse of such parties, however, is of little consequence, if they would not, at the same time, grossly misrepresent and misstate. But it is not easy for one who feels that the simple knowledge of the truth would go far to promote international goodwill, and who witnesses the efforts of the great and good, both in England and America, to foster a right understanding between these two great branches of the Anglo-Saxon family, to hear, without indignation, the cool misstatements regarding matters in Great Britain, palmed by such Anglo or Irish Americans upon the credulity of the native-born Americans to whom they may address themselves. Most natural is it for an American to judge of the land of his forefathers, and of its institutions and customs, from the report and statement of the person in his own rank in life, and whom he personally knows to have been born in it. Nothing can he know of the fact, that the person who thus professes to enlighten him, left his native land in utter ignorance of the nature of its institutions, and without having ever visited the chief seats of literature, of elegance, or of commerce, which that glorious land con-

tains: and only can he guess how far, since leaving it in early life, such informant has had the means of knowing anything regarding its progress in education, in art, or in general improvement. He takes the coolest and most flagrant assertions for gospel truths, and flatters himself with the conviction that he has his information on the best authority—on the authority of a native-born subject of the land of which he has spoken. And most natural is it that the American should do so.

The extent and magnitude of this evil, and the extent to which it operates in the way of preventing that clearer knowledge of each other, which is desired by all those who understand the true interests of the two nations, and have the wellbeing of both warmly at heart, must be seen and felt to be fully appreciated. It extends even into high places. Even some of those who know better, find it their interest to keep up the delusion; and it is surely lamentable to see a newspaper, conducted by a Scotchman, made constantly and systematically the vehicle of circulating through the United States of America the grossest and most puerile, as well as palpable slanders and misstatements, regarding Great Britain, and the feelings of its inhabitants towards their American brethren. Yet so it is; and the evil descends to the very lowest rank, and exhibits itself even in the most trivial matters, of which, among many instances that happened under my own observation, I may, for the sake of illustrating my reasoning, mention one which occurred when sailing up the Mississippi in the steam-ship Peytona. A person who was very fond of obtruding his extremely democratic opinions, of making impertinent allusions to English politics, and of making himself otherwise offensive, and whom I found, on a little delicate inquiry, to be a native of Ireland, resident for the last twenty years in the United States of America, and whom success in trade had elevated to a social position—to adorn which he had not received any adequate education—was asked by a genuine Yankee whether any of "these fixings"—pointing to a dish of miserably cooked artichokes—were grown in the "old country." The cool but unhesitating response was—"No; they have none of these things;" and this valuable piece of statistical information, designed, no doubt, as an illustration of the inferiority of British climate and soil, was of course recorded in the memories of the surrounding Americans (whom education did not prevent from believing it) as something received on the very best authority.

The above observations are the result of no afterthought. They were recorded in my Journal at the time I witnessed the scenes that originated them, and it was not till long after this record had been made, that my attention was directed to the corroborative observation of Mr. Charles Dickens, who remarks, in his *Notes on America*, that

"In the course of this day's journey we encountered some Englishmen (small farmers, perhaps, or country publicans at home) who were settled in America. Of all grades and kinds of men that jostle one in the public conveyances of the States, these are often the most intolerable and the most insufferable companions. United to every disagreeable characteristic that the worst kind of American travellers possess, these countrymen of ours display an amount of insolent conceit, and cool assumption of superiority, quite monstrous to behold. In the coarse familiarity of their approach, and the effrontery of their inquisitiveness, (which they are in great haste to assert, as if they panted to revenge themselves upon the decent old restraints of home,) they surpass any native specimens that came within my range of observation; and I often grew so patriotic when I saw and heard them, that I would cheerfully have submitted to a reasonable fine, if I could have given any other country in the whole world the honour of claiming them for its children."

Other sources of annoyance to the European traveller, on the western rivers of the United States, and in which the Americans have yet much to amend, are to be found in the personal habits and practices of the general run of travellers with whom you necessarily come into some measure of contact, when travelling in the public conveyances. In particular, chewing, and its concomitant spitting, are all but universal; and of this universality the indices are generally to be seen on the decks of the steam-packet when sailing up the mighty Mississippi. Washed and thoroughly cleaned every morning, ere evening they were reduced to a state in every way abominable, and anything but appetising. The habit of chewing I had long known to be much more general in the United States than in any country in Europe, but, till I saw the extent to which it was indulged in the Western States of America, I had no adequate idea of the magnitude of the evil. There is another evil practice which I may be permitted to characterise under the mild name of habit, which is unfortunately but too often heard on board the Mississippi steamers —I mean the habit of profane swearing. The monstrous Mississippi being as it were the great highway from the south to the north, and its scarcely less noble tributaries the Missouri, Ohio, Arkansas, Red River, &c., being as it were "branch lines" which intersect the vast valley to the right and to the left, there is a constant flow of travellers of every kind, grade, and sort, travelling along; while the comparative thinness of the population (there being not more than between eight and nine millions in the whole vast region known as the valley of the Mississippi—a region capable of supporting in wealth and comfort not less than at least ten times that number) renders the restraints of law and of order somewhat difficult to be enforced. These two causes combine to make the routes of travel by the Missis-

sippi the resort of gangs of gamblers, who travel up and down in the steamers, playing, or professing to play among themselves, but constantly on the lookout for the unwary, and ready to combine to "pluck the pigeon," when such falls into their trap. I was happy to be informed that, of late years, the audacity of such persons, as well as their numbers, have greatly decreased. Formerly they were peculiarly insolent and overbearing, confidently trusting in their numbers. But the rapid progress of the Western States in population and civilization has tended greatly to their discountenance; and it is to be hoped that travellers in these regions will, in a few years, not have a plentiful supply of blacklegs and gamblers to note as among the characteristics of the route. Were it only among such persons that the profanity of language I have thought it necessary to allude to exhibited itself, such a thing were only what was to be expected. 'Twere unreasonable to expect to "gather grapes of thistles;" and, accordingly, that a cheat and gambler by profession should be a profane swearer, is only what might be predicated. But the habit is more general than that. Many persons, whom I found on inquiry to be persons otherwise intelligent, and moving in respectable positions in life, were in the habit of interlarding their conversation with oaths of the most awful description. Than this vice I know not one of a meaner character. Apart from the religious view of the question—which it is surely unnecessary to argue here—it is positively the most contemptible of all vices, the vice of lying perhaps only excepted. The best that can be said in defence of it is, that it is meaningless, inasmuch as the utterer does not really intend what he says; and what can possibly exhibit the practice in a more degrading light than the fact, that such is the only kind of defence that one ever hears attempted in extenuation of an oath?

When offering these records of my personal reminiscences of wanderings in the Southern and Western States of the American Union, it is right to add that the remarks apply to society as it exhibited itself to myself in its outward phase. The slight opportunities I had of judging of the state of society in the domestic circles would have led me to a different conclusion, and fully prepared me for crediting the statements of sundry friends in the Southern States, that, were my stay sufficiently protracted in one place, to enable me to see much of the domestic life of the resident merchants and proprietors, I would be compelled to form a much more favourable opinion than I could form from the habits of the more migratory portion of the community whom I would find in the steamers of the mighty but muddy Mississippi, and of her almost equally great, but generally more limpid, tributaries.

Mais revenons à nos moutons. To return to the sail from Mobile to New Orleans. The route I went in the Oregon was to Lake

Pont-chartrain, (so named during the French proprietorship of Louisiana in honour of a French duke of the name)—and thence by a short line of rail to New Orleans. There is another and a longer route by the Mississippi; but the one by the lake is, I believe, generally pursued by travellers. The fare in the cabin was five dollars; and as this was the first of my experiences in travelling in an American steamer, I may here record something of the impressions the monster has left upon my mind.

It is difficult to give a graphic conception of such a nondescript as an American river steamer, without the aid of the draughtsman. But a sufficiently clear idea of the particulars which distinguish these steam arks of America, from what is understood by the term steamboat in Great Britain, will be obtained by imagining a huge barge, gabert, or hoy, covered all over. On this, which constitutes a first deck, are placed the engines, fuel, and cargo. On the top of this, and supported by pillars, is the main or cabin deck, generally with a covered promenade all round, save where an interruption is caused by the paddle-boxes. On the top of this is another, or upper deck, part of which is often occupied by small sleeping cabins, and above all stands a house for the pilot. This house is in the front part of the boat, the wheel being connected with the rudder by chains working the whole length of the deck. These steamers vary somewhat in construction, as they do in size and in elegance; and some of them have even an additional deck or "flat," to those abovementioned. All have a ladies' cabin, generally a very elegant affair, and to which only ladies, or gentlemen travelling with ladies, have access; baggage-rooms—an office where the "clerk of the boat" takes fares and issues tickets; and a large, long, general cabin, in which the meals are taken, the sides being either occupied by shelves as berths or beds, or small state-rooms entering from the cabin. However much they vary, they have all a general resemblance; and the above brief description will enable the reader to conceive that they must have (the steam and funnels only excepted) a very Noah's-ark sort of appearance. I have certainly heard persons, both Americans and others, say, that they consider these vessels picturesque-looking, if not graceful. But, with every desire to see wherein the grace lay, I never could discover it. Gay they certainly are—ofttimes as gay as paint and gilding could make them. Nay, some of them—indeed I may say nearly the whole of the passenger-ships—are very handsomely fitted up, as well as very commodious; and the wonder only is, that, at such fares, there should be so much elegance, and so many of the appliances of comfort. But there is no grace or beauty in the general outward appearance of the vessel herself, as she sails, like a huge bellowing monster, upon the water. And,

to my mind, the eye that would compare one of them to a well modeled ocean steamship, must be signally wanting in a perception of the lines of beauty. None of them have proper masts or sails—at least I never saw a river steamer in America under sail —and nearly all of them have two engines and two boilers, with separate funnels standing in a line across the vessel, and far forward toward her bows. But, unsightly as some may think these river steamships of America, no one can doubt their utility. Like most things our transatlantic friends have invented for themselves, they are wonderfully well adapted for the purposes for which they are designed. Being intended for river sailing, and to convey large quantities of produce, and great numbers of people by inland navigation and along great arteries of rivers, in which there is little or nothing of what is technically called "sea" to be encountered, Jonathan very soon saw, that to prepare his vessels in the old way, so as to require a lifting up and lowering down of the cargo as it was put on board, and again a lifting up from the hold and letting down on the quay, or into the lighter, of the same cargo as it was to be unladen, was a mere waste of time and of labour. Accordingly, he so constructed his steamships to trade in his magnificent and glorious rivers. The cargo, whether it consist of live-stock or of general bales of merchandise, is put on board, and again unladen in the easiest possible way; and, there being little sea encountered in the course of the transit, there is no necessity for holds and bulwarks to prevent the cargo from taking damage by the washing of the waves.

As before remarked, there are some singular features in the sail from Mobile to New Orleans, inside the screen of low sandy islets which stretch along the coast. The shores of the gulf are very flat, and as might be expected, the water is very shallow, so that skill is required in navigating the ship along. Indeed, in one part, and for a considerable distance, commencing at a place named "Grant's Pass," the channel of the deep water was staked off by long poles, most of them having brooms on the top, after the fashion used with us, and, I believe, also in America, in indicating that a ship is for sale. At the point named Grant's Pass, there was a house standing midst the waste of brown waters which surrounded it on all sides, constituting what appeared to me about as watery and uncomfortable a location as I could have supposed possible—the discomfort being aggravated by the conviction that a very trifling increase of the waters would sweep the inmates into eternity. I thought so when I saw Grant's Pass; but my after-experience of the log-huts of the Mississippi, when the river was in a state of flood, convinced me that I had much yet to learn of the discomfort to which all persons will be disposed to submit in the struggle of life. Entering at

Grant's Pass, the impetuous Oregon proceeded in her course throughout what may be most graphically described as a marine race-course, which continued for considerably upwards of a mile. The sea during the whole way was brown and turbid, and reminded me strongly of Captain Basil Hall's description of the yellowish-brown colour of the sea among the Loo-Choo Islands. Leaving Mobile about mid-day, we reached the point of disembarkation on Lake Pont-chartrain early next morning; and, after a damp walk to the trains, started, in tolerable railway carriages, along a line of rails five miles in length, and through a tract of country in which the land and water seemed to contend for the mastery. Of the country passed through, as well as of the whole country in and about New Orleans, there may be made the remark which Dickens, in his serial of *David Copperfield*, makes of the town of Yarmouth. "A mound or so might have improved it; and, if the land had been a little more separated from the sea, and the town and the tide had not been quite so much mixed up, it would have been nicer." That it certainly would. At times the characteristic of New Orleans and of the country round it is, that it is one entire swamp. Dig wherever you choose, the hole fills with water, the consequence of which is that—to use an expression common among the inhabitants themselves—the *cellars* of the houses are of necessity *above ground*. Another consequence is, that in few parts of New Orleans need the lover of such sport deprive himself of the luxury of a rat hunt.

Such is New Orleans and its environs at all times. I entered the town in the midst of an almost deluge of rain, which lasted for two whole days; and, a few days after that, the "Crevasse" broke out, and occupied the attention of the alarmed inhabitants during the rest of my stay.

It is not my intention to give either a history or a detailed description of New Orleans. The former is sufficiently well known to most readers; and, being a matter of history, can be easily learned from more ambitious works, by any one desirous of knowing more about the matter; while the latter can most readily be obtained from any of the numerous guide-books to be found in New Orleans, as well as almost everywhere else. But there are one or two things which it would not be proper to leave unmentioned.

The St. Charles Hotel, New Orleans, may almost be said to be *the* building of the city. It looks, with its lofty dome, like the capitol of the town; and from the summit of this dome there is to be had about the best view that can be obtained of the whole city and surrounding country.

Called the "Crescent City", from the fact that it is built along a curve on the left bank of the Mississippi, New Orleans consists, in reality, of two towns, which have a very different aspect the one from

the other. The smaller and older part is that laid out and settled by the French, who founded New Orleans in 1717, while the larger and newer portion owes its erection to the energies of the Anglo-Saxon race. The marked difference between the two requires to be seen to be appreciated. Words could give only a vague idea of it. But some notion of its stationary character, under its first masters, and of its rapid progress since Louisiana changed hands, may be gathered from the following facts. In 1717, New Orleans was founded by the French, and continued with them or the Spanish (who had it some forty years) till 1803, when it fell into the hands of the United States as part of Louisiana. At that time it could not have been of much importance, inasmuch as, in 1810, it was found to contain only 17,242 inhabitants. In 1820, it had increased to above 27,000; in 1830, to 46,310; and in 1840, to 102,193. At present (in 1850) it may be fairly considered as containing above 150,000 inhabitants, and therefore the fourth city in the United States in point of population, while it is the third in point of commerce.

As I have already mentioned, the Crevasse broke out while I was in the Crescent City, and during my stay it formed part of the principal topics of conversation. And well it might. Imagine, reader a mighty—the mightiest—river in the known world, having broken (not merely overflowed, but *broken*) its banks for a space of some half mile or so, and gradually, despite all the efforts of the energetic human inhabitants of the surrounding country, (by sinking of barges, steamboats, and otherwise,) increasing the extent of its debouchure, and pouring its waters into the *lower* level of the conterminous lands. And imagine, too, that in the midst of the scene, or rather at the point most exposed to its ravages, the luxurious inhabitants were making the increase of the waters, in their streets and around their dwellings, the subject of light-hearted chat—that in the morning your drive down the "shell road" was so surrounded with water that you might almost have fished out of the windows of the carriage as you passed along; and your evening journey, as you drove to the *conversatione*, the dance, or the theatre, was through water, which mounted some inches up the spokes of your carriage-wheels; and add to all this, that the occasional—I had almost said constant—subject of conversation, was the probability of New Orleans being, some fine, or at least some floating day, washed down bodily into the Gulf of Mexico!—many sage reasons being given, and many great scientific authorities being quoted, to prove the exceeding probability of such an event: and so imagining, you will have some idea of the characteristics of New Orleans society at the time of my visit, in 1849. It scarcely required the ravages of cholera, which was then visiting the city, to add anything to the dismals of the scene; but so

it was. In the town of New Orleans, and specially in the neighourhood, and in the vessels on the river, cholera was raging to a very considerable extent.

Certainly, therefore, it cannot be supposed that my visit to the Crescent City was made at a time calculated to leave on my mind a very favourable opinion as to its salubrity; and it is chiefly on that account that I have troubled the reader with the above details. For notwithstanding the fact that my opinion was formed under circumstances so disadvantageous to arriving at a favourable one, I maintain and record the fact, that the unhealthiness of New Orleans is much exaggerated. No doubt the yellow fever visits it much oftener, and commits in it more fearful ravages, than is at all desirable; but there are few places secure from the attacks of epidemics—and it is generally conceded that, with the greater attention now paid to sewerage and cleanliness, the deaths from yellow fever have greatly decreased, so that there is every reason to hope that the very circumstance of its being necessary to adopt many precautionary measures against such periodical attacks may, in the course of time, render New Orleans as healthy a town as almost any in the American Union.

In connexion with the subject of the Crevasse, and in the almost hourly speculations as to what part of New Orleans was to be carried down into the Gulf, or whether any part of it was to be spared that fate, I heard such frequent mention of the "Levée," as to lead me to make special inquiry as to its nature, uses, and history. The Levée of which one is doomed to hear much during their stay in New Orleans, and which occupies so important a position, and discharges so important a duty, as fully to justify such constant and respectful mention of it, is neither more nor less than a simple embankment to prevent the waters of the mighty Mississippi from inundating the fertile though marshy plains which stretch away from either bank. Opposite the city, the Levée is of considerable breadth, and it looks as if it were competent to the task assigned it, of saying to the turgid waters of the "Father of Rivers," thus far shalt thou come but no farther. But farther up the stream—and it extends upwards for a great distance, above a hundred miles—it seems singularly inadequate, being in many places little more than a comparatively small earthen mound or (*Scottice*) "turf dyke." During my stay in New Orleans the Mississippi rose to a greater hight than it had done for many years before; and the consequence was that a large portion of the Levée, about five miles above the city, and to the extent of above half a mile long, gave way; and the waters continued for many days to pour through the gap and into the surrounding country, destroying property to a very large amount, and ruining many planters; after which it found its way down to the town, many streets of which were covered with water for days. During this overflow large num-

bers of snakes, and other reptiles from the swamps, found their way into the streets of the Crescent City. Conger snakes—the most venomous known in the country—were seen in the water in several parts of the town; and a little girl in the Faubourg Triéné, while wading in the waters flowing along the street, was, in May 1849, bitten by a snake or some other reptile, and that so severely that she died in a few hours. Such are part of the effects of a Crevasse in the Levée which protects the town of New Orleans from the waters of the great Mississippi. At the time I write of, great fears were entertained for the safety of a considerable portion of the town itself; but by dint of great exertion, sinking of boats, bales, and rafts—in the course of doing which, many of the Negro slaves employed at the work perished of cholera or of fatigue—the Crevasses were stopped, and, for a time at least, the Crescent City is safe. I confess that it engendered somewhat of a strange feeling to be in the city day after day, while the overflow was progressing, and conscious that it had not been stopped, and that thousands of tons of water were pouring in on the plain in which was your dwelling—to listen and take part in the conversation which speculated on the chance of the site of New Orleans being some day or other added to the Gulf of Mexico—or the town at least washed down into the Gulf. There is a very prevalent opinion in New Orleans, that the bed of the Mississippi is annually rising, and most plausible reasons are assigned to prove that such must be the fact. I do not feel warranted, by sufficient acquaintance with the habitudes of this mammoth river, nor have I sufficiently studied the sciences of hydrostatics or hydraulics, to entitle me to pronounce an opinion on the subject; but, without troubling my readers with the *pros* and *cons* of the argument, I may be permitted to express a hope that they will concur with me in thinking that, if the bed of Father Mississippi rises from under him, Father Mississippi would be quite entitled to resent the indignity by getting up from his bed. Seriously speaking, however, there does seem some cause for the opinion referred to; and it is to be hoped that some one of the many courses which the science and skill of modern engineers have suggested, may be adopted, and may be found sufficient to ward off the apprehended danger. That a large emporium will exist on the site of New Orleans, or as near thereto as the waters will permit, till the end of time, or at least so long as American or Anglo-Saxon civilisation lasts, will be abundantly evident to any one who thinks of the matter with a map of the country in his hands, and some slight knowledge of the land to enable him to understand it. Situated at the outlet of the Mississippi, itself navigable for large vessels for nearly three thousend miles—and by it and its giant tributaries the Missouri, the Ohio, the Arkansas, the Red River, &c., connected with a plain of unexampled extent, all of it a region of

great fertility—already partially peopled, and now fast peopling, with the energetic Anglo-Saxon race—it is next to impossible that New Orleans, or whatever the city may be called that takes the place of New Orleans, as being situated at the extremity of this line of inland communication, can ever fail to be a place of enormous trade and exceeding prosperity.

New Orleans is pre-eminently a city of trade—and being so, the most interesting view in or of it is that of the harbour from the river, with the forest of masts stretching almost as far as the eye can reach. Nevertheless, and although trade is written in large characters on almost every building, and on almost every face, the Crescent City makes great pretensions as a city of gaiety and fashion. It contains three theatres—one French, and the other two English. It generally has an operatic company, and dances, masquerades, and fancy-balls, are of very frequent occurrence. That these should be the characteristics of a city so very much given up to the turmoil, bustle, and business of mercantile life—that men whose time during the greater part of the day is devoted to sugar hogsheads, tobacco, and cotton bales, to ships' freights and cargoes, should in the evening feel disposed to an excess of devotion to music and to mirth may seem surprising. Yet so it is. New Orleans is a place of great gaiety at certain seasons of the year; and if the fact that the very devotedness of its inhabitants to trade during the forenoon induces them to relax in the refinements of gay life in the evening, be not a sufficient explanation, the only one other that occurs to me is, that, where there is a large migratory and changing population—as there unquestionably is in New Orleans—there are generally found many means provided for public amusement. It is often said, and there is much truth in the remark, that the theatres of London and Paris are mainly supported by the casual visitors to these great cities.

The cemeteries of New Orleans may be classed among the notabilia of the place. The same causes which compel the inhabitants to make their cellars above ground regulate the nature and formation of their last resting-places. These are likewise built *upon*, instead of *in* the land. Both the Catholic and Protestant burial-places are worthy of a visit. The former is the larger of the two, and a description of one will suffice for both. The Roman Catholic cemetery of New Orleans is a very interesting place, and it is rendered more so by the flowers and shrubs with which it is tastefully and appropriately adorned. It occupies a large space of ground, and contains various monuments, many of them both appropriate and beautiful. Accustomed to associate undulating grounds, caves, shady walks, and deep groves, with my ideas of a fitting necropolis, I had not conceived that, without such adjuncts, a place of tombs

could be made so grateful to the feelings of a sorrower as was this cemetery of the city of New Orleans. Like the Campo Santo of Havanna, already described when writing of Cuba, the Roman Catholic graveyard of the Crescent City is surrounded by a high wall, which is of great thickness, and occupied by a succession of recesses, to which access is had from the inside. These recesses form family places of sepulture. The space within the walls is occupied by tombs of marble or of stone, built upon the land, and constructed so as to hold one or more bodies, which are thus literally buried above ground. Some of these sepulchres are of very elegant formation, but none of the inscriptions that caught my eye seemed to warrant transcription.

The characteristic of the Protestant cemetery is the number of that most graceful of all graceful trees—the weeping willow. These are planted so as to overhang and overshadow the sepulchres, and they flourish luxuriantly in a soil so rich, and otherwise so congenial.

Ere the Crevasse had ceased to pour fourth its waters, I embarked at New Orleans in the steam-ship Peytona, to proceed thence direct to Louisville, Kentucky, on the banks of the Ohio. Even now I can recall the singular conflict of feelings with which I took shipping for the voyage up the mighty Mississippi. It was a disappointment, and yet it was not so. Since boyhood had I been in the habit of associating the name of this Father of Rivers with ideas of indefinite greatness, the very vagueness of which formed the chiefest attraction. And now I was at last upon its waters, which, great as I felt them to be, and while they dispelled at once the pictures imagination had formed, certainly did not supply by the reality a scene adequate to fill the place left vacant. Opposite new Orleans the Mississippi is not more than half a mile wide, but it is from one hundred to one hundred and fifty feet deep; and certainly one of the most striking circumstances, if not the most striking circumstance, connected with a sail up this gigantic river, is found in the fact that, for such a long distance—a distance of above fourteen hundred miles, (equal to that between England and Madeira,)—and notwithstanding the frequent pouring in of tributaries, almost as gigantic as himself, the Mississippi appears to vary little either in breadth or in depth. Few things could, I think, give a more graphic idea of the magnitude of a great river than the fact that it could receive the volume of waters continuously poured into it by streams almost as large as itself, without the traveller on its "waste of waters" perceiving that any change has taken place.

It requires a very graphic pen to make a detailed narrative of river scenery interesting, and it is not my intention to try the

patience of my readers in this way. Besides, I doubt not but the scenery exhibited to view during an ascent of the Mississippi has been often described; and have we not Banvard's panoramic painting, exhibiting at least the main features of the river, almost from its birth in the Rocky Mountains till its grave in the Gulf of Mexico?

But I desire, for the guidance and information of those who may read my book, and afterwards visit the scenes, to record my impressions and experience when making this voyage. Some of them may not be found to be much of the nature of allurements to follow my steps; but, whatever my record may be, I can at least promise my reader that it will be a true and faithful one.

And first, then, of the steam-ship Peytona, in herself a very favourable specimen of a Mississippi steam-ship. As a matter of course, (seeing the scene of her exploits was the Mississippi,) her engines were high-pressure, but, notwithstanding this fact, she had been a considerable time sailing the river without having met with a "blow-up," or, indeed, any accident of a serious kind. Apropos of explosions on the Mississippi, there is a very exaggerated notion on this subject prevalent in Europe, and even in the northern states of the American Union, the impression generally being that explosions on the Mississippi are matters of every-day, or at least of very frequent occurrence. But I can assure my readers—and I am sure that Captain Browne of the Peytona will readily corroborate my assurance—that whatever tourists may say to give piquancy to their narratives, and whatever painters may delineate to add interest and excitement to their representations, an explosion of a Mississippi steamer is the exception, but not the rule. It is too expensive a trade to be much indulged in.

The Peytona—so-called in honour of a famous southern racing mare, the property I believe of a Mr. Peyton—is, or was, a large superior vessel of her kind. Her extreme length was two hundred and sixty feet, of which two hundred and twenty-four were occupied by her principal cabin—off which were the state rooms, fifty in number, and containing two berths in each. These state rooms had doors entering from the cabin and again from the gallery outside. The extreme breadth of the ship was seventy-two feet, and the paddle-wheels were thirty-three feet in diameter. The vessel was 750 tons burthen, and, notwithstanding all this, the depth of her hold was only eight feet three inches: a fact only to be explained by reference to the great breadth of the framework by which the whole was supported. She was propelled by two somewhat coarsely fashioned steam-engines, and had two cylinders of thirty and a half inches diameter, with a ten feet stroke.

Take her all in all, the Peytona was—and I hope is—an unques-

tionably fine steam-ship. If she had not the mirrors, mahogany, rosewood, and gilding, one is accustomed to see in the steam-ships of the Clyde, she had much roomier cabins, and everything as bright and clean as paint and scrubbing could make them—so bright, so clean, and so uncontaminated *in the morning*, that it was truly vexatious, if not worse, to see the deck, ere evening came, scarcely visible through the defilements of tobacco juice, expectorated by the passengers at a great expenditure of jaw as well as of health.

But the Peytona was not only good, but fast; and in traversing the Mississippi and the Ohio, for fourteen hundred miles or thereby up to Louisville, Kentucky, we overtook and passed nearly all—if not all—the steamers that had sailed from New Orleans for distant ports on our route, within four days of our leaving New Orleans. The Niles we passed without compunction or competition; the Bride we overtook, but deserted on the river; the Concordia we overreached and beat, after a struggle which elicited shoutings from the Negro crews of either vessel which were the very reverse of concord; and several other competitors shared the same fate. Most of these vessels were literally filled with steerage passengers, chiefly natives of the Emerald Isle; and powerfully graphic must be the pen that would give a proper idea of the sufferings these poor people frequently have to endure in the prosecution of such a voyage in search of a foreign home—sufferings chiefly, if not altogether, caused by their ignorance and inexperience, and consequent inability to make proper arrangements even to the extent of their limited means. I have much to say on this subject, but for the present will forbear, as I shall have an opportunity of recurring to it in some after remarks on emigration to America, which I propose introducing at the close of the book, but which the reader may pass over if he pleases. Meanwhile, I would only record the fact that, at the time of which I write, hundreds of unfortunate emigrants, who had gathered their all and left their native much-loved land, and crossed the broad Atlantic in search of a foreign home, perished in the steamers, and on the shores of the Mississippi, from damp, exposure, and the ravages of cholera thereby induced. On board the Peytona we had comparatively few steerage passengers, owing, no doubt, to the passage-money being somewhat higher than in most of the other steamers. In the cabin, the charge was twenty-five dollars from New Orleans to Louisville; and when it is considered that this charge included board at a very excellent table, and a sleeping berth during a voyage of above fourteen hundred miles, it will not be regarded as anything but exceedingly moderate. For about the same distance—viz., from Southampton to Madeira—in the British West Indian steam-ships, the fare is five times as much. In this, as well as in some other respects, we have surely something to learn from

our transatlantic brethren; and if *they* would improve somewhat on their present system, by seeing that it is no inroad upon the general principle of all men being equal as regard political rights, to allow those willing to spend five dollars to have the accommodation proportioned to five dollars, without tyrannically compelling them to pay only one dollar, and to be content with the accommodation which it secures;—*we* at the same time would much improve our present system, if we took greater care that we did not "pay too dear for our whistle."

Before leaving New Orleans—ay, before leaving Scotland, or setting my foot on the continent of America—my ear had been familiar with extravagant statements as to the extraordinary speed attained by the steamships of the Mississippi. Being somewhat inclined to credit the marvels I heard, my consolation for the more mediocre state of things in my native land of able but considerate engineers, was, that the lightning-like rapidity of the States was attained at a commensurate risk to life and limb. Even in New Orleans, and while studying the proportions or no-proportions of the marine monsters that lay alongside of the wharves, I have heard the bile of many a northern, as well as my own incredulity, excited by statements that the Peytona, and other high-pressure Mississippi steamships, ascended as well as descended the river at the rate of fifteen, eighteen, twenty, and even twenty-five miles an hour, a preference being obviously given to the latter number: and many a warm-hearted southern, whose general veracity it would have been gross injustice to have questioned, being prepared to close the argument with his ready "fact—*meipso teste.*" Twenty or twenty-five miles an hour, and against a current flowing at the speed of some three and a half miles —and that attained by a steamship costing not above one-third the sum per ton, that is expended in such vessels in the river Clyde! Hear this, ye Napiers and others, who have advanced the name of Scottish engineers all over the globe, and who have, by the steamships of your fashioning, to cross the Channel and the broad Atlantic, done more to promote the great cause of civilisation, to bind man to man, and to consolidate peace, than has been done by all the ambassadors and plenipotentiaries ever sent forth, or all the statutes placed upon the statute-book. Hear it, and tremble for your well-earned laurels, *if the statement be true.* But it is not true: no such speed has ever been attained on the Mississippi, even by the most go-ahead blow-up style of craft that was ever launched upon his turbid waters. The statistics already given might have shown that the Peytona is anything but among the inferior of the steamers navigating this great highway of waters—in fact she is one of the very best, and likely to continue so—and yet, on the voyage in question, she took exactly six days to go from New Orleans to Louisville. The distance is

slightly more than fourteen hundred miles; so that, making allowance for about half a day occupied by the repair of a paddle-wheel, injured by coming in contact with a snag or sawyer, her average speed was at the rate of about ten miles an hour. No doubt this was against a somewhat rapid current—a current generally, and by those anxious to vaunt the superiority of the Mississippi boats over those of the northern rivers, or of Europe, said to run at the rate of four miles an hour; and which, after estimating its rapidity by the movements of the rafts, logs of wood, travelling ships, &c., which passed while we were stationary, repairing our paddle-wheel on the shore of Arkansas, I deliberately assert does not flow faster than three and an half miles an hour. But the reader (particularly if a southerner,) may be ready to exclaim, ten miles an hour against a current running at the rate of three and a half miles is a great speed. No doubt it is—and this is just one of the many instances in which people would act wisely if they "let well alone." The Mississippi steamers go fast, but they don't go faster than the steamers of England and Scotland, or of the northern states of the American Union.

Again, it may be natural to ask, if such is the speed of the steamers when sailing up and against the stream, what is their speed when moving down, when they are not only relieved from the obstruction of the current, but aided by its flow in the direction they are sailing in? I cannot speak from personal experience of this, never having sailed *down* the ocean rivers of the Western World. But I have made inquiry on the subject when on the spot, and I have tested the truth of the information I received in answer to my inquiries, by a piece of real evidence which could not deceive me. Having been detained an extra day at New Orleans, waiting the arrival of the Peytona from her downward voyage from Louisville, I had occasion to know, and did know, when she reached New Orleans; and when on board of her going up, I observed and read the notice on the board which contained the announcement of the time at which she had actually left Louisville on her said voyage downwards. The result corroborated the verbal statements made to me in answer to my inquiries on the subject, which was, that a steamer takes about as much time to go down as she does to go up. The fact is so; and the explanation is, that, when going down, these steamers are laden, if not overladen, with enormously heavy cargoes of merchandise—cotton in particular. No one who has seen a Mississippi steamer laden with cotton bales, going down the Mississippi, will discredit this statement. They look literally like floating storehouses of cotton; and when it is kept in view that each of these steamers brings down from one thousand to three thousand bales, the illustration will not seem in any way extravagant. Nor are the numbers of such ships, met with on the voyage upwards, by any means small; it was

by no means a rare or an unusual sight: many were encountered between sunrise and sunset, and those that met and passed us in the course of the night, may reasonably be presumed to have been at least as numerous.

Such and so numerous are the steam-ships of the Mississippi. Of the general character and characteristics of the travellers met with, in traversing its waters, I have already written according to my experience of them. Next to these, the inquiry will naturally be as to the scenery opened up to view in passing along these rivers. And here too, I fear, my truthful narrative must be scarcely in accordance with those of more enthusiastic voyagers. That there is much to interest in a sail up the Mississippi, is undeniably the truth. The very vastness of the river itself, as it pours its waters along through the wilderness; the deep solitude through which you pass; the solemn gloom, which is the prevailing characteristic of the whole scene; and the giant rivers, only second to the great Father of Waters himself, which from age to age continue ceaselessly to pour their waters into his mighty and turgid stream, but without making any apparent change either in its opaqueness or in its volume, are all circumstances which render the scenery of the Mississippi peculiarly striking. But if the landscape is impressive, it is certainly only impressive from its loneness and its vastness. There is a dismal sameness about it which is most depressing to the spirits; and, during the whole of the passage from New Orleans to Louisville, I felt a depression most foreign to my nature, and most inimical to anything like jest or amusement; while, if I might judge from the demeanour of the rest of my *white* fellow-voyagers, my feelings were participated in by nearly all on board. No doubt, brother Jonathan is not generally either a mirth-loving or a mirth-moving animal—at least, as regards his public appearances, it is but seldom that he perpetrates a joke—and nothing can be more solemn (I had almost said ridiculously solemn) than the gravity and seriousness with which the travellers on the great routes and highways of the United States set to the business of eating and drinking, at their public tables. No doubt, with all wise men, the business of eating and drinking is quite entitled to be considered as a serious affair; but there is certainly neither philosophy in, nor necessity for, the extreme solemnity and silence with which, at their public tables, (in private it is very different,) our republican brethren address themselves to their meals. Dickens, in his *Notes*, asserts, with reference to such meals in America, that "undertakers on duty would be sprightly beside them; and a collation of funeral baked meats, in comparison with their meals, would be a sparkling festivity." The remark is unduly severe, and in it truth is somewhat sacrificed at the shrine of effect. But there is enough of truth in it to make it worthy of consideration

on the part of those to whom it relates. A joke (even though a bad one) is a great improver of social intercourse, as well as an important aid to digestion; and light, cheerful discourse is unquestionably the very best seasoner of all repasts. It may be said of a joke what the Scotchman affirmed of a dram—a good meal deserves it and a bad one requires it; so that, whether the viands be good or bad, the general comfort and happiness is improved thereby. But the meals on board the steam-ship Peytona, when voyaging on the Mississippi, were even more melancholy affairs than usual. Even now, I can recall them only with the feelings with which one recalls the performance of a duty; and, amidst the whole reminiscences, I can scarcely remember one flitting smile as having passed over the faces of any of my fellow-travellers, (albeit there were several fair ones among them,) while engaged in the discharge of their daily task of eating and drinking. As, therefore, I felt unwonted depression under the influences of the scenery, it is fair to imagine that similar feelings experienced by my fellow-voyagers. On, on we went, by night and day, through a continuity of forest scenery of a perfectly same character—so much so that, when looking out on the bank of the river at night, before going to bed, and again when gazing forth in the same direction next morning, you could have sworn that you saw the same morass and the same trees, although a distance of eighty or ninety miles divided the one spot from the other. But, dismal in their dreary and pestilential solitudes as the shores of the Mississippi are at all times, they were especially so at the period of which I write. The river was very high—higher than it had been since 1816; and, for several hundred miles above New Orleans, the land along its banks was one flooded as well as wooded swamp. The slimy water was seen far in among the trees, far as the eye could penetrate; and log huts, and other dwellings of the people who lived along the banks of the river, were so completely surrounded with water, as to render it necessary for their occupants to use boats as their means of entrance and of exit. In point of fact, the only living inmates of such locations that seemed to be at all in circumstances of tolerable comfort, were the ducks or geese, which sailed about the dwellings "rejoicing like boon companions over their liquor;" and even these animals must occasionally have felt the want of a dry nest to repose in, after the fatigue of a day's ploughing in the muddy waters of the great Father of Rivers. In many cases the waters had risen far above the level of the floors of the dwellings; but, not being privileged to see the interiors of the "Edens of the west," we could not say how far the inhabitants may have succeeded in turning the circumstances to good account, or in resisting its evil influences.

With such scenes presented day after day, and hour after hour,

it was only a fitting tribute to the gifted author of *Martin Chuzzlewit*, that the recollection of his description of Martin and Mark Tapley going to and at the site of the projected city of Eden, should have risen frequently to my mind. "By degrees the towns in the route became more thinly scattered, and for many hours together they would see no other habitations than the huts of the woodcutters where the vessel stopped for fuel. Sky, wood, and water all the livelong day, and heat that blistered everything it touched."

Another general characteristic of voyaging, or rather steaming, on the Mississippi, is the total absence of sailing craft. For thousands of miles on the Mississippi and its tributaries, you will not see a single vessel under sail. In this respect it contrasts remarkably with its lovely rival in American scenic fame, the sprightly, glorious Hudson, on steaming upon which you are continually greeted with that loveliest of all lovely objects connected with a river or sea view—a host of vessels under canvas. In lieu of such, but a very poor substitute, the Mississippi has her flat-boats or floating storehouses—her travelling shops and family moving mansions—and occasionally her floating theatres or places of public exhibition. But all these are going down, floating lazily on the downward stream, guided, but scarcely impelled, by long poles or sweeps held in the hands of the boatmen; and if any of them sported anything of the nature of a sail, it was so far remote from a sailor's idea of such, that it may without injustice be left out of consideration altogether.

Previous to the establishment of steamers, the whole trade of the Mississippi was conducted by means of those flat-bottomed boats; and even yet they form so distinct and so characteristic a feature of the sail, that any description of the river, without prominent mention of them, would be incomplete. In such vessels or hollow rafts, the produce is floated down from distances of three thousand miles, and lesser distances, to the town of New Orleans, there to be disposed of by shipment or otherwise. The boats are little more than square boxes, the roof somewhat rounded, and a large space occupied as the hold, containing Indian corn and other farm produce, and a smaller portion being occupied by the human inhabitants of this floating habitation. The boat moves along with the flow of the river, which runs at the rate of about three and a half, and under four miles an hour; while the boatmen regulate its motions by means of long poles. In piloting themselves along, these boatmen encounter much risk as well from steamers during the night as from "snags," "planters," and "sawyers," both by night and day, and even still more from the eddies, of which many are to be found in the river. I was told a story of a party on board a flat boat being surprised to hear a continuous strain of

music and mirth for some six or eight hours, which fell on their ears, as they imagined themselves to be floating onwards at the rate of four miles per hour. But when morning broke, they found that they had been merely sailing round and round in an eddy, in one of the bends of the river—the said eddy being caused by one of those sudden changes which are so frequent in the Mississippi, and the music being the strains from the fiddle of a man, whose solitary house they had passed and repassed in the course of their gyrations. Some of these flat boats are of a smaller size, and are occupied as floating shops, containing and retailing supplies of tea, tobacco, candles, groceries, and other articles, for the use of the inhabitants along the banks. In some others, the trades of tinkers, smiths, &c., are carried on, as they journey down the river, making fast to the river-side at every place where the circumstances make it expedient. All at last reach New Orleans, where, as it is impossible to sail up again against the current, they dispose of their temporary floating-house, (or abandon it, if the market for such articles be glutted,) and return by one or other of the steamers to the place whence they had originally set out, probably to repeat the same thing again and again. Sometimes the interest, in one of these flat boats and its motley inhabitants, is increased by hearing from it the strains of a fiddle, or of a banjo, or by perceiving that the Negroes or others on board, are amusing themselves by dancing. When formerly writing of the apparent depression of spirits exhibited by the party on board the Peytona, I used advisedly the term "white" fellow-passengers, for assuredly the remark does not apply to the Negro. Sambo is generally in good spirits, and boisterous in his mirth, as any one will admit who has heard the shouting, laughing, jibing, and singing, between the Negroes on board two Mississippi steamships, as they struggle for precedence during one of those too common and very dangerous races up or down the river.

As a matter of course, wood is the fuel used in the Mississippi and Ohio steam-ships, although, after ascending a considerable distance, some coals may be had, and are often taken on board. But wood is the principal fuel, and the mode of wooding is a very simple one. In going down, the steamer requires to stop and come to, to get the wood put on board from the floats on which it is lying heaped up in what is called "cords," or piles of a certain specific length and depth, because the floats could not be brought back if allowed to float to any distance down the current. But in going up, this detention is avoided. The steamer goes close to the bank—the woodman and his assistants having been previously hailed, and being ready to put off his float or floats; and, one or more of the boats or rafts being attached by the hawsers of the steamer to the pant-

ing monster, the latter then proceeds on her upward course, dragging the wood boats with her, and only slightly retarded, and panting a little more by the additional weight which she has thus to drag through the waters. This being done, the clerk of the steam-ship, or his assistant, proceeds on board the raft or rafts, and measures the wood, and the price being then adjusted, (if it has not been so before,) parties from the steamer then proceed to aid the boatmen to empty the floats of their cargoes, by throwing the large billets (four feet long) on to the deck of the steamer. "Many hands make light work;" and it being a matter of importance to both parties concerned, that, on the one hand, the steamer should not be retarded by the wood boats longer than is absolutely necessary, and that, on the other hand, the woodmen should have as short a return-voyage as possible, it is striking the rapidity with which large floats are emptied of their contents. At first I was surprised at the numbers of workmen that poured from the steamer to the raft, as soon as the moorings were fastened—or even before—and erroneously imagined that the Mississippi steamers must have an unusually large complement of hands. But on inquiring at the master (and I believe owner) of the ship, I found that the many hands who thus make light work of the wooding were most of them Mississippi boatmen, who, having sailed down the river with their rafts and merchandise, and having disposed of both the latter at New Orleans, were now returning to their homes, and thus "working their passage" upwards, in a very praiseworthy spirit, saving their pockets by aiding in putting the fuel on board the steam-ship.

In sailing up the Mississippi, from New Orleans to its junction with the Ohio, and again up the Ohio as far as the town of Louisville, in the state of Kentucky, and of Cincinnati in the state of Ohio, you pass in succession, either on the right or left hand, along the shores of the states of Louisiana, Mississippi, Arkansas, Tennessee, Missouri, Illinois, Kentucky, Indiana, and Ohio. You thus have a fair opportunity of contrasting at least the general outward aspect of some of the slaveholding states, with that of states where slavery is unknown, or has been abolished; and, truth to say, the contrast is very great—so great as to be in itself a powerful sermon in favour of abolition. But the "sermon" here is not "in trees," but in the want of them. The white labourer, with his arm of freedom, seems alone capable of struggling successfully against the giants of the forest; and, wherever you see a tract of ground more than usually clear, and of more than common fertility, as you sail up the mighty stream of the Mississippi, and gaze on the vast solitudes which are to be seen on its banks, rest assured that the party you are so gazing on belongs to a free state, and not to a slaveholding one.

When mentioning the process of clearing, I am reminded of the singular effect produced by the mode in which this is gone about. Once or oftener, in the course of a day, there is to be seen, from the upper deck of the steamer, a large tract of still wooded country, over which it would seem as if the angel of death had cast his shade. A blight has passed over all the gigantic forest trees within a large circumference, and the viridity of their still flourishing neighbours, by whom the plague-struck spot is surrounded, only renders the blasted and brown appearance of the stricken trees the more remarkable. And truly they are stricken—literally stricken—and that by the axe wielded by the stalworth arm of the backwoodsman. The process which engenders the appearance described is shortly this: When it has been resolved to clear any portion of land of the timber growing on it, the first step taken by the woodcutter is, to cut a notch some inches deep into and through the bark, at the bottom of the trees. This prevents the ascent of the sap; the trees wither and decay, and of course speedily assume the blighted appearance already referred to—and thus they stand until, being sufficiently decayed, the next powerful storm of wind comes in aid of the woodcutter's operations, by levelling them with the ground. Ere this consummation is attained, the trees have the blasted appearance to which allusion has been above made.

Who is there who has heard of the navigation of the Father of Rivers, without hearing of the "snags" and "sawyers," which form impediments and dangers to be encountered in navigating his stream? The vast volume of waters moving through the great alluvial plain, and ofttimes overflowing large portions of it, frequently changes their course and direction. The bank on one side is undermined for a considerable distance, and then disappears in the mighty, muddy stream, carrying down to the bottom with it the trees growing upon its surface; which trees ofttimes get stopped by some shoal, and are then embedded in the bottom of the river by gradual accumulations of sand. On the other or opposite bank, in most cases, there is a proportionate part of the former bed of the river left exposed and comparatively dry, and the part from which the water has thus receded is speedily—indeed ere the season closes—covered with a luxuriant crop of young cotton-wood trees. The trees overwhelmed and sunk in the new channel the river has formed for itself, are known by the terms "snags" or "sawyers," according to their powers of doing mischief. When the submerged tree stands upright and fixed, it is less objectionable, and is called a "snag," or occasionally a "planter;" while, when the end which rises above the water points in a slanting direction, and dips up and down as it is moved by the current, its characteristically descriptive name is a "sawyer."

Thunder-storms are of very frequent occurrence about the shores of the Mississippi; and what has been already said of the loneness of the scene, will prepare the reader for the statement, that there is much that is very imposing and impressive in the rolling and reverberating of the thunder, and the flashing of the lightning on this gigantic river, and among these vast sylvan solitudes. It seems as if it were the only artillery proportionate to the scene.

Another feature of the Mississippi, already noticed when writing of the steamboats, is the total absence of vessels under sail. During a ten days' sail on the broad deep stream, I did not perceive any nearer approach to a white sail than was to be seen in the square dirty rag of some bargeman, who was thus endeavouring to aid the power of the downward current, by seeking a little assistance from a favouring breeze.

About three hundred miles up the river from New Orleans stands the town of Natchez—containing some five or six thousand inhabitants—divided into Natchez *on* the hill, and Natchez *under* the hill, and having a short time back a very villainous reputation, as the place of harbourage of various bands of gamblers and other disreputables, but now enjoying a somewhat better and an improving character.

About two hundred miles beyond Natchez, the steamer touches at the very picturesque little town of Vicksburg, (famous for the summary justice some years ago executed on the persons of a band of these very same gamblers, already mentioned); and steaming onwards for some five hundred miles farther, and passing various small stations, including Helena, a town of about five hundred inhabitants, (lately the scene of a diabolical tragedy in the burning of a slave,) you arrive at the town of Memphis, a town which—despite the ancient name that has been given to it—bears as many of the marks of modern movement as any upon the route. One or two days' farther steaming brings you to the mouth of the Ohio, into which I passed, with anything save a feeling of regret that I was exchanging the dull oppressive sameness of the Mississippi, for the somewhat bolder and more varied scenery of the Ohio. Up the latter river we proceeded through a succession of views, which, although certainly a great improvement on that of the larger stream of which it is a gigantic tributary, did not, in my opinion, exhibit any peculiarities to induce me to add to the descriptions of previous writers.

We proceeded, in the first place to the town of Louisville, in Kentucky, (a very improving town of some 40,000 inhabitants,) and thereafter to Cincinnati—now the largest city in the Western States of the American Union.

CHAPTER X.

"The fall of waters and the song of birds,
And hills that echo to the distant herds,
Are luxuries excelling all the glare
The world can boast, and her chief fav'rites share."

COWPER.

DICKENS and others have called Cincinnati a "beautiful city"; and, while I am not prepared to admit the entire appropriateness of the appellation, I certainly think it a very handsome town. The extraordinary rapidity of its progress is, however, the most important circumstance connected with its history. Even Mrs. Trollope would now scarcely recognise Cincinnati, so much has it changed and increased during the few years that have elapsed since it was made by her the chosen spot of her temporary sojourn; and, judging of former manners by her portraiture of them, those of the inhabitants of Cincinnati must have made equal progress with the buildings of the city.

"Fifty years ago," said General Harrison, in a discourse delivered by him before the historical society of Ohio, "there was not a Christian inhabitant within the bounds which now comprise the state of Ohio," (an extent of territory of nearly forty-four thousand square miles;) "and if, a few years anterior to that period, a traveller had been passing down the magnificent river which forms our southern boundary, he might not have seen in its whole course of eleven hundred miles a single human being—certainly not a habitation, nor the vestige of one calculated for the residence of man." And now what a change! In 1790, the whole population of the state of Ohio did not exceed three thousand; in 1840 it had reached 1,519,467; and now, in the close of 1849, it cannot be much less than two millions. But the contrast between the past and present is best illustrated by confining attention to the town of Cincinnati. In 1796, Cincinnati was simply a small village of log cabins, consisting of some dozen wooden huts or houses; and I saw, in the possession of an intelligent citizen, a sketch of it, representing it as it was in this condition. Now, within little more than half a century, it is a city of nearly 120,000 inhabitants; and it is still, by births and emigration, increasing (as I was informed by professional gentlemen of influence and intelligence) at a rate of about ten thousand annually. The streets of Cincinnati are wide, regular, and at right angles with each other; and were they somewhat better paved, it would be a great improvement. This is, however, a charge which may be generally advanced against the transatlantic cities. In some of them, indeed,

good paving is not to be expected. Although named by the ambitious term city—of which term our American brethren seem much enamoured, (witness the city of Cleveland on the banks of Lake Erie, Sandusky city, &c.)—their right to the title is yet in embryo. To entitle them to the name of towns, much less of cities, they want these very necessary elements, houses and inhabitants; and, inasmuch as there are few, if any, among them, so favourably situated as Cincinnati, centuries will probably elapse ere many of them have expanded beyond what would be denominated villages in the "Old Country." In such "cities to be," it were unreasonable to expect well-paved streets; but even in the generality of the larger towns, the paving is anything but good. If I except Boston and Philadelphia, I did not find well-paved well-kept streets in any of the large towns in the American Union. I had thought, before leaving Scotland, that my native city of Glasgow—which, in the extraordinary rapidity of its progress in size, beauty, and wealth, displays more of American growth than any city in Europe—enjoyed a somewhat unenviable distinction in having the carriage-ways of many of its streets in great dis-repair. But Glasgow contrasts favourably in this respect with any of the large cities of the American Union; and had the Cincinnati Jarvey who attempted to extort six dollars from myself and friend, for a two hours' drive to the Cincinnati Observatory, attempted to justify his extortion by an appeal to the badness of the streets and deepness of the ruts, he might have succeeded in making out something of a good special case.

Cincinnati contains some good public buildings, such as the Observatory, already casually noticed, which is built on a hill called Mount Adams, that rises immediately above the town, and which contains a telescope of large size and power imported from the continent of Europe—the new Catholic Cathedral, of which the spire and portico are really fine, although the spire is perhaps somewhat too high—the College—and some others. But none of them are of such beauty or dimensions as to attract much of the attention of a traveller, who has seen the architectural beauties of Great Britain. But there has been very recently erected at Cincinnati a building which deserves that honourable and prominent mention should be made of it, were it only because it is intended to be, and will be, till some vaster scheme outrivals it, the largest hotel in that country, where monster hotels are the rule, and not the exception. When I visited Cincinnati in 1849, there was in course of erection a hotel, which, I was informed, would contain the almost incredible number of above five hundred separate bedrooms, besides eating and other rooms, proportionate to the extent of the sleeping accommodation. But hotel-keeping in America is on a very large scale, and the practice among the merchants and traders of boarding at the hotels—

ofttimes with their wives and families—and merely sleeping in their own houses, gives great encouragement to these mammoth establishments. But my American friends must excuse my preferring the more secluded English system. No doubt, the hotels in the United States are generally not only large, but handsome, and handsomely furnished, (although certainly neither superior in these respects to the ordinary hotels of England and Scotland, nor equal to what may be termed the first-class hotels of London, and some other of the principal towns of Britain;) and, the very reasonable amount of the charges considered, the supply of viands is usually unexceptionable in all the particulars of quantity, quality, and cooking. But, prejudice or no prejudice, I prefer the English system, where men are not so gregarious in their eating: and thus it was that, on my first visit to New York, I was attracted to the very superior hotel called "Delmonicos," simply by the remark of a friend that the matters of the table were there conducted more after the English fashion—the *cuisine* being decidedly and *excellently* French.

But to return to Cincinnati. There is perhaps nothing connected with the *present* position of the city, or the present development of the energies of its inhabitants, more creditable, or more worthy of remark, than the attention paid to the cause of education. The system of national education in the United States of America has much in it that calls for consideration from all who have the real well-being of the great family of man truly at heart; and great things may be expected from the effects it is calculated to produce on the rising generation. Actuated by a wise and an enlightened policy, the States of the American Union have recognised the necessity of combining mental improvement with material progress; of making education keep pace with national wealth, and increase in civilisation at home go hand in hand with increase of power abroad: thus it is that there is a larger proportion of the population of the United States engaged in attendance on a course of instruction than is to be found in any other country on the face of the whole globe. All honour to them that such is the fact. This, however, is a subject too ambitious, and too extensive, to be discussed at length in a work like the present; but having had my attention prominently directed, while in Cincinnati, to the zealous and highly liberal manner in which the system is wrought out in that city, I cannot deny myself the satisfaction of here introducing a few remarks upon it.

In the majority of the instances in which error is committed, in reasoning on matters connected with the United States of America, the mistake arises from confounding, or at least from not discriminating, between the powers and constitution of the Federal Government, and the powers which the separate States have severally reserved to themselves. No doubt, the constitution and laws of the

United States are declared to be supreme—so supreme, that no State law is valid which comes in competition with the constitution, or with any law of the United States; and it has been well remarked by that distinguished American statesman, the Hon. Daniel Webster, that it is this very principle which makes the united laws of the General Government supreme, that constitutes the American constitution. Without this, the Union would be merely a confederacy. As a general theoretic constitutional principle, then, it may be affirmed of the constitution of the American republic, that the law of no state of the Union can be valid where it conflicts and is at variance with any law of the General Government; and that, if at any time any question of interference should arise, the power of decision between the individual State and the Union is placed in the hands of the Supreme Court at Washington, which also has power to decide questions that may arise between one state and another. It will be at once seen how important is the existence both of this principle and of this power, and also that both are essentially necessary to the integrity, and indeed to the very existence, of the Union itself. But while the line of demarcation is in some cases not very well defined, and in others not much respected, there are, at the same time, matters and powers which the individual states have reserved to themselves, and with which the General Government has nothing to do. Of this the education of the people is one. There is, properly speaking, no general State education. Each state is at liberty to legislate on this subject as it pleases, and each state has legislated regarding it; and, to the credit of our American brethren, let it be remembered that there is now no country in the world where the secular education of the people is better attended to than it is in the United States. I say secular, not because I can, of my own knowledge, say that the religious education of the people is neglected, but because *that* is left to each religious denomination itself. In America, where there is no State church, all that the state governments do, in connexion with the public education of the people, is to provide schools, in which the children receive a secular education at the public expense, a portion of the local taxes being appropriated for that purpose. Every state in the Union has some provision of that nature, although, as has been already mentioned, no one state has the power of controlling another, through the medium of the General Government or otherwise, in relation to this matter. In every state of the Union there is an ample provision for the support of schools for the education of white children; and, while I of course cannot vouch for the truth of the statement of myself, I had it from several influential gentlemen of Louisiana, that in that, as well as in some other slave states, provision would have been made for the education of the children of the slaves, had not

so violent a spirit of opposition been excited, of late years, in the south, by the proceedings of the abolitionists of the north. It may seem a strange thing to say that the movements of northern states to abolish slavery should have operated as a preventive to the southern ones educating, in some degree, their black population; but it is easy for one who has personally witnessed the keenness of feeling that has been excited on this question of abolition, to see that such is likely to be the case. To judge from the language of some parties in the New England states, one would suppose that they considered all arguments and stratagems fair, provided only they tended to further the "abolition ticket." *Fas aut nefas* seems the motto. In May or June, 1849, an instance occurred of the seizure of a box, despatched per rail from one of the slave states, (Kentucky,) directed to Philadelphia, which, when opened, was found to contain two live slaves, whom it was *thus* intended to remove from slavery to freedom; while the extreme among the anti-abolition parties of the south are as unscrupulous, and fully more extravagant, in their doings or language. To judge from the language of some of them, no punishment is too bad for the conduct of their opponents; and to form an opinion from the remarks of nearly all of them, whether in public or in private, it would seem as if they would rather dismember the Federal Union than give way to the abolition movement—at least for some time to come. Even in Congress, such language is occasionally used, and the scenes to which its introduction leads are occasionally very strange ones for a legislative assembly. The following, taken from a report of proceedings in the United States' House of Representatives, on 13th December, 1849, will suffice for a specimen. The scene occurred on the discussion of a resolution of Mr. Brown, of Mississippi, that the Hon. H. Cobb should be elected to the highly important office of speaker:—

Mr. D——r said that the resolution of Mr. Brown, in effect, called upon the Whigs to make an unconditional surrender. He would vote for anybody but a *disunionist* to occupy the chair.

A VOICE.—There is no such person in the house.

MR. D——R.—I think so.

VOICES.—Where is he?

MR. D——R pointed to MR. M——.

MR. M——DE.—If the gentleman charges me with being a disunionist, it is false?

MR. D——R.—You are a *liar*.

Immediately Mr. M——de left his seat on the opposite side of the house, *and rushed towards Mr. D——r*. The parties were not more than four feet apart, when members rushed between. There were cries of "Fight!" The sergeant-at-arms hurried down, with the mace of office in his hand. There were loud cries of "Order."

Lobby members mounted the side scenes. Mr. M——de beckoned Mr. D——r to follow him to the Rotunda. There were motions of adjournment, midst a scene of the greatest possible disorder.

But such scenes are very rare, and when they do occur, the words used cannot be regarded otherwise than as the dictations of temper and of haste. But the feelings which they display have been evinced even in the Upper House of the American Legislature; and that they were there enunciated and argued on with great decorum, dignity, and ability, only proves that they are deeper seated than some parties in America or in England are willing to admit. Of this any one may satisfy himself, by perusing the published speeches of Messrs. Hayne and Webster, delivered in the United States' Senate in January, 1830. There the *ostensible* subject of discussion was what is known in America as the "nullification" question, or the right of an individual state to declare a law of the General Government null and of no effect within that state's own particular limits or territory—a doctrine which Mr. Webster justly characterized as one which would reduce the Constitution to a mere confederacy. But although that was the ostensible subject, the whole tenor of the argument goes to prove the extreme dissonance that exists between the north and the south on the question of slavery. That this dissonance ever will lead to a dismemberment of the American Union, however, I am far from thinking. If there be one thing of a national character which an American values more than another, it is that he is a member of the Union. It is not that he is a citizen of New York or of Massachusetts, of Carolina or of Alabama, of Kentucky or of Ohio, but it is that, being such, he is a member of the Great American Union or Republic; and, without going the length of saying that a separation of the north from the south could not be made without in any way interfering with the peaceful relations between the two, I certainly would, were I an American, regard a dismemberment of the Union as the greatest misfortune that could befall my great and rising country. But of such an event I have little fear. The northern and southern states of the American Republic stuck together even at a time when the latter had the greatest and most obvious of all possible interests to secede from the cause of the former; and it were well that the northern party should now remember this fact, when urging their southern brethren on this tender subject of slave emancipation.

This, however, is a digression. To return to the question of state education. In each of the states there is a provision for the secular education of the children of freemen, at the expense of the state itself. In some states the allowance is greater than in others,

even taken in proportion to the population. The state of Connecticut has the honour of standing at the head of that list that would enumerate the states of the American Union according to their respective public provisions for the education of the people. With a population not exceeding 400,000, the sum annually devoted by the state to the support of the public schools is about £26,000 sterling; and it is a fact worthy of record, were it only as a somewhat singular coincidence, that while Connecticut is thus distinguished above all the other states of the American Union for the large amount of its public school fund in proportion to the population, it is also the only one in the republic in which theatrical representations are prohibited by law. Different parties will interpret these facts, and connect or separate them, according to their prepossessions for or against the theatre, and its uses or abuses. But the circumstance, that these two things should co-exist in the same state, is one which is worthy of being made prominent mention of. In 1849, an attempt was made in the local legislature of Connecticut to repeal the law prohibiting theatrical performances within its own territorial limits; but the bill introduced for this purpose met with the most determined opposition—an opposition based not so much on objections to such amusements themselves, as on objections to that class of persons by whom they are usually supported, and whose increase in the state might be reasonably expected to follow an alteration in the law. The opposition prevailed, and the bill was almost unanimously rejected. But to return to the state provisions in the United States of America, for the education of the people.

Maine, with a population of about 600,000 inhabitants, has permanent school funds yielding an income of about 60,000 dollars, or above £12,000 sterling. Massachusetts, with a population considerably under a million, has public schools in which fully 80,000 children are annually educated at the public expense; and the state of New York, with a population approaching closely to 3,000,000, (in 1845 it was 2,604,495,) has a common school fund, the aggregate capital of which amounts to about half a million sterling; while, from the general statistics of education in the state, it appears that, of the whole population, about four out of every thirteen were under instruction during some part of the year, in the elementary and more advanced branches of English education, and in the classical departments of the academies.

Similar details might be given in reference to others of the states in the Union, all going to show that the education of the people has occupied, and continues to occupy, that attention in America, to which it is so well entitled. But it is not my intention either to compare the provisions in the different states, or to enter into

details with reference to any of them. My limits preclude, for the present, the possibility of my doing so. The object now is to illustrate, by the mention of a few indisputable facts, the general truth of the remark, that the state governments of the American Union have shown themselves most wisely provident, and alive to the best interests of their great republic, in the ample provisions they have made for placing a sound elementary education within the reach of every free inhabitant they contain. The words "wisely provident" are here used advisedly, for, if there be a country in the world in which national provisions for education are more necessary, or more likely to be productive of beneficial results, than another, it is in the American Union. The Constitution of the American confederation appeals to the understanding. It is in the conviction of the thinking and intelligent mass, that it is the constitution best adapted for the country, and for the promotion of the general good, that its stability and permanence depend. And beside this, the American Union is yearly receiving into its bosom vast masses from the old countries of Europe, more particularly from England, Scotland, and Ireland. Many of these emigrants, no doubt, add to the intelligence, as they do to the population and wealth of the far off land of their adoption; but it is also true, and lamentably so, that many of them carry to America little save their poverty and their ignorance. If emigrants of this class are to add much to the real strength and prosperity of the nation, they, or at least their children, must be educated. To use the words of an esteemed professional friend in Cincinnati, (himself one of the truest and best friends of education to be found in any land,) whose letter on the subject is before me, this class of emigrants require not only to be Americanized, but to be in a great measure enlightened, civilized, and educated, ere they can be of much real benefit in assisting towards the onward progress of the land to which they have emigrated.

While the general attention paid to the education of the people has thus been creditably great in almost the whole of the states, the state of Ohio, notwithstanding its comparitavely recent occupation and rapid growth, has not been behind in the race, as the following few statistics, with reference to the common schools of the town of Cincinnati, will sufficiently prove.

In reference to the educational system pursued in its common schools, Cincinnati is divided into twelve districts. In each of these districts there is a school-house, having a male and also a female department, with a principal and assistant teachers presiding over each. The principal teachers over the male department have fifty dollars a month of salary, the assistants somewhat less. The principal teachers of the female departments have twenty-

eight dollars a month, the assistants from sixteen to twenty dollars. In some of these district schools German is taught in connection with English; and as a large proportion of the population of Cincinnati is German, (a fact evinced by the numerous Gersign-boards and inscriptions you see as you go along the streets in certain parts of the town,) these schools are certainly a peculiarly interesting feature in the Cincinnati school system, and strongly illustrate the liberal and enlightened spirit under which they are conducted.

Besides the twelve district schools, there is a central school, established in November 1848, for the farther education of such children above ten years of age as are found on examination to have a "competent knowledge of reading, writing, spelling, English grammar, modern geography, mental and practical arithmetic, history of the United States, mental algebra or written algebra, to equations of the second degree."

In the common schools the usual branches of an elementary education are taught, while in the central school the education is of a more advanced character, and includes Latin and Greek. As an adjunct to the whole, there is an orphan asylum school.

The total number of pupils who attended the district schools of Cincinnati between October 1847 and October 1848 was 27,316, being an increase of above five thousand on the year previous.

The above details, which are mainly taken from the nineteenth annual report of the trustees and visitors of the common schools of the city council of Cincinnati for the year ending June 30, 1848, prepared under the authority of the board, by my able and excellent friend Bellamy Storer, Esq., (some time corresponding secretary, and last year the president of the board of trustees and visitors,) will sufficiently show that the general commendation of the school system of Cincinnati, with which I set out, was not without ample and sufficient foundation.

That the efforts thus making, throughout nearly the whole of the American Union, to increase the knowledge of the general body of the people, may continue to prove eminently successful, must be the anxious and ardent prayer of every well-wisher of the great family of man.

One of the greatest businesses carried on in Cincinnati is the killing, curing, and packing of hogs. More than 400,000 hogs were packed in Cincinnati up to January 1848, for the season 1847–8; and for about two months of each year, the herds of these animals driven along certain of the streets leading from the river are almost continuous. Indeed, the statistics of the pork trade of the Western States, Ohio, Kentucky, and Indiana, are so extraordinary as to be scarcely credible to those who have not seen

the evidence of its extent. In 1847, the number of hogs brought to market from these three states was fully seven millions. But the fact is, that the states above mentioned are peculiarly adapted for the culture of Indian corn, (called in America "corn" *par excellence;*) and this food supplies not only the cheapest, but the best means for fattening these useful animals.

Of the price paid for hogs in Cincinnati and its neighbourhood, I have no note taken when on the spot. But the price cannot, for very obvious reasons, be materially different from what it is in the immediately adjoining state of Kentucky; and in or about Louisville, the largest city of that state, and itself a great market for the killing or curing of hogs, the prices varies from one dollar and a half (about 6s. 6d.) to two dollars and a half, (10s. 6d.,) according to the weight —animals weighing 175lb. bringing the smaller sum, and those weighing above 250lb. the larger.

The circumstances thus alluded to have led to the settlement at Cincinnati, and also in the town of Louisville, of sundry emigrants from the Emerald Isle, who, in these towns and their neighbourhoods, exercise the trade and calling with which they were most familiar in "their own green isle." But it is not only Paddy who indulges in the hog-curing calling in these parts; a large proportion of the German settlers are engaged in the same trade; and it must have been in this portion of the Union that the following case occurred. A German settler lost several valuable hogs, and, finding some animals exactly answering their general description in the possession of an American or English neighbour, he claimed them as his lost favourites, and went to law in vindication of his right to them, on his claim being disallowed. The proofs on both sides were balanced and conflicting, and the lawyers were at their wits' end, when it occurred to the advocate of the German claimant to demand the recall of his client's son, who had been one of the witnesses. On his recall, the counsel asked him if he was in the habit of calling his pokers, and how he called them. The answer was affirmative, and that he called them in German, and they answered to his call. Thereon the judge and jury adjourned to the defendant's hog-yard; and on the German vociferating his war-cry, the pigs he had claimed, and only those out of a very large flock, responded to his call. It is scarcely necessary to say that this piece of real evidence decided the question at issue. It is said of a certain great king that he characterised German as the language most adapted to horses, but this probably was the first instance of its ever being supposed to be best suited to the capacity of pigs.

The extensive trade in the rearing and killing of pigs, is generally supposed to be somewhat adverse to a spirit of cleanliness, and perhaps it may be partly owing to this that Cincinnati suffered so greatly

from cholera about the time of the visit in question in 1849. The epidemic had begun to be felt, but had not reached its height when I was in the city; but there is now before me a letter, dated 30th July 1849, written to me by an influential professional gentleman in Cincinnati—one who interests himself constantly and warmly in everything that conduces to the well-being of his fellows, in which he says—"Since you left us, our city has been terribly scourged; we have lost nearly five thousand of our people by the pestilence that has everywhere prevailed." He adds, that the ravages of cholera were even then prevalent, although "present indications are decidedly favourable to the rapid decline;" while I find it stated in a Cincinnati newspaper of a subsequent date, that above 6000 had perished, and that there were fully 2500 houses in the city then unoccupied and to let. It appears that the greatest mortality was for the thirty-one days ending 16th July 1849, and that the daily average of deaths during that time was one hundred and seventeen. The largest proportion of deaths was among the foreign population, the comparative numbers being, of emigrants 70.1—Americans, 22.6—the difference being no doubt caused mainly by the fact of the new-comers being as yet unaccustomed to the climate, and ignorant what food to take and what to avoid.

Leaving Cincinnati at the somewhat inconvenient hour of five o'clock in the morning, a ride of about sixteen hours in railway cars brings you to the city of Sandusky, on the shores of Lake Erie. The distance travelled is only 217 miles; and if the time occupied in the transit would seem to indicate an unusually slow speed for railway travelling, it must be remembered that this line (for it is literally one line) of rails, runs through a comparatively unpeopled country: and although one of its termini is at the populous improving town of Cincinnati, the other is at Sandusky, which, although specially rejoicing in the ambitious title of Sandusky city, is nevertheless only a a sparsedly built village, containing a population which does not exceed 2500 inhabitants. In making this journey I heard sundry sneers, on the part not merely of Old but of New Englanders, on the subject of Western railways, particularly when the career of the train was stopped, and the steam-whistle was loudly sounded, until intrusive cattle or hogs were frightened off the line. I could not, however, sympathise to any extent in the severity of my English or Yankee friends on the subject of Western railways. Surely it is better to have one line of railway, and cars travelling on it at the rate of fifteen miles an hour, than no line of railway at all; and if the profits of working the railway from Cincinnati to Sandusky only suffice, in the course of a few years, to the accumulation of wealth sufficient to lay down a railway of more English-like capabilities and

pretensions, the parties who own the present works will be entitled to have the laugh quite the other way.

An American railway car has been too frequently described, to render description on my part either necessary or likely to be interesting. The main feature is the absence of different classes of carriages, it being seemingly assumed by the directors, that in a country of republican equality, every one must be ready to adopt the same mode, and be content with the same accommodation, when travelling. For myself, I do not complain much of the arrangement, although it appeared to me then, as it does now, that it was nothing short of downright tyranny. Because A cannot, or will not, pay two dollars for his seat in a car, why should B be compelled (for it amounts to compulsion when there is no other mode of transit, or none equally good,) to be content with the comforts and accommodation that can be purchased for one dollar? This, however, is but one of the many developments of that tyranny of the many, which unquestionably prevails to a very large extent in the United States of America. For the present the government is in the hands of the Whigs, and I should think that every true friend of the land of stars and stripes would wish that it were long to continue so. The grand policy of that government is decidedly, and almost necessarily, conservative; accordingly, in private, some of the most intelligent men belonging to the Whig party, hesitate not to acknowledge that the real danger which the federal constitution has to dread, arises from the too rapid growth of the democratic principle—from the tendency everywhere observable of referring all power to the mass of the people—of taking every opportunity of appealing to "the people," and flattering their prejudices by making them the source of all power. For an illustration of the operation of this democratic tendency, I was indebted to an intelligent military officer of the United States—a gentleman who had held the rank of general in the Mexican army, up to the time the United States declared war against that feeble sister republic, and who now holds a high place in one of the military colleges in the United States. He mentioned that, in one of the Western States—Louisiana, I think—much excitement prevailed at the time, in consequence of its having been mooted, as a weapon of popularity, to have the local judges annually elected, and by the voice of the general body of citizens. The question had been debated in the local legislature, and the resolution there come to was to leave the question of a change to be determined by the majority of the electors themselves. Once mooted, the representatives of the people would not face the odium and unpopularity of deciding it in such a way as excluded the people from power. Could anything more strongly show the tyranny of the *vox*

populi, when all considerations are made to give way to it? If there be one question in government better settled than another by the wisdom of ages, it is that the judges who are to administer the laws, who are to hold the balance of justice, should be elected for life, without consideration of party or of party politics, and made as independent as possible of all considerations of a political character.

But the above is only one of many illustrations of the manner in which the really judicious statesmen in America seem trammelled and gagged by considerations of policy and popularity. Again and again, and in every quarter, was I struck with the different tone of sentiment which pervaded the remarks of my intelligent Whig friends in private, as compared with what they said in public. It would seem that, in private, they universally spoke their own thoughts, while in public the one ruling consideration was what might or would be thought by the mass of the people. This is surely to be deeply regretted as fraught with evil tendencies, particularly in a country which is annually receiving into its bosom vast numbers of European emigrants, most if not all of whom are drawn from the most democratic portions of European society. It were well, I think, that the wise and good of the United States were to reflect more on this important fact,—viz. that the elements of society, drawn by them annually from the old countries, have many of them a strong leaning in favour of levelling principles, even before they set their feet on the shores of the great republic. It may be—it is—no doubt true, as stated in the annual report of the Cincinnati schools for 1848, now before me, that America must, "for many years to come, be the home of thousands who will have left Europe to escape oppression." But it is also true, that the thousands whom such causes have moved to emigrate to America are outnumbered by the advocates for license, the pretended victims of an imaginary oppression. Judging from the foolish paragraphs relative to European affairs, which so often deform the pages of the newspaper press in the United States, there seems to be a great appetite for the intelligence regarding the "tyrannical governments of Europe." No absurdity, on this subject, seems too gross or too extravagant for the popular taste. The rhapsodies of some of the American newspapers on the subject of the late outbreak in Ireland, exceeded in violence and absurdity of falsehood even the most lying effusions of *The Nation*. The ravings of such men as Smith O'Brien, Mitchell, Meagher, *et hoc genus omne*, were lauded as the height of political wisdom, and the utterers themselves held forth to the public as patriots and martyrs, instead of being simply and truly characterized as charlatans, impostors, or political empirics. This may be all very well as regards the sale of a newspaper, and the mass of the United States' public may be forgiven many widely erroneous notions regarding England and Englishmen, and English free-

dom, when they have to gather their opinions from such impure sources, or from the equally inaccurate statements of the renegade sons of Great Britain who take refuge on their shores. But the wise and dispassionate of the republic will do well to remember, that while they are a republic—and while a large element in a republican form of government is the democratic principle—there are foreign ingredients annually mixed with the native mass, which have all a tendency to strengthen the principle referred to. Washington—the truly great Washington—although a republican, was very far from being a democrat; no one saw more clearly, or inculcated more strongly than he did, the necessity of discipline and subordination, to insure the continued prosperity of that Union which he was so instrumental in forming.

Mais revenons à nos moutons—to return to Sandusky City, which affords a fair specimen of the village cities of the United States of America. Standing on a bay which opens into Lake Erie—and communicating with New York, on the one hand, by means of the lakes, canals, and railways, and with New Orleans on the other, by means of the Cincinnati railway, the Ohio, and the Mississippi, Sandusky seems destined, at one period or another, to assume the magnitude which is presupposed in the term "city;" but for the present it is but a village, and not a very large village either, containing about 2500 inhabitants, and having only a few streets, or rather roads, which are destined to be streets when the interstices or vacant spaces have been occupied by buildings.

Leaving Sandusky early in the morning by the steamer for Buffalo, you arrive early next morning at the latter place On going down the lake, the steamer touches at Cleveland; and I took advantage of the two hours occupied by "coaling" at that place, to visit the town, and was very much pleased that I had done so: for although there is, in the broad road-like streets and sparsedly-sprinkled buildings of Cleveland, much to include it in the same category with Sandusky, there is unquestionably great taste displayed in the general laying-out of the town. The streets are very broad; they are also at right angles one with another, and well planted with trees for shade. The present population of Cleveland numbers about twelve thousand. It boasts a medical college, which, although a recent establishment, is represented as being in a very flourishing condition; and, like most of the small towns of America, Cleveland rejoices in a number of churches—above twenty; a number which seems unusually great, considering the comparative smallness of the population. Cleveland also enjoys the advantage of a very fine harbour on Lake Erie, which harbour is protected by two piers jutting out into the inland sea. It also communicates with the Ohio, on the other side of the state, by

means of a canal; and being thus connected, by direct lines of water communication, with the Mississippi on the one side, and with New York and Canada on the other, and situated in the midst of a great wheat-producing country, there is everything to justify the expectation that Cleveland in Ohio, will, in course of time, attain the position of a very important, and the appearance of a very handsome, city.

Lake Erie, although standing only fourth amongst the American lakes in point of magnitude, is fully entitled to the appellation I have above given it—namely, that of an inland sea. Its extreme length is 240 miles, and its *average* width is nearly 40 miles. The larger lakes are—Lake Superior, which is 420 miles long, and of an *average* breadth of about 100 miles; Lake Michigan, which is 340 miles long, by about 60 miles broad; and Lake Huron, which is 270 miles long, with an average width of about 70 miles. These gigantic fresh-water lakes are connected together throughout their whole extent; and the reflection that the river Niagara, to whose stupendous falls I was now rapidly approaching, formed the only natural outlet for the vast body of wâter (about one half the fresh water on the whole surface of the globe) which is contained within the areas of Lakes Superior, Michigan, Huron, and Erie, deepened the impressiveness of the feelings with which I now approached a scene that had ofttimes been present to my imagination from the days of my boyhood, floating among the ideas of my mind in a sort of misty, dreamy indistinctness. The impression that I now stood within a few miles of the great fall was paramount to every other; and only stopping for a few hours in the bustling, busy, town of Buffalo, (which is situated in the state of New York, and forms, as it were, the very centre of the canal and lake navigation, and railroad communication,) so as to enable me to take a rapid drive through it—thereby seeing enough to justify the affirmation, that the town of Buffalo is a rising, rapidly improving city, pleasantly situated on the borders of Lake Erie, at the head of the river Niagara—I proceeded by rail to the village and Falls of Niagara. The distance is only about eleven miles, and may be traversed either by railway, along the banks of the river Niagara, or down the river itself by means of the steamer. I chose the former mode, but a comparison of notes with intelligent scenery-loving friends satisfied me that the latter was the best; and when I next approach Niagara from the side of Lake Erie, it is my intention to do so by means of the steamboat. On arrival at the village, or place of debarkation, the first visit will naturally be to the world-renowned

FALLS OF NIAGARA;

and, strange as the remark may at first sight appear, I would add, that the sooner this first visit is paid, *and over*, the better. Those who have visited the scene will understand the observation. The first few minutes of the contemplation was to me positively painful, and left an oppressiveness on my spirits for all the rest of the day. It was not that I was disappointed—*that* I could not say; and yet the cataracts were something very different from what I had conceived them to be. But the preconception and the reality were so totally unlike, that comparison of the one with the other was completely out of the question; and *that* reality was so great, that disappointment was equally precluded from my feelings. I felt oppressed, however, by the first view; and the companion who accompanied me acknowledged, as we sat together in the evening listening to the roar, that such also was his experience. It was with a feeling of relief that I turned away from the scene; and it was not till I had been at Niagara for some days, and had visited these glorious Falls at all hours, and for hours together, that I felt from the contemplation of them that satisfaction (I cannot think of a better world) which I had anticipated.

Oniawgara, or the Thunder of Waters, is the expressive Indian name for these cataracts. Before visiting them, I had seen many views, and read many descriptions of them, and attempted to form some adequate idea of their dimensions and appearance by studying their statistics. But although I thereby acquired some knowledge of the feelings with which the view had inspired others, and ascertained the enormous number of tons of water that continually pour over this precipice of 160 feet high, and that have continued ceaselessly so to do, probably, since creation first began, and while generation after generation of men have been disappearing from the face of the globe; I cannot say that such studies in any measure prepared me for the scene I actually witnessed. For this reason I will not attempt any detailed description of the Falls, or of their concomitant rapids and whirlpool, but content myself with noting down such suggestions, as to the mode of seeing them, as may spare some after visitor a little of the unnecessary trouble I encountered myself, and aid him in making the best use of his time; to which I will add on or two remarks as to those points which appeared to me to form the distinctive characteristics of the magnificent scene.

These, the most stupendous cataracts in the world, lie partly in the state of New York and partly in the British possessions of Canada. Near the middle of the river, but rather on the American side of it, stands Goat Island—or, as it ought to be called, Iris Is-

land, that being the name assigned to it by its proprietor, and to which it is well entitled, by the numerous spray-created rainbows that play in the vicinity of it. This island contains about seventy acres of land, and by it the river is divided at the Fall, and for a considerable space above it—the main body of the stream passing down on the south-western side, and being precipitated over what is called the Canadian, or (in allusion to its shape) "The Crescent or Horse-shoe Fall"; and the lesser portion passing on the north-eastern side of Iris Island, and falling over the American Fall. But the waters falling over the American Fall are divided previous to, and at the point of their descent. After passing the upper end of Iris Island, they are divided by what is called Bath Island, and by some smaller ones; and at the point where they are precipitated over the cliff, they are separated by a very small island, called in the guide-books Prospect Island, but named by my informant by the more euphonious name of Luna Island. The comparatively small portion of waters which falls over between Goat Island and Prospect Island is known as the "Centre Cascade"; and this fall is from the highest point of the precipice, the height of the descent here being 162 feet, while the height of the American Fall, which lies between Prospect Island and the state of New York, is 160 feet—the Horse-shoe Fall being of lesser altitude by a few feet.

The above general description will be sufficient to show that these falls, to be properly seen, must be viewed not only from below as well as above, but from both sides of the river; and, as there is ample accommodation for the reception of travellers on both sides, much is said and written as to which is the best side whence to view the falls. The guide-books being chiefly manufactured in the United States, of course, and with a natural enough preference, generally say all they can to induce the traveller to take up his abode at Niagara village, on the New York side. I did so, and I certainly have every reason to write, with unqualified eulogy, of the comfort and attention felt and experienced in the Cataract Hotel. But the fact is indisputable, that by far the finest view of the falls is that obtained from the other side of the river. From the door or from the windows of Clifton House, which is the name of the principal hotel on the Canada side, the view is grand in the extreme—infinitely more so than any other general view that can be taken of these stupendous cataracts. In front lies the great Horse-shoe Fall, with its sea of waters continuously pouring over the precipice into a caldron of scarcely known depth, whence a constant cloud of spray springs up, encircling, and sometimes obscuring, the fall itself. On the left is the scarcely less magnificent American Fall, hurrying onward—the waters discharging themselves over the precipice they have to encounter, as if impatient to join the kindred waters from which they have

been so lately separated, and regardless of the obstacles which interpose to resist their doing so; while between the two there sparkles in the sunbeams the noble Centre Cascade—a fall which would be in itself an object of attraction and gratification in any other presence than that of its monster brethren.

For this reason—namely, because it places constantly before his observation the most imposing general view of the falls, and also because the more, and the oftener, and the longer, these falls are viewed, the more will they fill the mind of the contemplative visitor —I advise the traveller not to follow my example, by taking up his abode exclusively on the American side, but, after living two or three days on that side, (whence Goat Island, &c., is alone approachable,) to cross over and take up his residence for at least two or three days longer on the Canadian side.

I have already said that, despite the fact that the Falls of Niagara had been the subject of my dreams almost from boyhood, and notwithstanding my having read at least half-a-dozen attempts at description of them, I found, when I stood in view of these cataracts, that I really had not had any preconception of them whatever. Thus I feel it will ever be. The only thing that struck me on this subject was, that whereas, in my preconceptions, I had surrounded the Falls of Niagara with many elements of grandeur, separate and independent of the mere waterfall itself; when I stood on the spot, when expectation and imagination had been swallowed up in the reality, it was the falls—the falls alone—that occupied my attention and filled up the view. Above the falls, and at the point where the sea tumbles over the precipice, there is no mountainously grand scenery to attract or distract the attention. The broad and deep, but clear and rapid river flows smoothly along from the waters of Lake Erie, with a hasty but unbroken current, until it begins to be divided by the islands above the falls, as it approaches the brow, as it were, of the mountain ridge on which it is flowing. Before being so divided, the river is nearly two miles broad. After being divided, and as it approaches the upper end of Goat Island, the channel contracts, and the waters accelerate their course. Down the rapids they hasten, boiling and agitated, as with a consciousness of the fearful plunge that lies before them; but still preserving enough of their calmness and continuity, as to sweep over the verge of the precipice in one unbroken and continuous stream. The great depth of water, at the point where it commences its fearful perpendicular descent, ere it breaks into crisping foam—which it does not do until it has fallen some twenty or thirty yards—is powerfully exhibited in the sea-green colour of the water about the centre of the Horse-shoe Fall. Indeed this sea-like colour, and the continuity (so to speak) of the waters themselves, at the point where the descent commences, form two of

the facts connected with the Falls of the Niagara that now present themselves most vividly to my recollection. Shortly below the falls, the depth of the water is about 250 feet; but there, and for some miles, and down as far as Lewistown or Queenstown, the river is greatly pent in. I could not learn that any attempt had ever been made, or could be made, for ascertaining the exact depth of the river at or about the centre of the Crescent Fall, ere it throws itself from the top of the precipice, but the green colour alluded to shows that it must be very great.

The Indians had a superstition that the genius who presided over the Falls of Niagara required the annual sacrifice, at this his shrine, of at least two human victims. Ere the Red man lost this part of his once broad but now contracted possessions, the supposed merciless Spirit of the Cataract was scarcely ever disappointed or defrauded of his victims. At least two human beings have annually passed into eternity, by disappearing over the falls, for as far back as any annals of these cataracts exist. Since the white man succeeded to the proprietorship, the number of such victims has certainly not diminished. His habitual enterprize and daring have multiplied them greatly; and many are the harrowing accounts of such fearful accidents to be found in the guide-books, or to be heard from the narratives of the guides, who here, as in all such places of general resort, haunt and occasionally annoy you. Even about the time of my visit, and within a few days of it, an accident occurred, second in point of lamentable, harrowing incident to none of those which have preceded it. Having stood on the very point whence the victims were precipitated, and that immediately before the accident took place, and having the whole of terrific event graphically present to my mental vision, the scene has often since recurred to my recollection—particularly during the hours of midnight—with a startling vividness and personality which is excessively painful. The lamentable circumstance to which I refer was shortly as follows. Names are repressed in the narrative, because, unlikely though it be that this book shall fall into the hands of any one connected with the victims, it is still a possible thing that it should do so; and I would run the hazard of giving pain where I could avoid the possibility of doing so. Besides, names are not necessary to give touching effect to such an incident, which is one of recent occurrence and well known, at least in the localities where it occurred, or which it affected.

A party of pleasure, composed chiefly of the members of two families about to be more closely united by intermarriage, had visited the Falls of Niagara from the New York side, and were enjoying the superb view of them to be witnessed from Iris Island and the neighbouring little Prospect Island. One of the party, a little girl

of about twelve years old, with the giddiness natural to her years, had gone too near the water and the precipice, and had been repeatedly called back. On repeating the inconsiderateness, a young gentleman, the affianced of the sister of the child, followed her to bring her back, and having caught her by the dress, playfully attempted to frighten her, by holding her forwards towards the water, as if he would drop her into the river. Fearful to narrate, the part of the dress by which he held the child gave way in his grasp, the child fell into the hurrying, eddying, tossing waters. In a vain hope of saving her, or maddened to desperation by the scene, the youth sprang after her, and both were instantly launched into eternity, by being thrown with great force over the precipice into the boiling caldron below. It is scarcely necessary to add that the dead bodies were not found for some days afterwards, and then at or about the whirlpool, a considerable distance down the river.

Many such incidents have occurred through the temerity of visitors at Niagara. Some years ago a young lady lost her life by going too near, and falling over the precipice on the other side of the river; and the unfortunate event is chronicled, on a board exhibited by one of those persons who earn a precarious livelihood in the vicinity of the falls, in lines strongly suggestive of the fact of how nearly, in this world, that which is ludicrous approaches, if it be not allied to, that which is sublime. The doggrel inscription sets out with a compliment to the whole race of womankind, and is in these words—

> "Woman, most beauteous of the human race,
> Be cautious of a dangerous place,
> For here Miss —— at *twenty-three*
> Was launched into *eternity*."

It is to be hoped that, if any poet of the falls attempts to chronicle the event which sent Mr. A—— and his little friend to an untimely tomb, he may be more successful in his endeavours, by narrating the story in verses worthy of its touching truth.

Before visiting Niagara, I had heard much of the great distance at which the cataract makes itself both seen and heard—seen by its clouds of mist and spray, and heard by its deep booming and unceasing roar. I cannot say that my expectations in these respects were gratified; on the contrary, I did not see the spray, neither did I hear the sound, many miles off. But these are matters which depend so much on the direction of the wind, and on the nature of the weather, as well as on the acuteness of vision and of hearing in different individuals, that I merely notice that the fact was so. But the roar of the cataract itself, as you stand before it, is quite another matter. With *that* I was not disappointed, although I cannot at

present remember any sound I can liken it to so as to give a fitting idea of its nature—

"Only itself can be its parallel."

It is like the voice of thunder as I have heard it on the Mississippi, and also among the mountains of my native land—it is like the noise of the contending elements of wind and rain, as I have heard them in a storm on the ocean—it is like the roaring of the surf, as I have heard it breaking among the islands of the Hebridean sea, after having crossed the broad Atlantic—it is like all these, and all these combined; but it has a sound peculiar to itself—a sound which impressed me with deeper awe than any noise I had ever heard before. How is it that, in such a scene, the heart so longs for solitude? To be alone is the predominating desire; and yet how little does one feel alone on such an occasion, when no human eye rests on the view but your own! The voice of the living cataract speaks in your very ears; it thunders forth eternity; it tells you of a power which is illimitable—of a Being who is omnipotent in His majesty, as well as eternal in His duration. And even while you feel that, as a mere man, you are gazing on a something which is far beyond your capacity to form, or your power to control, you feel at the same time that there is an omnipotent Being to whom that great waterfall is but as "a drop in the bucket;" and that you are allied to Him by a never-dying principle, which places even you supremely above and beyond the most stupendous of nature's formations;—a something which will live and may luxuriate among the boundless works of Him, an emblem of whose majesty and might you are here contemplating, even when that noble cataract shall have ceased to flow. Most truthfully can I affirm that, never do I remember of being so deeply impressed with the almost sense of a present Deity, than I was as I stood alone, and at a late hour on a moonlight night, contemplating from the Table Rock the waters of the Niagara, as they tumbled successively and continuously, and with a ceaseless roar, over the precipice of the Great or the Horse-shoe Fall. Dickens' description of his feelings at Niagara is one of the very few parts of *Notes on America* that seem to me worthy of his fame as a descriptive writer. In particular, I can fully sympathise with him in the passage in which he says—"It was not until I came on Table Rock and looked—great heaven! on what a fall of bright green water—that it came upon me in its full might and majesty.

"Then, when I felt how near my Creator I was standing, the first effect and the enduring one, instant and lasting, of the tremendous spectacle, was Peace!—peace of mind, tranquillity, calm recollections of the dead, great thoughts of eternal rest and happiness, nothing of gloom and terror—Niagara was at once stamped

upon my heart an image of beauty, to remain there changeless and indelible, until its pulses cease to beat for ever.

"Oh, how the strife and trouble of our daily life receded from my view, and lessened in the distance, during the ten memorable days we passed on that enchanted ground! What voices spoke from out the thundering waters!—what faces, faded from the earth, looked out upon me from its gleaming depths!—what heavenly promise glistened in these angels' tears, the drops of many hues, that showered around and twined themselves above the gorgeous arches which the changing rainbow made!"

There is not—I know and feel that there is not—the slightest shade of exaggeration in the statement that, in every word of this most beautiful description of the effects, the abiding effects, produced in the mind by contemplating this sea falling over this mountain range, I can most fully sympathize; and, as I could not hope to describe the scene in terms as eloquent, I see nothing objectionable in borrowing part of his description, at same time that I acknowledge the source whence I have received it. Even now, in the hour at which I write, amidst the scenery of my native much-loved land, and with all nature lying around me in deep repose, and everything still around me, there is nothing of the past—nothing connected with my journeyings by land or by sea—that I can more readily recall than the realities of Niagara. I can see vividly, though but in mental vision, the broad deep river coming on in smiling placidity, as unconscious of its dreadful fate; Anon some symptoms of feeling pervade its waters. It tosses and tumbles, as if it would strive against its fate, but yet onward, onward it comes; and when it sees its fate to be inevitable, it meets that destiny with calmness and resolution, as it quietly falls over into the abyss in one continuous sheet; while from below there rises a veil of mist and vapour, as if gracefully to conceal the death-struggles of the river from the view of the spectator.

The concomitants of the falls are the rapids above them, and the whirlpool and snspension-bridge below them. All of these are well worthy of inspection: in particular both the rapids and the whirlpool deserve, and will repay, a lengthened visit. It is the phraseology of the guide-books, and even of some tourists, to speak of the rapids and whirlpool as almost as wondrous as the falls themselves; but this is simply nonsene. They are extraordinary and wonderful; they are not magnificent. As appendages to the falls, they are worthy appendages. Apart from the falls, there would not be much in either of them, although the writers I have alluded to speak of the whirlpool as fully as dangerous, if not as wonderful, as the great Maelstroom whirlpool on the Norwegian coast.

Of the two "rapids," I prefer those immediately above the Crescent Fall. Both rapids are best seen from Goat Island. The whirlpool should be viewed both from the top of the bank and from below. The scene above is very different from that beneath; and it is only by viewing it in both positions that you become fully alive to the great power of the circling eddies.

The suspension-bridge, which has been thrown across the river at the distance of about a mile below the falls, is a remarkable work, although, in these days of engineering talent and enterprise —an age which witnesses a railway carried by tubes across the Menai Straits—it seemed to me that my transatlantic friends were disposed to make somewhat too much of the difficulty and magnitude of the undertaking. Still, to throw a bridge across the river Niagara, at the point in question, was a work requiring no mean mechanical skill and attention. The contractor was a Mr. Ellett. Having established the first connexion by means of a kite, Mr. Ellett, after successively replacing a string with a rope, and the rope with a wire cable one inch in diameter, was himself carried over in a car suspended from the latter. The distance between the bridge and the surface of the water is 230 feet; the depth of the water below the bridge is 250 feet; the length of the bridge is 650 feet, crossing a river of nearly 350 feet in breadth. The present bridge is merely a temporary erection, intended to give place to a more substantial structure. But even the present erection affords accommodation for the passage not merely of foot passengers, but of carriages and horses, from the Canadian to the American shore—these latter, however, being only allowed to cross it slowly, and at a walking pace.

When viewing the Falls of Niagara, I felt it difficult to repress the wish that I could have seen them when some stupendous object of man's fashioning were precipitated over the precipice and into the abyss, were it only to have ocular demonstration of the feebleness of human power to contend with this cataract of nature's forming; and probably no one will ever see "the Falls" to greater advantage than did those who saw the steam-ship Caroline pass over the main cataract in a burning state, at midnight, in the month of December, 1847. With the political view of that matter—whether the act was justifiable or unjustifiable—I have here nothing to do. I have my opinions on the subject, but it were foreign to the nature of this work to make any mention of what these views are; besides, there are a sufficient number of the extravagant and over-zealous, on both sides of the Atlantic, to keep up any little soreness that the burning of this steamer by the British may have excited at the time of the event. That such soreness exists is, however, but too evident; and it would be strange were

it to happen that Canada should be annexed to the United States through the agency and instrumentality, and with the wishes, of those very British who were instrumental in creating the irritation referred to by the forcible seizure and burning of the Caroline.

But it is with the destruction of the Caroline, not as a political, but as a picturesque, affair, I have here to do. At midnight, in a winter's night, a party of men from the Canadian shore boarded the Caroline, as she lay moored at Navy Island—cut her out, set her on fire, cast her loose, then abandoned her, and left the blazing vessel to drift slowly down, casting a lurid light on the surrounding objects, until the whole was suddenly, instantaneously quenched, as the doomed vessel disappeared over the great or Crescent Fall. It must have been a very imposing sight.

CHAPTER XI.

"These are thy glorious works, thou Source of good—
How dimly seen, how faintly understood!
Thine, and upheld by thy paternal care,
This universal frame, thus wondrous fair.
Thy power divine, and bounty beyond thought,
Adored and praised in all that thou hast wrought."

COWPER.

It was with much reluctance that, after spending at Niagara one of the best remembered weeks of my life, I resumed my journeyings, by proceeding onward, by horse-drawn railway carriage, from Niagara to Lewistown. Before leaving the scene which had afforded me such deep delight, and which I know not if I may be spared and privileged again to see, I spent the forenoon in revisiting the various views that had most deeply impressed me; and these last looks are among the most vivid of my recollections: they also supplied me with much food for reflection in my after wanderings—

"Adieu to thee again—a last adieu!
There can be no farewell to scenes like thine:
My mind is coloured by thy every hue."

The village of Lewistown is situated on the Niagara, immediately before it enters the waters of Lake Ontario. It is on the American side of the river, and on the opposite or Canadian side stands the picturesque improving town of Queenstown. From one or other of these places there are constant opportunities of proceeding down Lake Ontario by some one of the numerous and very superior steamers which ply upon the lake, carrying the British standard or the American flag, just as ownership or *interest* dictates. At Lewistown or Queenstown, or rather shortly before reaching them, the river

Niagara emerges from the gorge or valley in which it has been flowing ever since it sustained its trying fall at the village of Niagara. The fact that the highlands thus continue down to Queenstown, and that the river between the Niagara and Queenstown flows at a level so much below that of the surrounding country, has given rise to the opinion that, at some long antecedent period, the falls were situated about that point of the river opposite which the town of Queenstown now stands. In theory, there is much to be said in favour of this view of the matter; but the difficulty is to assign a date when this retrocession of the falls can have taken place, inasmuch as the oldest description of them extant—and there are some very old ones—describe them as occupying very much the same position, and exhibiting very much the same shape and appearance, that they do now. If the receding was gradual, it must have taken many thousands of years for the falls to have worked back from Queenstown to Niagara. If sudden, and by a convulsive operation of nature within the annals of time, it is incredible that some tradition of the event has not been handed down among the Indians who composed the Six Nations which formerly occupied and possessed the territory lying on the banks of the river Niagara. Moreover, written accounts of the falls, at a period more than a century anterior to the present date, are in existence, and these indicate no retrocession of the river, or any material alteration in the position, or in the general appearance and features, of the falls themselves.

The view from the top of the hill, as you descend upon the river of Lewistown, is exceedingly picturesque. Before and immediately under you stands the village of Lewistown, with the town of Queenstown on the opposite side of the river; while on the heights above Queenstown towers a monument to the memory of Lieut.-General Brock, which, though now almost in ruins, forms a very imposing object in the view. On the left hand, as you enter the village, flows the broad, deep, clear Niagara river, moving swiftly, but yet in calm grandeur, almost as if it were taking time to recover from the effects of its late extravagance, and as yet only partially successful in its efforts to assume a less vexed appearance; while, to complete the picture, the deep blue sea-like waters of Lake Ontario are seen stretching beyond and before you, and away into the extreme distance.

In reference to the present dilapidated condition of the monument erected to the memory of the gallant Brock—which appearance arises from the unsuccessful attempt of a miserable miscreant to blow it up with gunpowder, during the insurrection which occurred in Canada in 1837 and 1838—I could not help heartily execrating the dastardly spirit that could take such a mode of exhibiting either its politics or its passions. I audibly expressed myself to this effect, in

the society of some United States tradesmen, who were going down from Niagara to Lewistown on a trip of pleasure, and who occupied the car with me. On so doing, I was delighted to find that not even national prejudice could blunt their sense of the miserable impropriety of such an act: one and all of them joined me most heartily, by expressing their detestation of the heartless dastard by whom it was committed.

Arrived at Lewistown, we immediately proceeded on board the American steamer, yclept the Lady of the Lake, and speedily unmooring, the power of the steamer, aided by the rapidity of the current—which here runs at the rate of about seven miles an hour—very soon brought us into the waters of Lake Ontario. The scenery of the lower part of the Niagara is very pleasing, as is also that portion of the American side of the lake which I saw ere the shades of evening closed on the view. But I find I have especially noted the colour of the waters, both of the river and the lake, as remarkable as well as pleasing. Clear, bright, and sparkling, the foam created by the movement of the paddles of the steamer seemed to me to have a creaminess and a consistency superior to the froth of ordinary water. But perchance the recollection of the brown muddy-looking waters of the Mississippi was then fresh in my memory, and rendered the waters of a purer stream more beautiful and grateful by the contrast.

Lake Ontario stands only fifth among the gigantic lakes of the New World in point of magnitude. It is 180 miles long—is, at its greatest width, 52 miles broad—and has an average width of about 40 miles. It is, moreover, very deep.

The first place at which the steamer touched was the town or village of Oswego, on the American side of the lake, and in the state of New York. Oswego is a gay, sparsedly built, but improving town of considerable size, having many American features, badly paved streets inclusive. It enjoys a large and increasing trade in flour. Even at present, the number of flour-mills at work in Oswego is very great. I was credibly informed on the spot, that these mills could, and often did, grind 9000 barrels of flour per day. Indeed, it appears from statistics of the Oswego mills, prepared for a forthcoming Gazette of the State of New York, that 600,000 barrels of flour were ground at the mills during the year 1848. In that year thirteen mills were in operation; the number, at the time of my visit, had been increased to sixteen.

From Oswego the steamer proceeded to Sackett's Harbour, also in the State of New York; and then crossed the lake to the town of Kingston, in Canada West. My stay in Kingston being limited to the two hours of the steamer's detention there, I had no opportunity of doing more than taking a very general survey of its appearance,

so that my report may be summed up in this:—That, although I had the same fault to advance against the general paving that I have stated against some of its republican neighbours, and to complain that some of the *trottoirs* or side-walks were of wood, I thought Kingston, on the whole, a pleasantly situated, handsome-looking place, having somewhat more of a finished town-like appearance than American towns of the same size generally exhibit. The Town Hall, in connexion with which is the Post Office, a massive building, and the French cathedral, the English church, and some other public buildings, have some pretensions to architectural beauty.

Kingston stands at the commencement of the river St. Lawrence, which forms the outlet of Lake Ontario. As therefore the Niagara forms the feeder, and the St. Lawrence, as it were, the waste-pipe, of the same lake, it would have been more natural, and it might have been as well, had the two rivers, or rather the two parts of the same river, been called by the same name, distinguishing their position by the terms upper and lower. But it were too late to try to change this now. It were difficult to name any two rivers in the world, naturally connected with each other, with which such an experiment could not more easily be made. The Falls of the Niagara, and the Thousand Islands of the St. Lawrence, have conferred upon each of the streams in which these celebrities are to be seen, a reputation which precludes the possibility of a change of name as regards either of them.

Beautiful St. Lawrence! others have expressed themselves disappointed with thee; but writing only as I found and felt, and without reference to the impressions even of more gifted travellers, I am constrained to confess that, in no part of my wanderings by sea or by land—the unapproachable Niagara alone excepted—did I feel more interest and excitement than I did when sailing, often shooting, down the waters of thine arrowy steam. The variety of the islands, which, although named The Thousand, are said to be in reality of much larger number; the racing speed at which the river runs, with the occasional boiling and blustering of the rapids, and the also occasional transition from narrows to lakes, and from lakes to narrows again, give an interest and a variety to the sail, which is exceedingly pleasing. True, the islands are none of them high, and some of them are covered only with stunted brushwood. But then they are in constant succession, and most of them are clothed with trees of very graceful foliage. True, also, the river has lost the green clearness it possessed when it passed under the world-renowned name of the Niagara, or while its waters formed part of the waters of Lake Ontario, and it has now assumed a browned and comparatively turgid aspect. But then it is still full of activity: it toils, tosses, and tumbles like a thing of life. Often it is difficult to understand what

all the toil, trouble, and turmoil is about. Like a numerous class of would-be politicians, whose characteristic features are graphically touched off by Wordsworth in the line—

"Hurried and hurrying, volatile and loud,"

the St. Lawrence seems resolved to make the most of everything—to make a vast noise and bluster as well without as when there is occasion, and to keep up the excitement even long after all apparent cause for it has ceased.

Shooting the rapids! Who has not heard of the Rapids of the St. Lawrence, or read in the days of boyhood, when the taste for the marvellous is keen, of the danger and excitement of "shooting" them? But the danger may fairly be considered as one of the things passed away. The excitement, however, still remains. And it was exciting and interesting enough to feel the gigantic steamer steadying herself, as it were, before entering the tossing turbulent waters of the Long Sault Rapids; and then hurrying along and down through their boiling billows with the speed of a sea-bird. In shooting these rapids on this occasion, the steamer had to pass a sailing vessel bound for Montreal or Quebec, which was going down at the same time, and for a while it seemed as if a collision was almost inevitable. Both vessels required to keep a particular channel, where the rocks were covered by the greatest depth of water, which channel was indicated by the particular appearance of the boiling of the water. But the sailing-vessel did not seem to "answer her helm" readily; and, had not the steamer done so very sharply, a fearful collision must have taken place. Indeed, it is only from insufficiency of steering that accidents are likely to occur, and the very rapidity of the steamer's motion gives her what is, I believe, technically called good steerage-way. At all events, the Indian pilot who steered the steamer Lady of the Lake down the rapids of the St. Lawrence, did not seem to think there was anything of danger in his occupation; and if he was not one of the best judges of the amount of the danger, he certainly ought to have been so.

The group called the Thousand Islands commences about ten miles below Kingston, and extends for a distance of upwards of fifty miles; and the wanderings of the steamer among the various channels seemed sometimes strange enough—creating often much of what may be termed lake scenery; as it was not till we seemed to be almost running on shore, that the channel through which we were to pass opened to our view. An hour or so after leaving the islands, the Lady of the Lake shot into the mouth of the river Oswegatchie, and moored at the harbour of the town of Ogdensburg, which stands at the mouth of this dark-coloured stream of unpronounceable name. As the American steamer British Empire, which was to convey me

onward to the capital of Canada, had not arrived, and was not expected for some hours, I devoted the time so gained to landing, crossing the long wooden bridge, (on which I observed the notice so usual on such structures in the States, prohibiting carriages from passing quicker than at a walking pace, under a penalty of some ten or twenty dollars,) and traversing the length and breadth of the town of Ogdensburg. But, although I think it is by such wayside visits to comparatively unvisited places, that one can best form proper notions of the general progress of a nation, at least as regards their internal trade, such rambles do not afford many incidents or particulars for description; and the only note of Ogdensburg I find in my daily memoranda, is to the effect that it is of the same rough business character with some of the other minor American trading places I have already described; that a large trade in grain, and in grinding grain, is carried on in it; and that it bears many indications of increasing wealth and importance. At the same time, and although there are some neat-looking villas to be seen from the bridge, cresting the lofty banks of the stream of the Indian name, Ogdensburg does not as yet boast much beauty of an architectural nature.

When describing my voyage on the Mississippi, I had occasion to mention the prevalence of the habit of chewing and its many unpleasantnesses. When in a shop in Ogdensburg, I had an illustration of the extent to which it is carried, and the manner in which it is acquired, by the juvenile portion of the community. I had made a small purchase, more with the view of getting into conversation with the intelligent looking proprietor, than from any desire for the thing bought; and finding the party I addressed very obliging, and (on my at once, and in accordance with my custom, asking him to excuse my questions, on the ground of my being an entire stranger,) very communicative, I continued my conversation with him as to the trade of the town, which he represented as in a flourishing condition. While I was talking, two or three well-dressed boys came into the shop asking for some sort of gum, adding to it a name I had not before heard; and on my asking the little purchaser what he wanted, and offering to get some of it for him, the owner of the shop said, "Oh, never mind, sir, he wants what I have not to give him—he wants Burgundy pitch to *chew*."

"Burgundy pitch to chew!" said I—"that is assuredly a strange taste."

"Yes it is," said my friend the storekeeper, "but that is generally the way in which the habit of chewing is at first acquired in this country. They begin with something which promotes the flow of the saliva, and then gradually come on to the weaker kinds of tobacco, and then to the more pungent."

He added that even some of the fairer part of creation, in the

United States, occasionally tried the first part of the process. But this last statement was, I trust, a scandal, as I also hope is Captain Marryat's story of the American young ladies carrying packages of pig-tail ornamented with ribbons for the use of their swains, and to promote their eloquence when they flag for want of a quid—of which practice, however, I certainly never saw anything, although I was in the most chewing districts of America. Indeed, I agree with an American gentleman I lately travelled with in England, that it is to the ladies of the United States that we must look for the banishment of this filthy habit of chewing; and I also cordially concur in his remark, that I cannot conceive of one of the fairy, beauteous girls, of whom I saw so many in the United States of America, permitting a lover disfigured by chewing to approach, much less—time and place convenient—to kiss her. There is here surely a kind of *quid pro quo*, which is anything but flattering to the good taste of the ladies of the United States.

Opposite Ogdensburg, and on the other side of the St. Lawrence, stands the Canadian town of Prescott—a steam ferry-boat plying between the two.

Leaving Ogdensburg in the very superior steamer called the British Empire, we touched at Prescott, and then resumed our voyage down the spirited waters of the dancing St. Lawrence: a mill near Prescott being pointed out to us, in passing, as the scene of a rencontre between some of the *then* rebels to the British government, and the *then* Canadian loyalists, in 1837 or 1838, when the former were defeated, and their leader slain on the spot—or taken and executed, I forget which—and a few hours thereafter we approached and passed down the great Sault Rapid, of which I have already written. At six o'clock P. M. of the same day, the steamer reached Lachline, nine miles from Montreal, where, like most of my fellow-travellers, I took the railway for the metropolis of Canada—not deeming the advantage of shooting the rapid of Lachline sufficient inducement to lead me to spend a night on board the steamer, or in the village on shore.

Arriving at Montreal, I took up my temporary abode at the very excellent hotel of Donnegana, now unfortunately among the things that have been, having been burnt down during one of the late unseemly riots (for it were folly to call them more) of which Montreal has been the theatre.

The destruction of the houses of parliament at Montreal, by fire, had occurred only a short time before my arrival; and the popular riots at New York, said to have originated in the disputes between Mr. Macready and Mr. Forrest, were also of recent happening, and the two divided the general conversation by rail, by steam-boat, and by stage. I shall have a little to say on both subjects; but I

shall reserve what I have to say on the first till my return to Montreal from Quebec, and of the latter till I shall have reached New York.

Montreal disappointed, while it pleased and surprised me. It disappointed me as a whole, but some parts of it gratified while they surprised me. I expected to find a finer town, taking it altogether; but I was unprepared for the breadth of some of the streets, and the symmetry of many of the lines of buildings occupied by shops and counting-houses in the new town.

The Roman Catholic Cathedral of Montreal is generally pointed out to the visitor as, in an architectural point of view, the most important building in the city; and I observe that a late writer has said that, "with the exception of that in Mexico, it is the finest ecclesiastical edifice on the (American) continent." But, without professing to see beauties where I did not see them, I cannot acquiesce in this praise. The Catholic Cathedral of Montreal is a large building—so large as to be capable of containing about seven thousand worshippers; it is also a handsome structure, and has a noble and imposing front; but the towers or turrets which surmount it destroy much of the effect it would otherwise produce. They are much too thin and narrow for the size of the building. Indeed, there is in the immediate vicinity of the cathedral, a building of far more modest pretensions, which I would venture to prefer to it, in so far as symmetry, proportion, and keeping are concerned. I mean the building occupied as the Montreal Bank, which I admired very greatly, and which, recording my own impressions, and uninfluenced by those of any one else, I characterize as the chastest of all the architectural beauties of the capital of the Canadas. The building at present used as a market-place, but which there was some talk of having converted into Houses of Assembly for the Legislature, in room of those destroyed by fire, (which do not seem to have been either handsome or favourably situated,) is also a handsome massive stone building, and beautifully situated, facing the river.

The best general view of Montreal is to be obtained from the hill above the town, and by taking a drive round it. It is termed *par excellence* the Mountain, and it affords, I was told, a very extensive and delightful view. But I can only speak of it, and recommend it, on the report of others, as the weather and other causes of interruption disappointed my oft-formed expectations of being able to visit it.

Leaving Montreal at night, a sail of about twelve hours brings you to Quebec, although the distance is nearly two hundred miles. Quebec has been called the Gibraltar of the new world. Never having seen the latter, I cannot say anything, *pro* or *con*, as to the

sufficiency of the resemblance; but most undoubtedly Quebec citadel is a very strong place, and, defended by a British force, I should think it impregnable. It reminded me somewhat of the castle of Stirling in Scotland, near which some of the years of my boyhood were spent: for although Quebec is stronger, and is washed on one side by the broad deep waters of the St. Lawrence, and thus differs from Sterling, there is a general resemblance in the rocks on which the two citadels are built, and also in the neighbouring heights by which they are severally surrounded.

The lions of Quebec and its neighbourhood are, the citadel, to which access is to be had by ticket on application—the Heights of Abraham, and the spot where the gallant Wolfe fell—the plains of Abraham—the monument to Wolfe and Montcalm, (a monument in its design, if not in its execution, one of the most pleasing ever reared to departed worth; for what can be more noble, or more proper, than that the differences and contests of this world should not overleap the grave?) and, in the neighbourhood, the Falls of the Montmorenci—the Indian *lorette* or village, and three lakes (Calvaire, St. Charles, and Beauport) at some distance. Of these the reader will here only be troubled with some account of the Falls of the Montmorenci, and the natural steps on that river.

With Niagara fresh in my recollection, and treasuring the memory of it as a never-dying reminiscence, I confess that it was with some surprise even to myself that I so much enjoyed the Falls of the Montmorenci. I will not attempt to analyse, much less to justify the feeling, farther than by saying that I always doubt the capability truly to enjoy fine scenery of that man who, even when in the midst of a scene which possesses any of the elements of beauty or of grandeur, can find heart to compare it, in a critical way, with any other scene of which he may have been an observer. Nature is free, and rich as free. She derides the critic's narrow view. She revels in variety—ever varied, ever new. Thus it is that every scene of nature's forming has beauties peculiar to itself—beauties which other scenes may rival and exceed, but which they cannot exactly parallel; and I confess it always raises my bile to have my feelings, on being privileged to witness a really grand and picturesque view, outraged by overhearing some such remarks as this—"It is very beautiful, but nothing to the Falls of ——." On one occasion, and when viewing the Falls of Niagara, there was obtruded on me, and by a fellow-countryman too, the remark—"What do you think of the Falls of Clyde now?" I had a personal friendship for the man, but I could have knocked him down at the time, for the total absence of scenic perception which his observation displayed; while I simply

responded, "As much or more than I ever did,"—at the same time increasing the distance between us, so that I might not be further interrupted by any of his intrusions.

The Fall of the Montmorenci is into a bay, at which it joins the river St. Lawrence, and over an almost perpendicular rock of above two hundred and fifty feet high. In falling over such a precipice, it is needless to say that the waters of the river are driven into flakes of foam; or that these flakes, again rising, partially in the shape of spray, form clouds which, assuming the prismatic colours, give great beauty to the scene. The river, at the point whence it is precipitated into the abyss below, is fully a hundred feet broad; and the basin into which the agitated, convulsed waters are received, is bounded by steep cliffs of upwards of three hundred feet in perpendicular height. It is a scene of rich and rare magnificence, and, like all such, mere description is tame to give an adequate idea of the emotions it excites.

Leaving the falls, a walk of some two miles through the fields, and in a direction upwards, along the course of the river Montmorenci, brings you to what is called "the Natural Steps," or, as they might be more appropriately termed, the Rapids of the Montmorenci. Here, for about three hundred yards, the pent-up river rolls in foam; and, dashing itself against opposing barriers of sandstone rock, through the main body of which it has, in course of ages, worked its way, (so as to create that appearance of steps which has given a name to the scene,) spouts up, when the opposing obstacle has proved insurmountable, at least for the time, in flakes of foam, only to fall back again, and to take another direction for its exit. The term picturesque is, beyond question, the epithet that may be most correctly applied to such a scene. The banks of the river are throughout thickly clothed with trees; and their effect, combined with the foaming current and the scattered masses of sandstone rock, compose a scene to which the words wild and picturesque with much propriety apply.

Returning from the Falls of the Montmorenci, after paying a visit to the Indian village, I was much struck with the view thus to be had of Quebec, with the tin roofs of many of the houses sparkling in the beams of a summer sun; and the pleasure of the return was enhanced by the accidental meeting with a reverend friend from Scotland, whom I had last seen in my native country, at a distance of some three thousand miles.

Having bade a long farewell to Quebec and its many beauties and celebrities, I returned, by the same route by which I had come, to the city of Montreal, and spent other two days in an endeavour to appreciate its scenic peculiarities, as well as in an attempt to ascertain the feelings which animated the mass of its sixty thousand

inhabitants in regard to recent events. This, therefore, seems the proper place for introducing the few notes I made of my observations on the latter subject, which is at present an important one in relation to this extensive and valuable colonial possession of Great Britain.

CANADA, AND CANADIAN AFFAIRS.

That the Canadians, from being the most loyal among the loyal, should become so disturbed and disloyal, apparently all of a sudden; and that the dissatisfaction should chiefly, if not solely, prevail amongst that party who, in 1837 and 1838, displayed so energetically their attachment to Great Britain, in vigorously putting down the insurrection then attemped, are two facts which, at first sight at least, struck me as seemingly anomalous. Nevertheless, they are facts which are capable of being easily explained: the union of the two provinces of Upper and Lower Canada furnishes the explanation of the whole. That union was carried through, in accordance with the report published under the signature of Lord Durham. Into the vexed question of whether it was entitled, in very truth, to be regarded as a fair exposition of the views of the talented nobleman whose name it bore, or whether the proposition for a union of the provinces was one that would have received his continued support, had he lived, in unimpaired mental vigour, to see the experiment tried, it were idle now to inquire. The union was carried, and it has worked very ill. As to *that*, all parties are agreed. But why so? Simply because that, whatever were the relative proportions of the two parties, as actively engaged in the disturbances of 1837 and 1838, the party with which the *then* disloyal were connected, and by whom they were politically supported, was numerically stronger than the party of the loyal. Hence the former acquired in the united legislature a political majority, which enabled them to do whatever the possession of such a majority entitled them to do. Nor were they slow to take advantage of the power, the constitutional power, of which they thus found themselves in the possession. Not to occupy time, by detailing matters familiar to most readers, the result of the union of the two Canadas into one province, was to place the disaffected party of 1837 and 1838 in power, and to oust therefrom the party by which the British rule and government had then been supported. While Messrs. Papineau, Lafontaine, and their friends, (who in 1837 had incited the people to appear with artillery and muskets at meetings called for the real, if not the avowed, object of overturning the British rule,) stepped or were hoisted into power,—Sir Allan M'Nab and the rest of the royalists, who had so courageously suppressed the would-be rebellion at much risk, inconvenience, and pecuniary sacrifice, found themselves dis-

placed and in a minority. Such a state of matters was in itself calculated to excite feelings of the strongest discontent in the minds of the British party in Canada, and they were not allowed to calm down even into a sort of acquiescence. They were kept fully alive by the *successful* attempt of M. Papineau to claim his salary as speaker of the Lower House, for the period during which he was absent from the colony, if not for the purpose, at least to the effect, of avoiding being brought to trial for his participation in the disturbances of 1837 and 1838; and by other measures of a similar character, (including *all* the public appointments,) until the matter was brought to a climax by the passing of the bill for the indemnification of parties who had suffered loss through, or in the course of, the disturbances which had been so successfully suppressed. So far as the letter of that act goes, it certainly might be so read as not necessarily to lead to the consequences anticipated by the British party in their opposition to it. But they well knew what was meant, and what it would unavoidably lead to; and, despite the express declaration of the speaker of the legislative council, and of other officials of the colonial ministry, the view universally taken of the Indemnity Bill was and is, that its purpose is to pay the rebels who were in arms against the British government in 1837 and 1838 for their alleged losses in the course of the insurrection. It is this, or rather the Governor's giving the royal assent to that bill, that has brought to a climax the feelings of the party who supported and maintained the British connexion in 1837 and 1838. They think themselves trampled upon, and that their feelings have been outraged; and prejudice itself must admit that they have some grounds for so thinking.

No doubt the British Government, having ventured on a scheme of conciliation, might be expected to give it a fair trial. No doubt also, a union of the provinces having been carried, it was to be expected that, as a general rule, the home government would be prepared to sanction whatever measures might be approved of by the majority of the colonial legislature of the united provinces. But this was an extreme application of these principles. To make no provision for the reward of those by whom, and through whose loyal efforts, the insurrection of 1837 and 1838 had been so easily repressed, and yet to sanction a bill for the indemnification of those whose sufferings, if they did suffer, were caused by their rising in arms against the British rule—it is to be questioned whether a more extraordinary piece of legislation is to be found in the whole history of the past. Our friends and kindred in the American republic boast of the liberality of their government, and government measures; they would find it difficult to parallel this conduct of Great Britain, in thus "heaping coals of fire" on the heads of its most determined enemies. The object, no doubt, was to turn these parties into friends,

and, to appearance at least, it succeeded. The rebels of 1837 and 1838 are the loyalists of 1849 and 1850. But is this attachment to British rule more than seeming? Bought loyalty is generally but lip loyalty; and were it not that the party in Canada who at present have a majority in its legislative assemblies, possess the strongest of all interests to maintain the connection with England, and resist annexation to the United States, I confess I would fear much for the permanency of its devotion. But the party referred to have the very strongest of all possible interests to prefer the English to the republican connection; for, if a visitor to the states of the Union and to Canada sees one thing more clearly in the whole matter than another, it is this, that the preponderance, if not the very existence of the present dominant party, depends on the exclusion from Canada of the Anglo-Saxon race and Anglo-Saxon principles that prevail in the neighbouring republic. Assuredly, if it should ever happen that Canada is annexed to the United States, the hour that dates the connection dates also the downfall of the party that presently have the rule in the Canadian provinces. Whatever Messrs. Lafontaine and others may be, or may think themselves to be, when under the protection of the heavy power and outstretched wings of England, they will find their glory departed if ever England permits them to fall into the iron grip of Brother Jonathan. It was the fashion in 1849, and it is probably the fashion still, to speak there, as here, of there being a war of races at present going on in Canada. This mode of speaking is scarcely correct. The dominance of British power, and its principles of *Tros Tyriusve*—of giving equal protection to all—prevents any such conflict; nay, had the two Canadas only been kept asunder—had they not been brought into political, in addition to topical juxtaposition, it is the opinion of many persons intimately acquainted with their history, that the two races which inhabit them would have gradually blended into each other, so as to leave little trace of their separate existence. But should British connection be exchanged for the rule and domination of the American republic, there will then be no doubt of the propriety of the phrase "conflict of races," as applicable to the state of things that will then exhibit themselves; while there will be as little doubt as to the manner in which such conflict will eventuate. If, as a professional gentleman in Montreal, who was taking a very active part in the annexation movement, expressed himself when I was discussing the matter with him—if, unfortunately, the affair should ever come to the arbitrament of the musket, the French party in Canada will raise it in defence of the British connection; but it will be the interest of self-preservation, and not a real love of England, that will influence them in so doing.

No doubt strong efforts are now making by the repeal party, in

their vain attempt to promote what is called "peaceful annexation," to win over French Canadians to the cause. But their success, hitherto, has been but slight. At an annexation meeting, organized and "got up" at Stanstead Plain, close to the United States' line, and in a neighbourhood where there are many parties born in, or connected with the republic of North America, only some twenty or thirty responded to the call. The parties who arranged the affair afterwards resorted to the common expedient of concocting a paper of grievances, with a suggestion of "peaceful annexation" as the cure. This paper was hawked about for signature, and it is said that, by "hook or crook," some six hundred were induced to subscribe their names to it. So say the Canadian papers on both sides; and it will give the reader some notion of how far he can safely trust to the accuracy of the statements of some portions of the republican press on this, to them, tempting subject of Canadian disturbances, to be informed that, several of the New York papers, in commenting on this document, asserted that the signatures appended to it amounted to twelve thousand!!

The fact to which I have thus referred is, indeed, the main distinction between the discontents of 1837 and those of 1849. The former took up arms against the British government in 1837, because they disliked England and English connection, influence, and rule; they defend it in 1849, because it is their interest and their safety so to do. The latter complain bitterly, and they made their complaints visible by disturbance and riot in 1849, because they found their loyalty unrequited, their attachment spurned, and the disloyal whom they had overcome, preferred to influence, power, and emolument.

True it is, that the force brought out in 1849 to quell the riot at which the houses of parliament in Montreal were burned down, saw among the individuals they were required to disperse or to apprehend, men who fought by their side in 1837, and this without a change of service on the one side, or of sentiment on the other. Surely the existence of such things prove that there is something wrong in the mode of governing Canada. Surely such things ought not to be.

Inquiries when in Canada, and attention paid to Canadian affairs since my return to this country, lead me to the conclusion, that the state of the public mind in Canada, although very unsettled, is yet so undetermined as to any particular line of conduct, that everything now depends upon the course that may be pursued by the legislature of England.

My visit to Montreal was made immediately after the burning of the building in which the two houses of parliament held their sittings, and which, unfortunately, included the valuable libraries and archives of the province. As a matter of course, both parties

deplored the Vandal-like act, while they ascribed it to different causes: one party alleging accident, the other incendiarism. But all agreed in this, that the riot had been greatly exaggerated, both in American and in European newspapers. Judging from details heard on the spot, the opera-house riot of New York in 1849 was infinitely more serious than the so-called Montreal insurrection of the same year. Indeed, the latter seems, in its origin and nature, to have been more like the disgraceful, but fortunately short-lived, riots in Glasgow and Edinburgh in 1848. The consequences, however, of the Montreal disturbance were more serious. The library of the legislative assemblies, containing a numerous and valuable collection of books and the archives of the province, was totally destroyed; and by this heathenish act an irreparable loss was sustained, not by Canada or Great Britain alone, but by the whole civilized world. Of all destructive actions the wanton destruction of literary proyerty is the most indefensible. I think I never felt ashamed of my countrymen but once, and that was when, at the Capitol of Washington, an American friend drew my attention to the tokens which yet remain of the burning of the library there, by some British troops under General Ross in 1814. There is no proper excuse for such acts, even in warfare. The only apology is the expression of a hope that it was more the result of accident than of design; and that the person in command cannot be fairly made responsible for the individual acts of his soldiers, when out of the sight of himself and his subordinate officers, and excited by opposition, or by the license engendered by success.

But to return to Canada. It seemed strange that, neither on one side of the boundary line nor on the other, did one hear half so much about American annexation as we do daily in Great Britain. Neither in the States nor in Canada was it much spoken of in May and June 1849. In the States, so little was said about it, that it appeared either as if the recent questionable annexation of Texas, and acquisition of California, from the weaker sister republic of Mexico, had satisfied the American thirst for territorial aggrandisement; or that American statesmen had learned the lesson that a smaller territory, well cemented and more united, were better than a vaster union of more heterogeneous materials. It was, therefore, with some surprise that I shortly afterwards perused the Vermont manifesto in favour of peaceable annexation. The resolutions of the Vermont legislature, on this subject of the annexation of Canada to the United States, are interesting, solely because they aid at least in arriving at a right estimate of the feelings prevailing on the subject in that part of the republic which marches with and borders on the British possessions. These resolutions proceed on the narrative, that

the original articles of the American Confederation contemplated the admission of Canada into the Uniun; that the state of feeling in Canada indicates a desire for such union, and "therefore" the State of Vermont resolve that it is desirable to effect such union, "without a violation, on the part of the United States, of the amicable relations existing with the British Government, or the law of nations." The second "resolution" is in accordance with this general principle, being in these terms,—"Resolved, That the peaceful annexation of Canada to the United States, with the consent of the British Government and of the people of Canada, and upon just and honourable terms, is an object in the highest degree desirable to the people of the United States." These words are all fair enough; what they really mean—whether the profession of a desire for peaceful annexation be not a mere tribute at present paid to British power, and whether there be any probability of annexation taking place with "the consent of the British Government and of the people of Canada, and upon just and honourable terms"—time will show. For the present, the speech of the British minister must have somewhat staggered the believers in the possibility of such an event. However, the State of Vermont—and also the State of New York, which has since followed the example Vermont set her—have an interest in the matter peculiar to themselves—an interest separate and independent from that of the other states of the American Union, (save perhaps Maine and New Hampshire,) and one in which these other states, or at all events the Southern States, are not at all likely to sympathise. Their immediate juxta-position to Canada East, and their division therefrom by a little more than imaginary boundary, creates the interest, and renders it very natural that they at least should desire that their fertile neighbour should become a member of the same confederation with themselves. But the advantage to the states removed from the Canadian border it is more difficult to see. Indeed, it would be easy to show that, while the interest of the Southern States—Virginia, the Carolinas, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, &c.—is decidedly adverse, none of the states, save those which touch on the Canadian border, have any interest at all in the matter which is favourable to annexation. But my business here is more properly with Canadian than with United States' affairs. Contenting myself, therefore, with the remark that, whatever other effects Canadian annexation might possibly have on American destinies, it would give the non-slaveholding interest such an overwhelming majority in the United States Congress as would greatly hasten, if it did not precipitate, the overthrow of the system of slavery throughout the whole of the continent of North America; I proceed to say, that while, from this absence of much general acknowledgment of the likelihood of annexation with the States, one is

apt to consider the chance of such an event as one beyond the limits of reasonable calculation: still, on more minute inquiry, you are led to consider it not so very impossible, only the British Government persist in their present system of colonial mismanagement. It was an observation made to myself by a professional gentleman in Montreal, who had been my school-fellow in Scotland, and who has, since the conversation referred to, taken an active part in the movement, that he never contemplated any measure with more reluctance than he did a separation between England and Canada, and that he would only advocate it from a conviction that the Canadians, and their wants and wishes, never would be properly understood or legislated on in the mother country, or *at least at the Colonial Office.* Such views are general amongst men of influence, education, and talent in Canada; and the men who entertain them are men not to be put down by the *sic volo sic jubeo* of a Colonial Secretary. These parties unite in acknowledging that the Canadas have been very grossly mismanaged, and that some radical change is necessary. They no doubt differ in regard to what the change is to be. A separation of Upper and Lower Canada, accompanied by a new territorial division between the two—a Federal Union of the British North American provinces, under the nominal dominant authority and protection of Great Britain, with one of the royal family of England as the executive head—a union of the same provinces into a separate and independent republic, but in amity and connexion, and under the protection of Great Britain—or a peaceful separation of the Canadas from England, and their annexation with, and incorporation into, the family of the great federal union of the United States of America. All these schemes and measures have their several supporters, the only bond of union among them being the universal admission that some change is imperiously required. It is not intended to discuss the relative value of these several panaceas, propounded for Canadian disaffection and distress; but it may be remarked on them generally, that either of the first two would suffice to put an end to the present clamour; that the second seems infinitely preferable to the third; and that, without British consent, it seems to be conceded on all hands, that the last is not to be thought of, and that it neither could nor would be accomplished.

The Montreal Herald seems to be the mouthpiece of the annexation party; and if the reader in Great Britain judges from *it*, he will form a very exaggerated notion of the feeling of the party it professes to represent. But, indeed, this paper labours under a charge of inconsistency, which greatly militates against, and detracts from, the effect of the statements and arguments which it now puts forth. So late as March 1849, we had it full of loyalty, patriotism, and devotion to English connexion. Comparing the then state of

Canada to the condition of the Italian Exarchates of the tenth century, and quoting the eloquent passage in Gibbon, where he says of these that "they shared in all the eclat which belonged to the most mighty monarchy in the world, and enjoyed all the military and naval protection which that condition could afford," &c.—these observations of the Roman historian, on the Italian Exarchates of the tenth century, the Montreal Herald, in March 1849, applied to the Canadas in their connexion with England. But, alas for newspaper inconsistency! In the close of the same year we have the same paper, under the same management, declaring that nothing can remove the evils under which, in their phraseology, Canada now groans, save a separation from Great Britain, and her incorporation into the great family of the North American Republic. But, many as are the intelligent men in Canada who are to be found on the side of a radical change, I have misread the general mind in that country, if this particular change would be considered as the best one, or as anything save a choice of evils. Most Canadians are disposed to count the cost of American annexation. While they admit that it might *probably* raise the value of fixed property in Canada, and *possibly* create somewhat greater activity, from an influx of Anglo-Saxon spirit and enterprise, they at the same time see clearly that it would destroy the importance of the leading towns in Canada, deprive it of the whole expenditure of the British military, naval, commissariat, and ordnance departments—introduce the American tariff on imported goods, which is, in very many particulars, much higher than the existing one—remove much capital from Canada to the more central districts of the States—and involve Canada in whatever odium attaches to the participation of the American Federal Republic in the sin or misfortune of slavery.

My impression therefore is, that annexation principles in Canada have not progressed so far as some parties in this country, or in the States, would represent them to have done. The question has been mooted; many persons are interested in pressing it on the Canadian public—and the most unscrupulous mis-statements have been and will be put forth to urge its forward movement; yet still it is anything but palatable to the great body of the Canadian people: than whom there are none constitutionally more loyal, within the limits of the wide dominions of Queen Victoria. But, at the same time, there is danger in delay. Such principles exist; and if Great Britain would keep these North American colonies, justice as well as sound policy requires the instant adoption of some legislative measures *which will satisfy the British party in Canada*, and appease the prevailing discontent, even though that should involve the going back in some measure upon our free-trade policy. The indications by the Government of America, of their intention to draw tighter their

tariff protection to the native industry of the United States, furnish Great Britain both with a reason and a justification for reconsidering the position that *free* trade must, of necessity, be *fair* trade. It were desirable that our leading Free-traders were more plain and explicit than they have yet been on the great question of the British colonial empire. It is difficult to know from Cobden, *et hoc genus omne*, on what grounds they defend the present system of legislating for the colonies: whether it be because the colonies are not worth keeping, at least at the price we have been paying for them, or can keep them at; or whether they think the course they advocate is the best means for promoting colonial regeneration and improvement. If the latter be their view, I would oppose facts—stubborn facts—to their theories. If the former, the answer is an entire difference of opinion. Many wise and some great men have thought, as I do, that, without her colonies, Great Britain, instead of being the greatest of powers, would sink into the position of a third or fourth rate one; and that not only are our noble colonies worth paying a heavy price to redeem, but that, properly legislated for, and relieved from charges and expenses they have no right to bear, they have been, and they are destined to be, great sources of wealth to the parent state. In their proper time and place, these are positions I am prepared to discuss to the best of my humble ability. Meanwhile I draw to a close my remarks on the subject of the importance of the Canadas to the mother country, by observing that there is the soundest political philosophy in the sentiment of Sam Slick, when—likening the part that the Canadian trade bears in the general trade of Great Britain to the contribution the Ohio makes to the mighty waters of the Mississippi—he says that, although to all appearance it does not make it broader or higher, it makes it an "everlasting sight deeper". Just so with the colony trade: though you can't see it in the ocean of English trade, yet it is still there—there, to the effect of giving much greater depth to the general business of the mother country.

CHAPTER XII.

"To sit on rocks, to muse o'er flood and fell,
To slowly trace the forest's shady scene;

. . . .

This is not solitude, 'tis but to hold
Converse with nature's charms, and view her stores unrolled."
BYRON.

CROSSING the St. Lawrence from Montreal to La Prairie, (a distance of eight miles,) in a steamer called the Iron Duke, I proceeded onwards through an uninteresting country to the village of St. John's where I took the steamer Burlington, (so called after the town of the same name, the capital of the state of Vermont,) *en route* for Whitehall, situated at the upper end of Lake Champlain. I have since observed that it was in a steamer of the same name that Mr. Dickens travelled over the same route, and he describes the vessel as a "perfectly exquisite achievement of neatness, elegance, and order." The distance of time scarcely admits of the belief that the two vessels were the same, or to be identified on any known principle of marine architecture, save on the supposition that, like the Highlandman's gun, there had been a gradual but total renewal of the whole "stock, lock, and barrel," the name and general identity remaining nevertheless. But if not the same, they were certainly similar, for a more elegant or a more orderly steamship than the Burlington, in which I passed through Lake Champlain, could scarcely be imagined.

The chief characteristic of Lake Champlain is its great length, as compared with its limited breadth. It is 108 miles long, while its greatest breadth is only 12, and its average width only 8 miles; and being dotted over with numerous picturesque islands, reposing as it were on its bosom, the sail from the one end to the other is very varying: so that, although no part of the scenery is entitled to be denominated grand, or to be compared, as it has by some been, to the much more majestic scenery of the lakes of Scotland, a sail on Lake Champlain is exceedingly agreeable and interesting —and that independent even of the historic associations connected with the many conflicts of which its waters, islets, and banks, were the arenas, during the war between England and her revolted colonies or their French allies. That war is but a relic of barbarism, and that it is ever to be deplored and avoided by all honourable means, is no doubt true, and all reflecting minds will subscribe to this opinion in the abstract But there are cases where force or resistance becomes a duty; and, whether the victims may have

died in defence of the right, or in vindication of the wrong, there ever will be felt a generous sympathy for those who have fallen in the battle-field, or when contending navies have struggled for the mastery: and dastardly must be the soul that could refuse a passing sigh to the memory of departed heroism, even though it had exhibited itself in the person, and in the actings, of one whom he may have considered the natural foe of his country or his race. Thus it is that the scenes of Lake Champlain afford a kind of classic ground for the novelist or the poet, and that they can scarcely be traversed by any one without emotions of interest or delight.

Only a small portion of Lake Champlain is in Canada, and the part that is so is at the lower end of the lake. In sailing along it you very soon pass the line of demarcation, which separates the territory of the United States from that of Great Britain. The general features, and, indeed, the particular scenes of the lake, have been so often described by previous travellers, that I shall content myself by compressing my notes upon it into the sentence; that the shores and scenery of Lake Champlain, are, at its lower extremity, flat and uninteresting; while it gradually improves, and towards the upper end there are some scenes of great and romantic beauty—some which reminded me, in many respects, of the scenery among the islands at the lower end or broadest part of Loch Lomond in Scotland.

If the traveller wishes to visit Lake George, he must not proceed onwards in the steamer to Whitehall, but leave her at Ticonderago. I did not do so, being deterred from the execution of my intention by the information that the steamer had not yet commenced sailing on this smallest but most romantic of the American lakes, and that I would find a difficulty in getting the means of conveyance. However, on comparing notes at Boston with some friends, (who had been my fellow-travellers during a part of my journeyings, and whom the terrors of the cholera on the Mississippi, or their preference of the Charleston route, had caused to make choice of a different course of travel;) I regretted much that I had not carried out my original intention of visiting Lake George. These two gentlemen—both of whom displayed capacities to enjoy, and powers to appreciate, the beauties of nature—assured me that all they had previously heard of the picturesque beauty and grandeur of the scenery of this little lake (which is not more than twenty miles long, by about one mile broad) had not exceeded the truth. They described it as exhibiting much of the wild sublimity of the scenery of my native Scotland, combined with much beauty peculiar to itself. On the report therefore of Mr. Davis, Mr. Child, and others, I recommend my successors to stop at Ticonderago and

visit Lake George, instead of proceeding, as I did, straight up the canal-like upper extremity of Lake Champlain, round the Devil's Elbow, to the bustling, trading, irregularly built and wretchedly paved, town of Whitehall, whence I proceeded through a pleasing country, but by a very indifferently laid, jolting railway, to the famed springs and village of Saratoga, somewhere called the Cheltenham of America: but, if so, *similis sed longo intervallo.* Although the speed at which we travelled was not great, not being quite up to twenty miles an hour at any time, the jolting I have referred to was excessive; and as the effect was to make the inmates of the long carriage (which contained some sixty people) bob up and down on the new spring-cushions, the result was very ludicrous, and would have been simply amusing, had it not been for the sense of danger that attaches to every kind of unexpected noise or unwonted motion, when travelling on a railway.

Although my visit to the now far-famed springs of Saratoga, was paid at a period of the year a little too early for seeing the village in full dress, and the motley scene it annually exhibits during what is called the "gay season," yet I gladly made it a resting place, having been travelling almost continuously since I had left behind me the glorious Falls of Niagara. But in reference to this place, and indeed to all places of pretty general resort to which the traveller may repair in the United States of America, (the same observation may be made of other countries,) he will study his comfort if, previous to his arrival at any place, he fixes definitely on the hotel in which he intends to take up his temporary abode, and adheres to his resolution on arrival, despite the allurements of accidental fellow-travellers and others to induce him to go elsewhere. Vacillation in this respect is sure to engender a host of importunities, and ten chances to one that, during the confusion, the different portions of your luggage are made to part company, and to go to different localities. But a little previous arrangement will prevent all this; and it is only justice to say that, if confusion does occur, it is in general the traveller's own fault. In particular, I have often admired the arrangement generally acted on in the United States, for the forwarding of luggage when accompanying a passenger on a long journey, to be performed partly by rail and partly by sea. On getting your ticket at the railway station, or in the steamboat, by or in which the journey is commenced, you may get tickets put upon each separate package or portion of which your luggage consists. These tickets bear each a separate number and duplicate tickets bearing the same number being given to the passenger, he has nothing more to do at the end of the journey—however many may have been the transitions, as regards the modes of conveyance, through which he may have passed —than to give his duplicates to a porter, telling him to attend to

the receiving of the "personals" at the general delivery, and to bring them to the hotel at which he may have resolved on sojourning. Such at least was the course I pursued, by passing over everything into the public charge, on the security of the duplicate; and, albeit that there are but too well authenticated stories of numerous thefts committed on rivers and railways in the United States, and despite an abortive attempt to rob me, by picking the lock of my door and knocking off the lock from one of my portmanteaus, in a hotel in New York, I did not lose anything of consequence during the whole of my erratic sojourn in the great republic.

The waters of Congress Spring, Saratoga, are not only drunk in large quantities at the spring and in the village, but they are bottled in equally large quantities, and sent to all parts of the American Union, and sometimes even to Europe. But there is a vast difference between the water as drunk from the spring, and the same species of water as drunk from the bottle. In both there should be some effervescence, but at the spring it sparkles and effervesces like soda-water, and with a clearness which is quite delightful to behold. To my taste it is singularly pleasant; and, judging from the large quantities of it swallowed in the morning, and even at other periods of the day, by fairy forms of comparatively small dimensions, the taste for it seems to be quite a general one. Judging from the manner in which it is extolled and used by the general travelling public of America, one would suppose that Saratoga water—or Congress water, as it is more generally called—was a panacea for all the ills that human flesh is heir to; and there seems to be no doubt but that, like some of our British springs, it is highly useful in many, if not in most complaints arising from derangement of the stomach and bowels, and also in complaints of a rheumatic character: but it is undoubtedly injurious in phthisis, and indeed in all pulmonary affections arising from primary disease of the lungs. It was, however, the acceptability of its taste that would have made Congress water to me an infinitely more drinkable beverage than any other mineral water I had ever tasted, either in Great Britain or elsewhere, had it not been for the above-stated fact of its inaptitude in cases where there is the suspicion of phthisical complaint. Whence this agreeability proceeded, I am not enough of a chemist confidently to say. Those who are may be able to do so from perusal of the following—which is, as I was on the spot informed, Sir Humphrey Davy's and Professor Faraday's analysis of the solid contents in a gallon of Congress water :—

	Grains.
Chloride of sodium,	385·44
Hydriodate of soda.	4·02
Amount carried forward,	389.46

Amount brought forward,	389·46
Carbonate of lime,	116·00
Carbonate of magnesia,	56·80
Oxide of iron,	00·64
Carbonate of soda,	00·56
Hydrobromate of potash, (a trace,)	00.00
Solid contents in a gallon,	563·46

Besides the Congress Spring, which is the one generally resorted to, there is, at Saratoga, another spring called Rock Spring, the waters of which, although of greatly inferior strength, and therefore little used, are worthy of a visit, were it only on account of the singular formation and appearance of the detached round stone or rock *up* which they seem to come, and out of which they unquestionably flow. The theory is, that the water holds in solution a considerable portion of lime, the gradual deposition of which, on the escape of the carbonic acid gas, has, in the course of ages, and while the land was in the possession of the red man, formed the very singular stone which now constitutes one of the objects of the white man's curiosity.

By the last census, the resident population of Saratoga was 3700 inhabitants; but it will be readily understood that the town depends mainly for its existence, as well as for its importance, on the migratory population from the north and south, who swarm in the hotels, occupy the colonnades, perambulate the road-like streets, and lounge, gossip, and flirt at the springs during the three months, or thereby, which form the Saratoga season.

The hotels of Saratoga are large and numerous, there being about half-a-dozen mammoth establishments, besides several smaller ones. The streets are long and broad, and the chief street or avenue (in which the principal hotels are situated) is shaded by trees on each side. But, being mainly built of wood, Saratoga has suffered, and is yet likely to suffer much, from being devastated by fire.

From Saratoga I proceeded to Troy, passing not far from the village of Boston Spa, where there are springs formerly held in repute, (having been first discovered from its being observed that the wild deer frequented the spot,) somewhat akin to, but now in a great measure eclipsed by, the more fashionable and popular springs of Saratoga. The distance from Saratoga to Troy is thirty-two miles, and the journey is performed by a railway, which is carried over the Hudson by a square wooden tunnel, of rather gigantic dimensions, and of extraordinary as well as ingenious formation. The *city* of Troy, as it is called, is a town of some 20,000 inhabitants, and is one of those places which, by the rapidity of their progress in wealth, extent, and population, speak more forcibly than do any other appearances of the onward progress of the American nation.

Though only seven miles distant from the older, larger, and, as yet, much more beautiful town of Albany, Troy has advanced and is advancing with very rapid strides; while it is said that Albany, with all its apparent advantages, is making but little progress. Probably this is owing to the relative position of the two places. Both towns are situated on the Hudson, and both owe their importance to their connexion with that noble stream. But Troy is higher up, and at the extremity of the river navigation, and thus seems likely, eventually, to draw to itself the larger share of what may be called the "through traffic;" so that it will, in all probability, in the end become the great *entrepot* to which will be sent the goods exported from, or imported into, the large and fertile country on the frontier of which it may be said to stand.

It were a mistake to suppose that the progress of all the towns and cities of the American Union has been an onward and an improving one. There, as in the Old Country whence she has sprung, everything depends on the judiciousness of the site. As a general rule, land in the United States has risen, and will rise, in value. But this is not universally true: there are lands in very many places, in almost all the states of the American Union, that do not rise. In short, the elements of success in the new, are just the same as they are in the Old Country. The same cause—namely, the excellence of its position, and the greatness of its resources for trade, which have in the New World caused New York to increase in wealth and population with such enormous rapidity—has, in the Old World, advanced the city of Glasgow, in the same respects, in nearly an equal ratio.

For the facility of traffic, the railway is laid through the centre of the principal streets of Troy; but, to lessen the chance of accident, the locomotives are detached, (here as well as at other places,) and the cars drawn through the streets by means of horses.

The distance between Troy and Albany is, as I have already mentioned, only seven miles; and to perform this short journey the traveller has the choice of the stage, the steamboat, and the railway. I abjured the former, induced thereto by the warnings of others, and some slight personal experience; and of the two latter modes of progression, I made choice of the rail, simply because, at the time, it involved least trouble.

The town of Albany is believed to stand on the spot which formed the extreme point to which Henry Hudson ascended, when he discovered the river which bears his name, in the year 1607; and the city received its present name from the English settlers, who named the town at the mouth of the river New York, and this place Albany, in honour of the brother of King Charles II., whose titles were Duke of York and Albany. Being thus of more than ordinary

antiquity for a transatlantic city, Albany displays more than the usual transatlantic solidity; and although it cannot boast the hot-bed progress of such towns as Cincinnati, or that it has kept pace with the gigantic sister city which shared with it the titles of the English Duke, Albany is nevertheless a very pleasing town, of some fifty thousand inhabitants, and about as handsome, in many parts, as I think it is possible to make a town of a purely trading character, and which is mainly built of bricks; for, accustomed in earlier life to the stone edifices of Scotland, I feel it difficult to disabuse my mind of a cotton-mill impression, when I look along a street which is entirely composed of brick houses.

Albany contains some public buildings of merit. The City Hall, built of white marble, with its Ionic façade, pleased me much, and not less so in that it appealed to my nationality by a portrait of Sir Walter Scott which it contains. The State Hall, in the vicinity of the City Hall, is a large building; and the Capitol is a third edifice deserving a visit. Of the streets, State Street is the principal; and it is a very handsome, broad street, although of varying widths.

Having devoted only a day to a general inspection of Albany, I embarked, with some impatience, on board a steamer called the Alida, at seven o'clock in the morning, so that I might have the whole day to observe the scenery of the Hudson or North River. I say I did so with impatience; for although I had, within a very short period, and but a short time before, witnessed a great succession and variety of river scenery on the Mississippi, the Ohio, the Niagara, and the St. Lawrence, (not to speak of the previously seen river scenery of the Old World,) yet the accounts I had heard from friends in Europe, and from fellow-travellers in America, of the extreme beauty of the scenery of the Hudson, had raised my expectations to a high pitch. Such past experiences and present expectations, do not seem to be such as were likely to make me an easily pleased observer; and yet I can most honestly say I was not disappointed. The Hudson equalled, and in many places surpassed, in beauty and in grandeur,—but chiefly in beauty,—my most sanguine expectations. Indeed, I feel that, even had it been less attractive than it is, I would scarce have been disappointed. So far as my own feelings enable me to judge, I think that the more one sees of the beauties or the majesties of nature, the more easily will they be pleased with succeeding scenes of a similar character. The taste for the sublime and beautiful in nature palls not, nor does it become easily satiated; on the contrary, and like Virgil's beautiful impersonation of fame,

"Vires acquirit eundo—"

It gathers strength as it proceeds. And not only so, but the per-

ception, like the memory, becomes more acute by exercise; and new beauties are perceived in each successive scene, simply because, by the experience acquired when visiting previous ones, the eye has become more acute and alive to beauty and grace. Such was my experience at the Falls of Montmorenci: I did not admire them less because I had Niagara fresh and living in my recollection. Such were my feelings now: I did not for a moment feel that there was any jostling between the claims of the St. Lawrence and the Hudson; each had its own ideal, which, while it permitted contrast, admitted not of any close or invidious comparison.

Mere descriptive writing, save from the hands of a master of such composition, is very apt to weary; and as I cannot with truth say that my voyage down the Hudson, from Albany to New York, was varied by any of those "moving incidents by flood or fell," or by any of those extraordinary conversations with Yankee fellow-passengers—or still more extraordinary dialogues between Irishmen and negroes, with which some writers of travels in the United States have been able to intersperse, garnish, and give spiciness to their narrations—I will in the course of a very few sentences epitomise the numerous notes I have made, relative to the characteristics of this noble and majestic river. True, were I to sacrifice truth for the sake of effect, I might here introduce some of the numerous stories of Negro cunning, and Yankee art, or rather practical joking, of which one hears so much in the West Indies and in America: And—particularly as my trip down the river was made only ten days after that appalling accident, the running down of the steamer Empire City, by the schooner Noah Brown, when, at the hour of midnight, above a hundred and twenty human beings were at once sunk in the Hudson, to rise no more in time—I might intersperse my narrative with some details of the dangers attending steamboat sailing on the rivers and in the bays of New England. But all this would be to borrow from the experiences of others, under the pretence of describing my own, while my main, and indeed sole object, is to give an exact impress of facts as they occurred. As, therefore, I neither saw nor heard of difficulties, dangers, or marvels, I have none to record. But I have to record that, for about ten hours, I enjoyed one of the most delightful sails it has ever been my good fortune to enjoy, passing during that time a space of some hundred and fifty miles, down a briskly running, clear, bright, and often broad river, and through a succession of scenery which, while it was at all times fine and ever varying, was in many places majestic if not sublime. In particular, that part of the scenery where the river, with a narrower and more pent-in channel, but with greater speed, and as it were more determination, forces itself through the Highlands, is rich in

scenes of exceedingly picturesque beauty. For some hours after leaving Albany, the banks, though by no means devoid of beauty, are comparatively flat and tame; but about fifteen miles above West Point, and when you come in clear view of the Catskill Mountains, the scene changes, and for some time the sail lies between picturesque hills on either side, through the midst of which the noble river seems to feel, and occasionally to force, its way. At West Point, (as beautiful a spot as the eye can rest on,) the scene is at its loveliest; and for ten miles below, and some ten or fifteen above, there is a succession of mountain and lake scenery, which is exceedingly beautiful and pleasing, and which, were the mountains somewhat loftier, and more storm-scalped, would not be unlike some of the noble scenery to be seen in the Firth of Clyde. But in making this comparison, and while I would place the scenery of the river on the banks of which I was born second to none I ever saw, the observation is not meant as involving anything disrespectful or derogatory to the Hudson. 'Twere sacrilege to think so. If the hills of the Hudson would look tame in the presence of the majestic mountains of Arran, or of Cunninghame, Kintyre, or Cowall—those hills, and the rest of the scenery through which the Hudson pours its waters, have other beauties,—beauties of foliage and of verdure—peculiar to themselves, which preclude any proper or close comparison between them and the heath-clad hills of the land of "mountain and of flood." The entire course of the Hudson is said to be three hundred miles in length. It is, however, only navigable for sea-going ships as far as the town which rejoices in the same name as the river, and which is one hundred and sixteen miles distant from New York. For coasting vessels and steamers, the stream is navigable for nearly forty miles farther, or as far as the rising city of Troy. In width it varies considerably. For fully twenty miles above New York the breadth is about a mile, but while passing through the romantic region appropriately termed the Highlands, the beautiful river is contracted into narrow limits, while the mountains rise on either side, many of them to a height exceeding a thousand feet. Occasionally it expands to a width of between three or four miles.

CHAPTER XIII.

"—— I love not nature less,
But man the more." BYRON.

"Humanum sum; nihil humanum a me alienum puto."

LANDING at New York in the evening, I proceeded to Delmonico's hotel in Broadway, attracted thereto, as has been already confessed, as much by the allurement that the house was managed more in the English than in the American style, as by any other consideration. For, while on the principle of *chacun à son goût*, I certainly have no objections either to my American brethren, or to any other body of men, taking their meals in public and at large ordinaries; nay, while I often, and indeed generally, enjoyed doing so, and would desire occasionally to practise it at home, were it only for the spirit of observation and sociality it engenders or promotes; and farther, while I have nothing to complain of as to the *cuisine* of America, (although I do think and maintain that it is inferior to that of England,) still, as a practical rule, I do not like the call to be hungry and thirsty at particular hours, just because other people are so: nay more I cannot be so—I cannot so drill my appetite. It was therefore with a satisfaction disproportionate to the event, that I found myself at Delmonico's hotel at free will to breakfast when I chose, dine when I chose, and sup when I chose, and that without the disheartening conviction, that I was thereby allowing all the tit-bits to be consumed by the more regular stagers, who took their places at the *table d'hôte*. In other words, there is no *ordinary* at Delmonico's.

Reader, be not afraid; it is not my intention to weary you with the thrice-told tale, an account of the commercial, I had almost said the real, (but, if I did, neither my Boston nor my Washington friends would forgive me,) capital of the United States of America. But fidelity to my motto of "nothing extenuate," requires me to say that, were I to do so, I fear my description would scarcely tally with —or at least would not come quite up to—the generally all-eulogistic descriptions given of this great city. For, truth to say, New York at first disappointed me; and that disappointment did not entirely wear off during the two visits I paid to it ere I left the continent of America. The disappointment of the first sight might be accounted for by the fact that I landed at New York on the afternoon of a miserably dull, dark day, and that for the two succeeding days it rained, if not very copiously, at least so continuously, as to compel me either to refrain from sight-seeing altogether, or to see New York under circumstances anything but advantageous. But the sun shone

on the city and its vicinity during the whole of my second visit; and unless it be really true, as I think it is, that New York is not the handsome city it is generally represented to be, I cannot otherwise account for my continued disappointment, than by supposing that the inflated accounts given me by my American friends in Great Britain had raised my expectations to an unreasonable pitch. I have already pleaded guilty to an incapacity (if so it be) of comparing one scene in nature with another, so as to form and declare a preference for the one *over* the other; and as it is with me in regard to natural scenes, so is it also, in part at least, as regards artificial ones. Towns can be more accurately compared than landscapes, and the greatness of cities than the magnificence of nature. But still it is very difficult, in this way, to give a correct idea of any town or city. Each has various points peculiar to itself—points, the non-existence of which, in the place to which it may be compared, precludes the possibility of drawing a correct parallel between the two. I shall not therefore try to give my reader a general idea of New York, by comparing or contrasting it with any European town, farther than by saying, that I thought it more like Liverpool than any other town in Britain. Neither will I contrast it with any city on its own seaboard, save by remarking that, for myself, I would prefer a residence in Boston or in Philadelphia to one in New York.

But, while I write thus indefinitely of New York as a whole, I can honestly write more definitely, and in terms of unqualified praise, of many views and scenes in and connected with it. In particular, the bay and harbour of New York rise to my memory as among the most beautiful and commodious to be found in the world. They exhibit a scene of activity and life which is exceedingly inspiriting. Formed by the junction or confluence of the noble Hudson with a strait named the East river, (which connects Long Island sound with the harbour,) the bay of New York stretches before and on each side of you, as you stand on the battery, unfolding with its numerous steamers and other vessels, in motion or at anchor, a seaward view which is beautiful exceedingly. Before you lies Governor's or Nutton Island, with its fortifications. On the left is Brooklyn on Long Island, with its elevated, regularly built streets, displaying all the signs of the prosperity, without the noise, bustle, and confusion of New York itself; and on the right stands Jersey city, also a rising suburb of New York, and the starting point for Philadelphia and the south. Altogether, I know not a view of the city kind that has gratified me more. But, as much of the interest depends on the moving nature of the panorama which stretches before you, and as *that* cannot be communicated on paper, I shall not attempt a more detailed description, but close my remarks on the river and bay scenery of New York, by observing that, whatever disappointment I felt, from hav-

had my expectations *over*-excited as to the architectural beauty of the city, was more than compensated by the gratification afforded by the views of the bay and of the harbour, of the beauty of which I was surprised I had heard so little.

At the period of my visit, the harbour of New York and its vicinity exhibited signs of activity even greater than usual, from the large number of vessels which were then in progress of being built. Whether the activity in this respect had anything to do with the repeal by England of her Navigation Laws, I had no means of accurately ascertaining. The opinions expressed by the different practical men in America, I had the opportunity of consulting on the subject, were very various—as also were the opinions they expressed as to the effect of the measure alluded to upon England's naval supremacy and general prosperity—some maintaining that the repeal was destructive of the best interests of Britain; others, that it was certain to advance them very greatly.

Into the much-agitated and all-important question of what is to be the effect of that repeal, I refrain from entering, simply because of the unappropriateness of its discussion in a work of this nature. But whatever may be the consequences of the repeal of the Navigation Laws of England, and whether that act had or had not anything to do with the ship-building activity apparent in New York in the month of June 1849, the fact still remains, that such activity was very great. At the time of which I write, there were in the course of building, in the ship-building yards of New York, at least twelve steamers. Five of these steamers were ships of 3000 tons each—two of these five at least were intended for the transatlantic trade with the mother country. Among the other seven steamers, there was one steamship of 2200 tons—another of 600 tons, and a third of 400 tons: the remaining four were steamers of the smaller size, intended for river navigation and short distances. Of sailing vessels there were nearly a dozen of large size (above a thousand tons each) then on the stocks, besides a barque of 600 tons and a schooner of 150 tons. These, with the vessels undergoing repair, created, it may readily be conceived, a bustle and activity, in the ship-building department at New York, strongly indicative of prosperity.

When nothing better is to be had, I have oftener than once found interest, if not amusement, in turning over the pages of a Street Directory. Such was my occupation on the morning of the singularly continuously wet day which succeeded my arrival at New York, while waiting the appearance of a travelling friend, with whom I had resolved to dare the elements in an attempt to see Haarlem aqueduct, and the reservoir of the Croton water-works, in weather but too analogous to themselves. And I am sure there is scarce a city in the world, so much of whose origin and history is to be found

imaged forth in the kind of names to be found in its Directory. French, German, Scotch, Irish, and English names (but the latter predominating) recurring alternately, and in reiterated succession jostling each other, proclaim the fact that New York has been peopled from almost all the countries of Europe, but chiefly from Great Britain, just as plainly as such names as those of Patience, Fear, Christian, Experience, Jonathan, Dearborn, Elder, and the like, so often yet found among the inhabitants of Plymouth (Massachusetts) and its neighbourhood, recall the memory of the noble and devoted Puritans who crossed the Atlantic in the little Mayflower, in search of that liberty of conscience and of worship, unjustly and unwisely denied them by an unenlightened monarch and government at home—those enlightened, and at same time *patriotic* emigrants, who, carrying with them that love of country which forms one of the best feelings of the human heart, named their first settlement in the then barbarous land of their adoption—their far-off home across the waters—by the name of Plymouth, after the last port in England from which they had sailed.

New York, or rather the island on which it stands, was first occupied as a place of permanent possession (having been previously in the occupancy of a very fierce tribe of native Indians) by the Dutch in 1615; but so little did it for a long time progress, that in 1677 it is said to have contained only 2000 inhabitants. In 1800 its population was somewhat above 60,000; and at present its inhabitants number above 400,000, (in 1845 they were 366,785,)—a rapidity of increase nearly paralleled in Great Britian by that of the city of Glasgow, which at the date of the Union between England and Scotland (1707) had but 14,000, and in 1791 only 66,578 inhabitants; while at present it contains a population of fully 350,000

But the parallel between New York and Glasgow might be carried much beyond a comparison in point of population; and it is aided, and rendered interesting throughout, by the fact that both of these cities are eminently and characteristically mercantile—marts of commerce and emporiums of trade—and that there are not to be found on the face of the globe any two cities whose commercial prosperity is more associated or inseparable. No city in the American Union would suffer more from the breaking out of war between Great Britain and the American Republic, were so unfortunate an event to happen, than would that of New York; and no town in the United Kingdom would sustain more injury from a war between England and America than would the city of Glasgow. As they are thus similar in their interests, as well as in their prevailing characteristics, it is interesting to observe how similar New York and Glasgow have been in their onward progress. Dating the commencement of its

existence from 1615, the American city has—particularly since the date of the English acquisition, and still more since the era of American independence—increased with a rapidity which now enables it to rank among the largest emporiums of the world, there being not more than six European cities of larger size. So far as yet built, the beautiful city of New York occupies but a part of Manhattan Island; but the ambitious design is, that it should eventually fill up the whole; and it is obviously destined to bear out the anticipation of the founders. Some idea of the extent to which New York will then have increased may be gathered from the fact that Manhattan Island is upwards of thirteen miles in length, with an average breadth of about a mile, and contains not less than 14,000 acres of land. This island, formed by the confluence of a strait called the East River, with the Hudson or north river, is generally level, and well adapted for building; though this very flatness is an obstacle to the picturesque beauty of the town.

The position of New York on the map of the world points it out as a place of trade; and of its past success and present progression, in this respect, the stranger needs no further evidence than a glance at its noble harbour and crowded wharves, or a visit to its splendid customhouse—the latter a building of the Doric order of architecture, covering a large space of ground, and built at an expense of 1,175,000 dollars, (nearly £240,000 sterling,) including in this sum the price paid for the furniture and the ground. This fact of the costliness of the New York customhouse reminds me, however, of the propriety or qualifying the above observations, by remarking that, although Glasgow may stand a comparison with the American emporium in some respects, the elegance or expense of her customhouse is certainly not among them. A building more disproportioned or inadequate to the wants of the community, or to the extent of business conducted in it, than is the customhouse at Glasgow, it were difficult to find in any town in the world. In 1811, when the total amount of the duties of customs collected at Glasgow were only £3124 2s. 4¼d., or even up to 1843 (in which year the amount had increased to the sum of £497,7281 0s. 2d., and when Glasgow was advanced from a second class to a first class port) there might have been some apology for refusing or at least for delaying, to make the customhouse a handsome building. But now, when the duties of customs annually collected exceed the very large sum of £650,000 sterling, (much more than the whole revenue the island of Cuba yields to Spain,) it were surely not too much to expect that the public building in which business of this nature, and of this magnitude, is transacted, should be something, at least, of an ornament to the city in which it is placed.

The chief object in view, in thus drawing a comparison between

the advancement respectively made by the cities of New York and Glasgow, was not only to illustrate the bond of connexion which so far exists between the two that the one may be almost said to reflect the prosperity of the other; but also to point the attention of our American friends to a fact which, it appeared to me, some of them are disposed to overlook—viz., to the fact that progression has not been all on their side of the Atlantic: while they have been going forward, the mother country has certainly not been standing still. But having thus alluded to the subject, it may neither be out of place nor uninteresting (particularly now that a direct line of steam communication is about to be opened between Glasgow and New York) to give the following tabular statement, made up from official documents, to which I have had access through the kindness of the gentleman in charge of them, showing at one view, and for different years, the porportions existing between the numbers which represent the population, and those which express the respective amounts of the duties of custom, and of revenue, of the river connected with the city of Glasgow.

Date.	Population.	Customhouse Duties.			Revenue of River.		
		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
1811	11,046						
1816	120,000	3,124	2	4½	4,755	3	8
1821	147,043	8,890	18	1	5,843	7	8
1831	202,426	16,147	17	7	8,070	2	2
1841	282,134	68,741	5	9	18,932	0	7
1849	about 350,000	526,100	0	11	50,666	19	2
		640,568	17	10	59,034	14	1*

The above facts will be sufficient to test the soundness of my position, that there is much ground for a comparison between New York and Glasgow, in their progress and advancement in commercial wealth and greatness, as well as to satisfy any transatlantic reader that the Old Country is very far from losing ground in the social or commercial race. But to return to the mercantile metropolis of the great republic.

It is very far from my intention to give a detailed account of what may be called the memorabilia of the commercial metropolis of America; at the same time the notice of a few of the more prominent of them may prove not uninteresting or unacceptable; and their description will at all events show, even to those who may be disposed

* In 1847, the Customhouse duties collected at Glasgow, amounted to the still larger sum of £657,834, 19s. 6d. The experience of the opening months of the current year leads to the conclusion, that the amount of the revenue for 1850 will not be less than £700,000, being more than the whole revenue of England in the reign of Henry V.

to regard my American impressions as somewhat too favourable and eulogistic, that it was at least my endeavour to judge for myself—to form my own opinions from what I saw, in so far as opportunity was afforded me for so doing. Whether the opportunities afforded justify the opinions expressed, it is for the reader to determine.

Some writers have drawn, or attempted to draw, a parallel between London and New York. This may be done, but it is scarcely fair. Farther than in their being severally and respectively the two largest cities in Great Britain and in America, there is no proper parallelism between them. To talk of the sights and scenes in New York as equally interesting, and fully as extraordinary, as are the sights and scenes of daily exhibition in that great world of a city the modern Babylon, is simply nonsense—pure nonsense. Such statements, describing New York as displaying many of the characteristics of London, generally originate in a desire to bepraise the former city. They usually emanate from a class from whose exaggerations America and American society have suffered, and are likely to suffer, more in European estimation than they have ever done from unjust criticism of the many fault-finders, who (adopting old Weller's advice to Pickwick) visit the United States only to come back and write a book about the "Merrikins as 'll pay their expenses and more, if they only blows 'em up enough."

The gentlemen referred to usually visit the United States for a purpose; they go out to pick up facts to square with some preconceived theory of politics or of trade, which they or their patrons are previously pledged to support. Everything is seen, or at least reported, under the influence of a spirit of exaggeration. On the one hand, merely trifling defects become abominable deformities; while, on the other, those things which are simply mentionable as worthy of being recorded, are dignified into marvels to be commented on with admiration. Thus it is that an attempt has been made to describe the Whirl of Life exhibited in New York as like the extraordinary scene daily witnessed in that largest and most wonderful of all large cities—the city of London: but the comparison is extravagant.

No doubt, there are some points of accordance and similarity between New York and London. Of these the number of omnibuses is one. On application to official authority, I find that there are fully one thousand licensed omnibuses now plying in the streets of the modern Babylon. In summer and winter, the prrticular description of omnibus, as well as the routes of travel, varies a little, there being in spring and summer more of what are considered country vehicles, (omnibuses going to a distance,) and, in winter, more of those which confine themselves to the streets of the town. But as a general rule, the total number travelling

the streets of London is about a thousand. Almost all these vehicles are licensed to carry thirteen passengers inside, and nine out; and (as may be gathered from their success and increase) they receive a very large amount of public patronage. Now, regard being had to the size of New York, the number of such vehicles in it is fully as great. In a number of the *New York Post* of November 1849, it is stated by a correspondent, (who described himself as an "old driver of a New York omnibus in one of the oldest routes of that city, for a term of seven years,") that the entire number then plying in the streets of New York, was 376; and, large as the number is, I fully credit the statement. Standing at the door of Delmonico's hotel in Broadway, past which most of the omnibuses drive, I have noted the passing of eighteen crowded omnibuses within the period of five minutes. It did not, however, appear to me that the number of street carriages for occasional hire were as great in New York as might have been expected in a city of the size, and this possibly may, in some measure, account for the unusually large proportion of omnibuses. In London, the number of carriages for hire is very great—so great that in this present year (1850) there are already no less than 2864 coaches and cabs licensed for public accommodation.

Among the notabilia of New York I would include the hotels—the hotels as a class. It is not my intention to enumerate them; but if the European traveller visiting New York has an extra day or two to spend in sight-seeing, I recommend him to devote it or them to a ramble through the public rooms, and to a general inspection of the hotels. I venture to predict that the result will repay the trouble, and give him some new notions of the people he has crossed the Atlantic to see.

Who has not heard of the water-works of New York?—those works which, in Yankee phrase, are said to be capable of supplying water to drown all creation. An account of a visit to the chief emporium of the New World would certainly be incomplete, were it not to contain some account of this extensive and extremely useful undertaking. The Croton water-works of New York—so called from the name of the river whence they take their rise—commence at a distance of nearly 40 miles from the city. At this place the waters are collected by a dam of 250 feet long, 40 feet high, 70 feet wide at the bottom, and 7 feet wide at the top. Thence, tunneling and embanking bring the waters to the Haarlem river, over which it is carried by an aqueduct bridge of 1400 feet long, at an elevation of 114 feet above tide-mark. From the bridge the water is conveyed (still by a covered archway) to what is called the receiving reservoir, which is situated in Eighty-sixth street, 38 miles distant from the Croton dam. This reservoir is

divided into two compartments or ponds, and is said (and the appearance seems to justify the statement) to contain 150,000,000 gallons of water, and to cover 35 acres of land. From the receiving reservoir, the waters are conveyed to the distributing reservoir at Fortieth street. The distributing reservoir covers four acres, and is said to contain 20,000,000 gallons of water. The whole undertaking is on the gravitation principle, the descent being at the average rate of about 13¼ inches per mile. The water is good, though it seemed to me somewhat brownish; and it is said that the supply is equivalent to about 60,000,000 gallons in the twenty-four hours! The whole cost of the work was nearly 14,000,000 dollars—greatly more than double the amount of the original estimate.

The above general description will enable the reader to judge of the magnitude of this noble undertaking. The bridge over Haarlem river is a great achievement of architectural and mechanical skill—even in these days of engineering wonders. But it is the enlightened policy which dictated such a work that is the most commendable part of the affair. An ample supply of water is of the very first consequence to the increase of a large town; and, in so far anticipating the growth of the city and the wants of the inhabitants, the promoters of the Croton water-works showed a far-sighted wisdom, which is worthy of all praise and imitation. The undertaking was a public one, and the expense defrayed from the city charter-chest, and it is probably a fortunate circumstance that the actual cost was not foreseen. Even as it was, the citizens were by no means unanimous in wishing it undertaken. Out of the 17,330 who voted on the subject, nearly 6000 votes were against the incurring of the expense. At first, the undertaking was not a remunerating one; now, there is a very fair revenue for the amount expended.

When passing the dismantled Opera House of New York, I was reminded of the very disgraceful riot of which it was the scene, and in part the cause, and which had its origin in disputes between Mr. Macready and Mr. Forrest, or rather in the attack of the latter upon the former. This popular disturbance occurred but a very short time before my arrival in the city; and, together with the Canadian disturbances, and the running down of the steamer Empire City, in the North River, (by which upwards of one hundred and twenty persons were drowned,) it formed the prevailing topic of general conversation in New York. But it is not to introduce any opinion of my own that I have made mention of this matter of the riot at the New York Opera House in May 1849. It is to pay what I feel to be a deserved tribute to the New York press that I have done so. With one unworthy exception, I did

not hit upon a single paper that took anything save a very dispassionate view of the affair, or that unworthily attempted to make the subject a pretext for inflaming party or national jealousy. Several of them professed the view that the disturbance in question had a deeper seat, and a more hidden origin, than the mere quarrel or difference in opinion between or about the two votaries of Thespis; but, with the exception I have alluded to, I did not observe that any of the newspapers sought to make an unworthy use of the supposed cause of the disturbance; while many of them ridiculed the attempt made by the excepted print to give to the quarrel the air of a national dispute. And well they might; for surely, and on whatever side the justice of the quarrel may be supposed to lie, it would be as reasonable to make a quarrel between any two men in any rank of life, however humble, the one an Englishman and the other an American, a cause of national jealousy, as it would be so to dignify a dispute between two actors, however eminent in their calling they be. But it was not only in this way that the generality of the American press displayed their candour in relation to this affair. Having, on other subjects, seen in some papers such a truckling to mobocracy, and such an echoing of the mere prejudices of the people in favour of anything connected with their own side of the Atlantic, as did not give me a very high opinion of the newspaper press of America, I confess I was agreeably pleased to find that so many of them came forth so decidedly and at once, in vindication of Mr. Macready, and in reprobation of their own countryman—pleased, not, I trust, because Mr. Forrest was condemned, but because the defence of Macready argued a love of fair play, which I would fain believe animates Jonathan the son, in America, as much as it does, and always has done, John Bull the father, in Old England. The following passage from the *New York Police Gazette* of 19th May 1849, which might be paralleled by quotations from sundry other New York papers, will explain my meaning:—

"The question," says the editor of that print, when investigating the causes which led to the riot,* and consequent destruction of the Opera House, "is: who bred the mischief, and who set its malevolent spirit on the face of the waters? These were the evildoers; and to these, wherever we may find them, and whoever they

* The difficulty of suppressing this riot—even after a regiment of cavalry, a division of the State Militia, and a batallion of the National Guards, and two pieces of artillery, were employed to restore order—furnishes a powerful illustration of the danger of a mobocracy in a republic. Beginning from an apparently trivial cause, the riot lasted for about six hours, and it was not quelled until twenty-two persons were killed and above thirty wounded—many of the latter mortally. The trial of the rioters lasted three weeks; and the principal ringleader was condemned to one year's imprisonment, in addition to a fine of 250 dollars—a most inadequate punishment, surely, for such an offence.

may be, are we to turn with the complaints that strive within us, and to look to for ultimate satisfaction.

"We are no public accuser, but we do not hesitate to involve ourself so far with contradiction, as to charge this mischief upon Mr. Forrest, and Mr. Forrest only, and to hold him answerable, in our resentments as a citizen, for all the evil that has taken place.

"It is he who, having, in his conceit, attributed to a brother actor an opposition which was the caprice of undirected public taste, projected a quarrel, or rather a system of assault, that he has maintained with vicious pertinacity for years, and to which, for the purpose of subsidizing prejudice, he has sought to give the colour of a national dispute.

"The public, however, fully understood his aim; and, despite Mr. Forrest's coarse inflammatory letters, were determined to take no notice of the matter. It was plainly a private quarrel. Mr. Macready was unaccused of a single word derogatory to American institutions or American character, and every community in which the rivals had appeared, until their arrival in New York, very sensibly seemed to think Forrest was big enough and rude enough to fight his own battles for himself, and more particularly as Mr. Macready, after a single explanation, had made him no reply."

I would prosecute my description of the celebrities or memorabilia of New York, were it not that personal experience teaches me that such details are not in general very interesting in the perusal. Contenting myself, therefore, with the following remarks—viz., that I did not find Broadway either so broad a way, or so straight a way, or so shady a way, or so well paved a way, as the glowing accounts of others had led me to anticipate—that a hurried visit to New York University, with my friend Mr. Kimball, delighted me very greatly —that, of all the architectural beauties of New York, the tower and spire of the old Trinity Church (situated in Broadway, and the successor of the original structure of the same name founded in 1696, during the reign of William and Mary) has left a most pleasing and abiding impression on my mind of its exceedingly chaste architectural beauty—and that the City Hall, though, on the whole, (combining situation with extent and ornament,) the finest erection in the city, did not please my eye half so much as some other buildings of lesser pretension and note, I shall proceed with my narrative by observing, that it was on a very lovely afternoon, at four o'clock, that I started from New York for Philadelphia.

There are two routes, either of which the traveller may pursue, in going to Philadelphia; and while I went the one way, and returned by the other, I cannot say that I saw any ground for a preference of the one over the other. The one (that by which I went) is by steamer, through Staten Island Sound and Raritan

Bay, and onwards by the Camden and Amboy Railway; the other is by steam ferry to Jersey city, and thence by railway, crossing the Delaware to Philadelphia by means of a ferry. Both routes are cheap, good, and comfortable. The sail through Staten Island Sound and Raritan Bay is pleasing, although the banks are generally low, and consequently tame. The country on either side is well cultivated, and sundry small towns or villages are from time to time seen. There are also a variety of neat villas, or gentlemen's seats. Some of these are of course handsomer than the rest, and several of them display much taste and elegance, both as regards situation and construction. But comparing such places with those to be seen in nearly every part of Great Britain, it were certainly not inaccurate to describe them as being, in general, of a medium character. Indeed, I would say, as regards the whole of the American Union, that its prevailing characteristic is a handsome mediocrity—nothing either very high or very low; so that if, on the one hand, you are but very seldom disheartened and distressed by those exhibitions of poverty so frequently to be seen in the large cities of older and more thickly-peopled countries, you miss also, as ornaments in the landscape, those noble mansions, palaces, castles, and baronial halls, which give such a finish to an English scene—adorning the view, and at the same time carrying the mind back into the past with a flood of historic reminiscences. The comparative merits and advantages of the two states of things will be judged of by each reader according to his or her peculiar prepossessions. But the contrast between the two countries might be carried out in the same way, and to the same result, in reference to many other matters besides the country-seats of their wealthier classes.

Arrived at South Amboy, a distance of twenty-eight miles from New York, you proceed at once by railway to Camden, a distance of sixty-one miles, and then, crossing the Delaware by steamboat, you at once find yourself in the Quaker and Quaker-like city of

PHILADELPHIA,

built on the space of ground lying between the rivers Delaware and Schuylkill, and at the confluence of the latter stream with the former. Philadelphia, albeit mainly built of brick, is nevertheless a very fine city. The white marble steps and facings to the basement stories of the private houses, give to the whole town an air of peculiar elegance. It is clean to a degree, and it is regular almost to a fault—so methodical, that the rude sketch of it contained in the common road-book looks like a multiplication-table. The streets are in straight lines, those running north and south

being at right angles with those running east and west. There is even a precision and a regularity in the manner in which they are numbered or named—those streets whose direction is north and south being numbered as first, second, third, &c., while those running at right angles to them are named after trees, as Walnut, Chestnut, &c. Philadelphia seemed to me as if it had been laid down by a professor of mnemonics, in an endeavor to ascertain how far it was practicable so to lay out a great city, as to render it utterly impossible for the most obtuse stranger to lose his way in it. There is a large, broad street, called Market Street—so named, from the purpose to which the central space in it is devoted; and instead of feeling the presence of such a name an incongruity amidst the other numerical and botanical ones, you feel it to be a relief, as breaking, to a small extent, the unvarying sameness and uniformity.

Some of the principal streets in Philadelphia are shaded with trees; and I observed at least one square which was all planted, over and throughout, with a view to shade—a hint that might be advantageously acted on, as regards some of the squares in the towns of the West Indian Islands. This tree-planted square in Philadelphia was a genuine square, although some of the framers of the city seem to have entertained somewhat heterodox notions of what constitutes a square; and the only occasion on which I was at any loss to find a locality in this distractingly regular city, was when I proceeded to deliver to a lady resident, a letter of introduction I had been honoured with from her son, a highly intelligent merchant, carrying on business both in London and in New York. The letter was addressed *Portico Square;* and it was only by diligent inquiry that I found that Portico Square was nothing more than one side of a very handsome street of private dwelling-houses, the square being constituted by the buildings as they fronted to each side of four different streets.

No town in the United States offers more objects to interest the stranger than does the Quaker City. The Fairmount Water-works, and, adjoining, the wire suspension-bridge; the State House, which contains a very good *wooden* statue of Washington, and in which the visitor is shown the room where the Declaration of Independence was signed; the Exchange, a very handsome, imposing edifice, but with only a very small portion of it applied to the purposes of a news-room; the beautiful cemetery at Laurel-hill, and the institution called Girard College, besides various other buildings, objects, and places, of scarcely less attraction, are well worthy of being visited, and will very amply repay the trouble required by visiting them. Leaving, however, most of these objects of attraction to the very general, and, of course, solely laudatory description of them contained

in the guide-books, I shall here content myself with a few observations on the Laurel-hill Cemetery and the Girard College, both because they are among the most recent of the additions to the Quaker City, and because they attracted most of my own attention during the time I spent in it.

The cemetery at Laurel-hill, Philadelphia, stands at a little distance from the city, and on the banks of the river Schuylkill. Even in America, a country certainly distinguished by the exceeding beauty of the last resting-places for the remains of the departed, it is one of the most singularly beautiful and appropriately quiet spots that fancy can conceive. It covers a large space of ground, very tastefully laid off and planted; and, without containing any monuments of great or eclipsing excellence, it has some of exceeding beauty and touching pathos. On entering, the visitor from Scotland is gratified by meeting with Thom's stone statues of Sir Walter Scott, and of Old Mortality with his pony, which have here found a resting-place on the other side of the Atlantic. The monuments are generally, if not exclusively, (for I remember not a single exception,) composed of the white marble which abounds in the neighbourhood, and which is exceedingly beautiful, although it does not seem to take on a very high polish. Among these monuments there are, as the reader may probably anticipate, the usual proportion of broken pitchers, shattered columns, quenched torches, sleeping lambs, weeping willows, and doves about to stretch their wings in flight, to be found in such places. Two tombs, erected to the memory of children, are beautiful in their simplicity. The one contains the simple inscription "Our Mary;" while the other consists of a column on a basement with the Christian names of the three children to whose memory it is erected (as "Jane," "Charles," "Frederick,") engraven on it, each name within a wreath of sculptured flowers. On the top was the oft-repeated emblem of a sleeping lamb, and below was the quotation from Holy writ—

"Of such is the kingdom of Heaven."

The visitor to Philadelphia who omits to visit the cemetery at Laurel-hill will have cause to regret his omission.

The institution called Girard College deserves separate mention, not only for the two reasons above assigned, but also on another and a different ground—viz., because of the controversy of which it has been made the text, as well in this country as in America.

The Girard College, Philadelphia, is situated about a mile from the centre of the town. It is a handsome building of the Grecian character, consisting of a centre and two separate compartments on either side; the whole being surrounded by a wall, enclosing a space of ground little short of fifty acres. The centre building is the one

which peculiarly constitutes the College, being devoted to the purposes of education. It is, indeed, a very magnificent pile, having a front of about two hundred and twenty feet in length, and being surrounded by thirty-four white marble pillars, supporting an entablature. The roof is of the same material as the walls of the building. The erections on each side—in all four in number—are intended for the residence of the scholars, the teachers, and professors. The whole is a very handsome affair; but were I disposed to be critical, I would say that there appears to be an undue striving after an extra degree of plainness and stoical simplicity in some parts, which is not quite in keeping with the general unity of the design.

On inquiring particularly into the history of this institution, chiefly with the view of comparing it with the many institutions similar in their general character which are to be found in my native country of Scotland, and particularly in Edinburgh, I had a copy of the will of "Stephen Girard, Esquire," put into my hands, accompanied by certain information, of which the following statements embody the import:—

Mr. Girard, who in his will describes himself as "mariner or merchant," was born at Bordeaux, in France, whence, in very early life, he proceeded first to the West Indies, and thereafter to New York, where he arrived somewhere about the year 1775, in the capacity of mate to a trading vessel. From New York, and after passing through various scenes, and engaging in different occupations, all of a very humble kind, Mr. Girard proceeded, in 1799, to Philadelphia, and commenced trade there, by keeping a kind of "old curiosity shop"—dealing in old iron and old rigging. It were foreign to the object of this book to follow his career minutely, nor would the doing so repay the labour: suffice it to say that, by industry and frugality, allied no doubt to high integrity and a far-seeing policy as a merchant, Mr. Girard rose to the position of one of the very first merchants and most opulent bankers in the country of his adoption, or indeed in the world; and accumulated so large a fortune that, at the time of his death, on 26th December, 1831, the pecuniary amount he left behind him was estimated at the sum of from twelve to thirteen millions of dollars, or from about £2,500,000 to £2,708,333 sterling. To the end of his earthly career (and, although the date of his birth is involved in some obscurity, his age, at the time of his death, could not have been much less than the patriarchal one of ninety-five) Mr. Girard was devoted to trade; so much so, that it is said in the sketch of his life, from which some of the statistics of this brief notice of him are taken, that his recreation was business, and that he "*died with harness on his back.*" The observation is there made eulogistically, but I dare say there are few reflecting men who will think the eulogy well bestowed. It may have been Mr.

Girard's fate to have been involved in business and engrossed with the affairs of time up to the last, the all-important hour, when the "golden bowl was broken and the silver cord loosed," and his spirit took its flight to the God that gave it, to render an account of the deeds done in the body; and the fact that so it was may not, and should not, render any one a whit less sensible to Mr. Girard's services to the great cause of education, or to the many claims he has upon the gratitude of the inhabitants of his adopted country. But it is to my mind a strange circumstance to chronicle, as one that tends to increase the halo that attaches to a man's name, that to the end of life he continued so much engrossed with the every-day business of a passing world—from which he was himself soon to pass away and "be no more for ever"—that he died with the harness of business on his back. Infinitely more to be desired would it have been for Mr. Girard, and would it be for all mankind, if, ere going hence, time were afforded, and were taken, to get quit of the "harness," and to consider the destiny of the unclothed spirit without distraction, and in the light of the future. This, however, is a digression.

By his will, made in 1830, and after leaving sundry very splendid legacies and special bequests, Mr. Girard, after narrating that he had "been for a long time impressed with the importance of educating the poor, and of placing them, by the early cultivation of their minds and the development of their moral principles, above the many temptations to which through poverty and ignorance they are exposed;" and that he was "particularly desirous to provide, for such a number of poor male white children as can be trained in one institution, a better education, as well as a more comfortable maintenance, than they usually receive from the application of the public funds," bequeathed the entire residue of his princely estates to the mayor, aldermen, and citizens of Philadelphia, directing them, with two millions of dollars out of said residue, to erect and furnish an institution or permanent college, with suitable out-buildings; and with instructions, after "the college and appurtenances shall have been constructed and furnished," to apply "the income, issue, and profits of so much of said two millions of dollars as shall remain unexpended, in maintaining the college according to the testator's directions." By another section of the will, the free remainder of the residue of the estate is likewise bequeathed to form a permanent fund for certain expressed purposes, among which is "the further improvement and maintenance of the aforesaid college." Minute directions are given in the will regarding the male white orphans to be admitted into the institution—priority of claim being dependent on the locality of birth, in the order of (1) Philadelphia, (2) other parts of Pennsylvania, (3) New York, and (4) New Orleans; and also particular

and minute instructions are set forth, regarding the nature and style of the building or erection contemplated by the testator as the college to be built. As regards the latter, the general direction is, that in erecting it the trustees are to "avoid needless ornament, and to attend chiefly to the strength, convenience, and neatness of the whole." It would require, I fear, considerable liberality and latitude of construction, to say that the building actually reared is in accordance either with the letter or the spirit of the instructions last quoted. The amount expended for building the college, (which, begun in May, 1833, was not completed till 13th November, 1847) was 1,933,878 dollars, (nearly £390,000 sterling;) so that there was very little of residue of the 2,000,000 of dollars to be applied in terms of the will.

It appears from the will (which also judiciously provides that the boys are to wear no distinctive dress) that Mr. Girard contemplated affording accommodation and education for at least three hundred orphan boys, as he directs that "the building shall be sufficiently spacious for the residence and accommodation of at least three hundred scholars, and the requisite teachers and other persons necessary in such an institution." When I visited it, about eighteen months after the completion of the building, the number of pupils enrolled was about one hundred. On looking over a list of them, I was somewhat struck with the number of names of German origin.

Such is a general account of the nature and objects of the institution called Girard College, Philadelphia, of which the traveller will hear much among those who take a deep interest in the cause of education, (and it is simple justice to say that this party is a very numerous, and a very powerful and operative one, in the United States of America,) in the city itself, as well as in other parts of the Union. The mention of it will, in general, be either highly laudatory, or very much the reverse, just in accordance with the views of the speaker or of the society, on the much agitated question of the propriety or impropriety of separating or associating secular and religious instruction. But the sketch itself would not be complete were I not to notice another peculiarity of Mr. Girard's will, the reason of which will best explain the cause of the difference of opinion to which I have thus alluded. My attention was somewhat rudely drawn to the peculiarity referred to, from finding that the word "Reverend" on the card of a *compagnon de voyage*, was sufficient to exclude him from being permitted to accompany me on a visit to the college. No clergyman of any denomination can get within the walls. By Mr. Girard's will it is provided,—"Secondly I enjoin and require that no ecclesiastic, missionary, or minister, of any sect whatsoever, shall ever hold or exercise any station or duty

whatever in the said college, nor shall any parson ever be admitted for any purpose, or as a visitor, within the premises appropriated to the said college." There can be no mistake about the sweeping nature of this exclusion, but it is only fair to say that Mr. Girard adds immediately—"In making this restriction, I do not mean to cast any reflection upon any sect or person whatever; but, as there is such a multitude of sects, and such a diversity of opinion amongst them, I desire to keep the tender minds of the orphans who are to derive advantage from this bequest free from the excitement which clashing doctrines and sectarian controversy are so apt to produce. My desire is that all the instructors and teachers in the college shall take pains to instil into the minds of the scholars the purest principles of morality; so that, on their entrance into active life, they may, from inclination and habit, evince benevolence towards their fellow creatures, and a love of truth, sobriety, and industry, adopting, at the same time, such religious tenets as their matured reason may enable them to prefer."

That such an exclusion, adopted and vindicated on such views, and when taken in connexion with the great national institute of which their author was the founder, should have excited some attention, and led to much discussion, is only what was natural, and what might have been predicted. And it is also, perhaps, only what was to be expected, that, in the controversy they elicited, the real intentions of the benevolent testator have been as much understated on the one side as overstated on the other. At all events, so it is. Those among what may be termed the religious classes, who defend the before-quoted provisions of Mr. Girard's will, affirm that it was anything but his wish or intention to exclude religion—the religion of the Bible and Christianity—from its proper and prominent place in the curriculum of education, (and certainly *the practice* in the institution favours this view;) and that his intention merely was to protect the educational establishment he had left behind him from all chance of being made an arena for discussing the conflicting tenets of mere sectarians and controversialists, who, with little of real religion to recommend them, are fond of parading their dogmas on all points of an ecclesiastical nature. While those on the other hand among the same classes, who unqualifiedly condemn Mr. Girard, both for the exclusion and the reason assigned in defence of it, as unqualifiedly maintain that the spirit, if not the letter, of his will, is to exclude religion altogether from his estimate of that education which was in his opinion to fit the recipients of his bounty, "on their entrance into active life, from inclination and habit, to practise benevolence towards their fellow creatures, and a love of truth, sobriety, and industry."

As usual, the truth will be found to lie somewhere between the two extremes. On the one hand, there is nothing certainly in Mr. Girard's will to lead necessarily to the conclusion that he meant to exclude the Bible, and the religion of the Bible, from the curriculum of education which he contemplated his orphans receiving. On the contrary, it might be reasoned that his expressing it to be his desire, that the education given should be such as would instil into the minds of the scholars *the purest principles of morality*, amounted to a recognition of the Scriptures as a text-book—inasmuch as it is the testimony even of infidels, that nowhere are there to be found nobler principles of morality inculcated on motives so disinterested or so lofty. And the practice of the institution, both as to the use of the Bible and the use of prayers, seems to corroborate this view of the matter.

But there is surely much to be said on the other side of the question, and with greater effect. If Mr. Girard's will permits the use of the Bible as a text-book, it permits also its utter exclusion. It repudiates altogether the principle of the Divine injunction, communicated to his chosen people through the instrumentality of the Hebrew lawgiver, which immediately follows the covenant made in Horeb, and the enumeration of the precepts of the moral law, as there given, and which is in these words—"Thou shalt teach them diligently unto thy children, and shall talk of them when thou sittest in thine house, and when thou walkest by the way, and when thou liest down, and when thou risest up."

Again, if the provision in question admits of the charitable construction, that its author meant not to question the necessity of an early acquaintance with the religion of the Bible, or even to deny that there was such a unity of doctrinal faith and of agreement, in all great and essential points, among the truly evangelical churches, as permitted the teaching of Christianity, and of the theology of Christianity, as part of the curriculum of education, without its necessarily involving mere sectarianism; yet certainly the construction is only permissible and not imperative. Nay, there is much in the words used to discountenance it. The purest principles of morality are best taught in the revealed word of God. The best way of imparting habits of benevolence, truth, sobriety, and industry, is to inculcate from early life the pure precepts of that gospel which declares the law to be, to love God with all our heart, and our neighbour as ourselves. And, moreover, Mr. Girard's theory labours under this obvious and important imperfection, that, while it contemplates the formation of religious tenets only after the party shall have arrived at mature reason, it fails either to provide for those who die ere that undefined and undefinable period

of life is arrived at, or to take advantage of the flexibility and impressibility of the youthful mind to lead it in paths, or to impress it with ideas, that have a religious direction and tendency.

I have been induced to make these remarks on this somewhat singular feature of Mr. Girard's will, because of the great amount of controversy which the subject seemed to excite among a certain class in America, and also because I have heard it commented on, even by Americans, in this country, in such a way as was calculated to give an unjust, because too unfavourable a view of it. That clergymen should not like either the exclusion, or the grounds of it, is natural enough; and, apart from all religious considerations, I am free to confess that I so much prefer the moderate introduction of men of clerical calling into secular affairs, to their total exclusion therefrom, that I would rather choose that two or three of *different* persuasions had formed members of the board of direction of Girard College, than that they had been each and all of them totally excluded. But the exclusion of ecclesiastics does not necessarily amount to the exclusion of religion. Neither does the expression of a resolution that the objects of his bounty should be kept free from the contamination of sectarian controversy, on the subject of religion, extend to a resolution to extrude Christian theology from the curriculum, or the Bible from the school-room; and therefore do I conclude as I set out, by expressing it to be my opinion, that the truth as regards this vexed question of the infidel tendency of Mr. Girard's bequest, lies between the extremes of the parties by whom he is lauded and condemned.

There is another and a minor peculiarity in Mr. Girard's bequest, in the indifference he shows towards the claims of the classical literature of Greece and of Rome. While he makes the tuition of the French and Spanish languages imperative, he says, in a parenthesis, of the tongues in which Homer and Virgil sang, and Demosthenes and Cicero spoke, "I do not forbid, but I do not recommend, the Greek and Latin languages."

Whether, in other respects, the Girard College, as at present constituted, in terms of the will, is destined to produce the beneficial effects its benevolent author intended, and his sanguine admirers expect, is another and a different question. On expressing to an intelligent friend in Philadelphia, who takes a deep interest in the cause of education generally, and of this educational institute in particular, my idea that there was an opinion gathering strength in my native country of Scotland, that this class of institutions had not been so very successful in producing even the proportion of well-educated men that might have been anticipated, and that the fact that they had been so was to be ascribed to the separation of the boys from the general community, the severance of

everything like domestic ties, and consequently the somewhat monkish feelings of seclusion formed in the course of education, I observed that there was on his lips a smile of incredulity, as perceptible as politeness would permit it to be, and I accordingly went no farther into the argument. Time, however, will show whether Mr. Girard's benevolent intentions are to be realized; meanwhile, it is only a fitting tribute to pay to his memory to say, that the idea and its realization reflect honour on his name, prove him to have been in heart a philanthropist, and entitle him to be regarded as among the benefactors of the human race.

As from New York to Philadelphia, so from Philadelphia to Baltimore, there are two routes of travel, the one along the Delaware to Newcastle, thence by railway to French Town, (on Elk river,) through Elk river and Chesapeake Bay, past the mouth of the Susquehanna, and up the river Patapsco to Baltimore; the other direct by the Wilmington and Baltimore railway, which crosses the Susquehanna. There is little ground for choice between the two, though perhaps the steamboat route is the one which will afford a stranger the greatest gratification, particularly as it affords an opportunity for seeing the entrance to the harbour of Baltimore, which is very fine.

BALTIMORE.

The visitor, for the first time, cannot fail to be much and agreeably struck with the position and appearance of the town of Baltimore. As is generally known, the territory forming the state of Maryland, of which Baltimore is the capital, was so named in honour of the Queen of England, Henrietta Maria, daughter of Henry IV. of France, and wife of Charles I. of England. The district was constituted a palatinate under a charter granted to Lord Baltimore, (from whom, of course, the town derives its name,) and was first colonised in 1633 by about two hundred English emigrants. At present the state of Maryland contains about half a million, and the town about one hundred and fifty thousand, inhabitants. The latter stands imposingly on a rising ground on the bank of the river Patapsco, not many miles from the head of Chesapeake Bay; and whether I recall its position, its public buildings, the general cleanly appearance of its streets, or the many fair faces and graceful forms I was privileged to see during my brief stay in it, Baltimore rises to my recollection with a very favourable impression. Unquestionably the town of Baltimore is finely situated, and the ladies of Baltimore are very beautiful. The public buildings and other erections visited by me were—(1) the Roman Catholic Cathedral, a large granite building in the Ionic style, containing two good paintings of

royal gift—one the Descent from the Cross, by Puelin Guelin, presented to the cathedral by Louis XVI., of France, and the other representing St. Louis burying his officers and soldiers who were slain before Tunis, presented by Charles X., likewise also of France; and containing also the largest organ in the United States—an organ which has six thousand stops and fifty-six pipes: (2) the Merchants' Exchange, of which the colonnades at the extremities struck me as being in good taste: (3) the Baltimore Museum: (4) the Battle Monument, erected in honour of the men who fell in defence of Baltimore in 1814, which appeared to me a work too elaborate in its design, wanting in simplicity, and displaying but little taste: and (5) the monument erected by the State to the memory of the illustrious Washington. But, following the example I have already set myself, it is not my intention to say more than has been already done of any of them except the last; and truly the Washington monument of Baltimore deserves a special consideration.

From the number of monuments it contains, Baltimore has been called the Monumental City, and, in so far as America at least is concerned, it would be entitled to the distinction were it only because it contains this noble structure to the greatest of America's sons and statesmen. The monument itself, together with the colossal statue on the summit of it, is composed of white marble. It stands on an eminence, and is therefore well exposed to view in every direction, and it consists of a square base surmounted by a round column of twenty feet in diameter. The base is fifty feet square by twenty-four feet high, and the column (statue included) is one hundred and eighty feet in height. Appropriate and neat short inscriptions, descriptive of the principal incidents in Washington's eventful life, are inscribed on the sides of the basement. The column is hollow, and there is a stair inside, by means of which the visitor may ascend to the summit, and obtain by so doing a superb view of Baltimore and its environs. Altogether the monument to Washington, at Baltimore, is worthy of the state that reared it, and of the great man whose patriotic services it is designed to commemorate. I have a great veneration for the name of Washington; and sure I am that, were his principles more paramount in the republic of his creation, there would not be so large a display of that intensely selfish democratic feeling of which European travellers often, and it is to be feared ofttimes justly, complain. Washington was a republican, but he was no democrat. Indeed, few men of eminence have expressed themselves more strongly on the dangers of democracy.

Similar circumstances produce similar results, and human nature, amidst all its varieties, is ever the same. Thus it is that the Washington monument of Baltimore, like the better known London Monument of the modern Babylon, has found favour as a place

whence to accomplish their mad desires, or end their worldly sorrows, by the insane and the wretched. Of late years, several instances have occurred of persons throwing themselves from the top of the Washington Monument at Baltimore. In the majority of instances, these victims of madness or of misery have been females.

The distance from Baltimore to Washington, the inadequate capital of the United States of America, is only forty miles, and it is now traversed by a railroad. On the occasion when I travelled it, the journey occupied three hours; but nearly one-third of that time was lost, through the circumstance of the tender carriage attached to the steam-engine having gone off the rails, dragging the two succeeding passenger carriages along with it. The passengers made a very narrow escape; for, moderate as the speed was, it is little less than miraculous that none of the carriages were overturned. As it was, no personal injury was sustained; and the only real consequence was, our arriving somewhat later than we were expected at the metropolitan city of

WASHINGTON,

the capital of the United States of America. And how unlike a capital city! Previous descriptions had prepared me for finding Washington anything but a fine town. Mr. Dickens' humorous portraiture of it, as "a city of magnificent intentions," had amused me, and I thought I was somewhat prepared for the scene itself. But the preparation was insufficient: after all, I was disappointed —exceedingly disappointed. It was not that Washington was smaller than I expected: on the contrary, it covered more ground than my preconception had led me to expect. It was not that the public buildings were inferior to what I had calculated on: on the contrary, they were finer—the noble Capitol infinitely finer—than I had visioned in my mind's eye. Indeed, it is difficult to say exactly why I was so disappointed at the first sight of the city of Washington. Describing my feelings as graphically as I can, I would say it was at the general village-like appearance of the whole place. And yet even this remark requires much qualification. It was like a large village, and yet it was not. It was like a village in the wideness of its road-like badly-paved streets, and in the contrariety in the styles of the different buildings of which it was composed. But it was very unlike a village, as well in the size and stateliness of most of these buildings, as in the style of the persons and vehicles which were moving along its avenues; and assuredly, when, from whatever point of view, the eye rested on the stately Capitol, the village idea received a check which melted it into thin air.

But it is only when attention is confined to Washington as a

town, that disappointment is, or can be, fairly felt; and after all, is there not something unreasonable, as well as unphilosophical, in the idea which necessarily connects a seat of government with a large city? That capitals are generally large towns is very true, and thus natural it is that, when proceeding to visit the capital of a great nation, like the United States of America, the mind is made up for finding it an extensive, as well as an important place. But is it necessary, or even expedient, that largeness of extent, or of population, should be one of its characteristics? and is it not simply because, in this respect, Washington disappoints expectations raised on insufficient bases, that one feels the dissatisfaction with its general appearance which has been already described? In 1800, when Washington was made the seat of the United States' Government, there were several large cities in the American Union, any of which might have been selected for capital honours. The town of Baltimore itself is distant not more than forty miles from the site selected; but the approvers of Washington as a central and separate, though new point, whence to issue the acts of national legislation, made choice of none of these large towns; and the opinions of such men as Washington, Madison, and Lee, particularly on such a question, must surely be admitted to outweigh all other evidence, and be considered decisive as to the fitness of the spot, (city or no city,) for the end to which it was intended. Moreover, it was in part the fear of dangers incidental to large towns that influenced many of the friends of the new site. In 1783, the United States' Congress were grossly insulted by a mutinous and riotous mob at Philadelphia, which the state authorities and forces were unable to quell; and were compelled, for the prosecution of their deliberations, to adjourn to the halls of the college at Princetown. This circumstance must have powerfully impressed the then American statesmen with a sense of the danger to their institutions which might arise from the dominant influence of the mob, particularly in a country tending to democracy, and in which the national military force was but small. It must also have tended in no inconsiderable degree to facilitate the carrying, in 1790, of the resolution under which the district of Columbia, on the banks of the Potomac, was laid off—surrendered by Maryland and Virginia—and ceded to the general government for the purposes of the Union. Originally this district was ten miles square, but it is now much smaller, in consequence of the portion of land ceded by the state of Virginia having been returned to that state again, by the wish, or with the consent, as I believe, of the inhabitants of the ceded portion, who found that the honour of belonging to the metropolitan district but ill compensated for having their local affairs and interests neglected, while their rulers were looking

after the more commanding and pressing interests of the whole Union, and conducting the business of the general government.

With the exception of the Capitol, the only public buildings in Washington which seemed to me likely to attract attention, from their possession of any amount of architectural beauty, are the President's house, (attractive not so much either on account of its size or beauty, but because it is the state residence of the head of the Republic,) the Patent Office, and the Treasury. The town mansion of the President of the United States—the White House, as it is most frequently, and from its colour, called—is a plain neat building, not unlike the seat of a rich English country gentleman, beautifully situated on the banks of the river Potomac, and surrounded by indifferently kept grounds, extending to about twenty acres. The Patent Office is a handsome, extensive, but unfinished edifice with a Doric portico; and the Treasury is a very striking as well as an exceedingly handsome erection, having a Grecian front with a colonnade of about 460 feet in length.

And now for a few sentences on the *capitol* of the *capital*. In the opinion of many Americans, this erection is considered not merely the finest building in the United States of America, but not inferior to any senate-house in the world; and although I cannot subscribe to so sweeping a eulogium—and it is impossible for any British subject to do so—I certainly do think, and unhesitatingly say, that the Capitol of Washington is a very imposing as well as a very beautiful piece of architecture. Covering as it does an area of an acre and a half, with a frontage (wings included) of 352 feet, of the height (to the top of the dome) of 120 feet, and standing on a site of considerable elevation above the level of the surrounding country, the Capitol is a very magnificent object from whatever side it is viewed. And it returns the compliment; for the finest and most perfect view, not only of the city of Washington, but of the whole circumjacent country, is to be obtained from the dome of the Capitol. This view is really superb, and it is only from this view that one can get anything like a definite idea of the magnificent intentions of the aspiring Frenchman by whom the city of Washington was originally designed. Walking along the road-like streets, it is impossible to get any such graphic idea. They are not like streets: they are unlike, from the insufficiency of the paving. Indeed, with the exception of Pennsylvania Avenue, few of them are paved in any way. They are also unlike from their excessive breadth. With roads which are too broad for streets, and too narrow for squares, there is a singular want of connexion among the streets and houses of the city of Washington.

The interior of the Capitol is plain, but still in harmony with the nobility of the exterior. The Chamber of Representatives is a semi-

circular room, spacious and lofty, and lighted from above; and the Senate Chamber, on the opposite side of the building, is a somewhat smaller room of the same shape. Both are fine as well as imposing in their proportions, and both seem to me excellently adapted for the purposes to which they are devoted. In a different part of the building is the library of Congress, a neat comfortable room of no great size, said to contain some thirty thousand volumes—a handsome number indeed, all circumstances considered, but scarcely worth being chronicled, and communicated as a distinction, when it is remembered that there are nearly thirty libraries in Europe each containing fully a hundred thousand volumes, or more; while the library of the British Museum at London, though only the fourth in Europe in point of extent, contains the extraordinary number of 435,000 volumes. It is, however, not a bad sign of the intelligence of a nation to find them boasting of the extent of their libraries; and, when in the United States, I have often heard what has been called Jonathan's national sin (a habit of boasting) developing itself in a much less defensible and a much more offensive way, though certainly not from the lips of any of the intelligent of America's sons.

In the lower part of the building, and near the United States' Court Hall, my attention was much struck by what I find I have noted as the American School of Architecture. If the invention of an American, it may fairly be so called. The objects alluded to are several columns or pillars, fashioned to represent bundles of Indian corn stalks, and having capitals representing the grain partially stripped, ripe, and open. The effect is fine, and I should like much to see the design carried out in the erection of a building.

The chief attraction of the interior of the Capitol of Washington, is the Rotunda, or entrance-hall, situated under the dome in the centre of the building. This Rotunda is ninety-five feet in diameter as well as in height, and on the walls of it are six pictures of large size —twelve feet by eighteen. These large paintings severally represent The Declaration of Independence, The Surrender of Burgoyne, The Surrender of Cornwallis, Washington resigning his Commission, The Baptism of Pochahontas, and The Embarkation of the Pilgrim Fathers at Plymouth in England, in the little Mayflower. When I visited the scene, there was also a likeness of the President, General Taylor, exhibited in this hall. Of the accuracy and excellence of this painting, not only as a picture but as a good likeness, I had an after as well as an excellent opportunity of judging.

With reference to the second and third of the pictures thus enumerated as ornamenting the Rotunda of the United States' Capitol, I may, as a British subject, be permitted to question the excellence of the taste which selected for such a purpose two scenes from one side of a war, that afforded so many incidents of a conflicting cha-

racter. Looking to the fact that, in this very War of Independence, there were so many instances which might be made the subject of pictorial representation to the effect of exciting feelings of a different kind, and also to the fact that so large a party in Great Britain, including the best and most independent of British statesmen, espoused and advocated the cause of American Independence, even in the British Senate itself, (a fact so well recognised in the States, that I find the following to be one of the printed questions put to the students in history in the common schools in Cincinnati, at the examination for the year ending 30th June 1848, "What British Statesman was conspicuous in espousing the cause of the colonies in Parliament?") more truthful as well as more tasteful embellishments might have been selected. But let not my American friends misunderstand me. I make no complaint of their commemorating, in every possible way, their struggle for independence, and the issue of it. That is not only natural, but noble; and the well-known fact that the war which led to that issue was the most unpopular in Great Britain of any that the British Government ever engaged in, should enhance, instead of detracting from, the pleasure of the commemoration. What I alone complain of is, the selecting, for such national commemoration, individual scenes of personal humiliation out of the numberless incidents of a checkered warfare, conducted against British colonists by the British Government, contrary to the wishes of a large body (if not the majority) of the nation, and notwithstanding the opinions, the remonstrances, and the vaticinations of the illustrious and venerable Lord Chatham, and of a long list of British statesmen of world-renowned eminence. But having resolved so to commemorate the war in question, nothing can be said against the choice of the subjects, particularly by a nation whose places of public resort, and even the streets and squares of whose towns, are filled with mementos, in names, in paintings, and in memorials, commemorative of the many victories by land and by sea which go to make what has been so long considered the national laurels of England. Although the act of Burgoyne (in delivering up the force under his charge) was compelled by circumstances, and accompanied by a condition of safe conduct that entitle it to be regarded rather as a "capitulation" than as a "surrender", there can be no objection to the use of the latter term if its employment gratifies our American friends. Nor can it be objected that they should make choice of this event, and of the subsequent one of Lord Cornwallis's surrender of his army of six thousand men, to the combined forces of France and of America, in preference to choosing a subject for representation from such scenes as the taking of New York, the battle of Germantown, the siege of Ticonderago, the battle of Briars Creek, or even the less decisive affair of Bunker's Hill, or, indeed, any of the varied scenes of the

unfortunate and unnatural contest in which the tide of success between the Royalists and the Independents so often fluctuated.

When upon the subject of the extent of the desire shown by some of our American brethren to over-estimate the doings and daring of their ancestors in the War of Independence, or to obtrude unnecessarily, and with but little taste, the topic in the presence of a British subject, I may be permitted to make a remark which has often occurred to me in reference to the American Declaration of Independence. Few documents are so vaunted by our transatlantic brethren, and few documents deserve to be so lauded, if it be regarded simply as the crowning act of a nation's struggle for liberty. But viewed with reference to the contents of the document itself, I have said, and I do say, that it is very far from containing either an accurate or a dignified statement of the causes which led to the violent separation of the American colonies from the parent state. In particular, it charges upon the King of Great Britain, as an individual, grievances and complaints, and a refusal to give redress, which the framer of the act himself knew well were the results of the doings, not of the king, but of the ministry. Not only so, the Declaration of American Independence charge the King of Great Britain with crimes and with conduct, with acts of cruelty and of perfidy, of which there is not even the shadow of a pretence for alleging him to have been guilty. In adhering to and supporting a ministry who persisted in carrying on a war with our then colonies, notwithstanding one of the most powerful and talented oppositions that any ministry ever had to encounter in the British senate, and even after that war had been shown to be unpopular, and distasteful to the great mass of the nation, George III. did undoubtedly act unwisely. But the act of carrying on the war was that of his ministers, not of himself: and the framer and approvers of the American Declaration themselves knew well, as statesmen, that in a constitutional country like England such was necessarily the fact. Why, then, was not the statement framed in accordance with the fact? I fear the alone answer is, because, in the then state of the public mind, both in America and in Great Britain, it secured more sympathy to affect to represent the contest as invoked, caused, and consummated in the manner it had been, through the headstrong tyranny of a wayward and unfeeling despot. But George III. was no despot; and, whatever his other faults or failings, cruelty and perfidy cannot with truth be classed among them.

The matters and scenes above referred to, however, are now long bygone, with the generation in whose time they were transacted. The incidents connected with them have become matters of history, on which future generations will pass their verdict; and whoever was to blame—either in the beginning, in the conduct, or in regard to the

issue—the wise of both countries seem to be agreed in this, that it is fortunate, both for the parent state and the severed colony, that the separation took place at the time, if not in the manner in which it did.

In the immediate vicinity of the Capitol of Washington stands a gigantic statue to the memory of him who has given his name to the city. The inscription on this monument is dignified and simple. On the one side "First in war," on the other, "First in peace." The statute is colossal, and the attitude striking. Measures are likewise now in progress for erecting in the capital a national testimonial, on a very extensive scale, to commemorate the services and virtues of this the greatest of the framers and defenders of the American confederation.

A transition from the description of the capital of a nation, to the consideration of the form of government, is so natural, that explanation of motives for the introduction of the latter subject were unnecessary, did not the obvious importance of the topic justify the mention of the fact, that the views to be now recorded are the results, not merely of impressions formed when in America, and from what I saw there, but of a study of the republican constitution of the United States, years before I put my foot on their shores. Before visiting the great republic, I enjoyed some acquaintance with the writings of its distinguished jurists. I had read myself into the belief that the constitution of the Federal Union of America ranked very high among the achievements of modern wisdom. A close inspection of the machinery in actual operation has not dispelled this opinion, although it has modified it on all points, and corrected it in some.

When, in the year 1787, twelve years after their Declaration of Independence, the deputies of the then United States of America finally agreed to and subscribed the Deed of Constitution, a course was adventured on, and a form of government ratified, for which there was no favourable prestige in the history of the past. Confederated republics have never yet reached an old age of national existence. Not to occupy time and space by more than a passing allusion to federal unions obscurely mentioned in the pages of more ancient history, it suffices here to refer to that of the Grecian republics, whose early dissolution arose more from the corroding influences of internal jealousy, and from conflicting interests, than from the violent assaults of foreign aggression; or to the confederation of the United Provinces of Holland in later days, which only found an end to domestic dissension by taking refuge in a monarchical form of government.

It was not, therefore, in the light of the past that the fathers and framers of the American constitution could gather their hope of permanency for their young republic. They adhered, however, to their resolution to form a united confederation; and prejudice itself cannot deny that nobly was that resolve carried into execution. Nay more,

if ever a republican form of government was to succeed, it was surely in such circumstances as were here combined. Never, in the annals of the world, was the experiment made under happier auspices, or with brighter and better founded hopes. One solitary cloud dimmed the azure brightness of the horizon of the young republic. The existence of slavery, in about one moiety of the States, was the only source whence there could be dread of danger to the constitution; and, "small as a man's hand" as that cloud was, it could only be the far-seeing who could from it derive the presentiment, that something might yet occur to raise a conflict of interests and of views sufficient to put an end to the close union and entire harmony that, in 1787, bound together the confederated states. Otherwise, all bade fair for future domestic peace and weal. The authors of the constitutional articles were men of cool heads and patriot hearts; and the tender republic was to be tried on a clear stage, in a new world, and afar from those conflicting elements of kingly or of oligarchical growth, which might have impeded its development had the formation of a confederated republic been attempted in any part of Europe. Nay more—the success of the experiment has, up to the present hour, justified the anticipations of the authors of the American constitution; and I entertain a strong opinion that, if from any source serious danger menaces the confederacy of the United States, and threatens to disturb its integrity, this fact arises more from the effect of inroads which have from time to time been made on the principles of the constitution, than from any defect inherent in that document itself. I have said that, from a somewhat early period of my life, I had been a student of the constitution of the United States, and that, although not an advocate for republican forms of government in the abstract, I had, ere I visited the Union, formed a high opinion of its wisdom. Indeed, it would be difficult to frame a more complete form of republican government than that of the American Federal Union; or to point out a case of difficulty which is not comprehended, and provided for, in some part or other of the seven articles of the constitution of the United States, or of the amendments thereon. In republican theory, it is perfect. But has it been as perfect in its operation or execution? It certainly has not; and the reason it has not been so is, in the opinion of the writer, to be found, not in any defects in the constitution itself, but in the manner in which its working has been interfered with by conflicting claims, set up by individual states, on the general plea and principle that, in joining the Union, they had reserved their independency. In particular, the nullification doctrine strangely but ably advocated by Mr. Calhoun, as the organ and mouthpiece of the Southern States, and, since his declaration of it, resorted to on every occasion of a difference between the general government and an individual state—ofttimes for the

most unworthy of party purposes—strikes at the very vitals of the constitution of the United States of America. By that doctrine it is maintained that, when the federal government, sitting in Congress, shall pass a law which, in the opinion of any individual state, exceeds the powers conferred by the constitution, it is the province, and within the power, of the legislature of that state to stay the progress of the law, by declaring it to be of no effect—by nullifying its operation within such state's own particular territories. It is true that the existence of this alleged state right has never been formally recognised; indeed, to some extent it has been repudiated by the general government. One of the most brilliant efforts of the truly great Webster has been devoted to illustrating its incompatibility with the very existence of the general government. But the snake is scotched, not killed. From time to time it is constantly recurring and rearing up its head, impeding the action of the legislature, and destroying the supremacy of the constitution. Great Britain treated with the United States' Government relative to the amicable settlement of a question of boundary, of little value to the Republic, and still less to England. A reference of the dispute was made between the two high contracting parties. But the negotiations were almost marred, and the two countries nearly involved in warfare about some miles of mountain land, because of the interposition of a third party or negotiant in the independent state of Maine! Again, the federal government of the United States established a tariff; but the terms of it pleased not the State of South Carolina, and that independent member of the ill-cemented body politic disapproved of, and consequently nullified the law. The consequence was an alteration of the general tariff, to conciliate one recusant or refractory state, and (for at the time it seemed a probable thing, from the attitude assumed by the powerful State of South Carolina) prevent the possibility of an internecine war. Instances to the same effect might be multiplied, but these two suffice to illustrate the general position which is at present the alone object in view.

But it is no defect in the "constitution of the United States" that gives rise to these and to other difficulties in its practical working. All the consideration I can give the subject leads to the conclusion that, apart from the general question of slavery, which is one *per se*, the only source of embarrassment is, that while, by the letter of the constitution, sufficient powers have been conferred on the general government, that spirit of party which is the bane of any country, and especially of America—in which there is always so numerous an army of placemen, hangers-on, and expectants—has led to the putting forth, on the part of individual states, of claims to a degree of "independence" and "reserved right," which is absolutely incompatible with the full, free exercise of the

powers conferred by the constitution upon the central government. To give power to arrange all matters of "duties, imposts, and excises," is of no great use, provided those to be most affected by their operations are to be entitled to declare the arrangements null after they have been made. To be authorized to make treaties, and "regulate commerce with foreign nations," is of little avail, if the individual member of the confederation whose territory may be most affected by the treaty or regulation is entitled to interpose its veto, or equally effective refusal of accession or acquiescence. And authority "to establish post-offices, and make post-roads," is but an empty permission, if the general government are not permitted to assess for the formation and maintenance of such utilities, save under the risk of having the law nullified by some individual state, which may be unwilling to bear its share of the expense.

In a word, it may be too much to say that the doctrine of nullification and the democratic theory of reserved state rights is destructive of the American union; but it is certainly not too much to affirm that they contain elements of dissension; and that, carried to their legitimate extent, they may prove utterly inconsistent with all vigour of government. A general governing power, fettered by such a restrictive principle, can scarcely expect to continue "powerful at home and respected abroad." That these effects have not been more clearly manifested in the past history of the great republic of America, I attribute to these causes—that, wedded together in love and mutual forbearance by the trying ordeal of the Revolutionary War, the original states of the confederation were long ere they permitted the agitation of any question that would disturb their consociation or repose; that it has been the good destiny of the United States to have had at the head of their affairs, with but few exceptions, men of patriotic hearts, sound heads, and tried business habits; and that, whenever conflict has been likely to arise between the general government and a refractory state, some judicious means have been found for reconciling the recusants, or evading the difficulty without bringing the question to a decisive issue or arbitrament. Even while I write, the monster republic is assailed with a greater difficulty, and a stronger chance of disunion, than it has had to encounter in any of the darkest years of its bypast history; and sure am I that there is no one with a heart to feel, and a capacity to understand, who fails to admire the efforts of American statesmen of all creeds and classes to allay the storm, and to find out, if they can, some standing ground of honest and honourable compromise and mutual concession.

But the preceding observations on the constitution of the United States are not intended to convey the impression that, in the wri-

ter's opinion, the American Republic is in imminent danger of being dismembered and disunited. No doubt the day of separation may come—anticipating the future destinies of the land of "stars and stripes" by the analogies of the past, it would seem almost a certainty that the time when it will be divided must arrive. Looking to the already vast extent of the United States' territory, and to the great additions lately made thereto, the conclusion is scarcely to be resisted that, at some period or other, it will form the abode of more than one of the nations of the earth. Reflecting on the entire separation and severance of the pecuniary interests, and the difference in the personal habits of the northern from those of the southern states, it would seem a strange event that such materials could be permanently wedded into an enduring entireness; and, considering the firm stand assumed by the respective champions of the two great parties that now contend for dominance, it would seem hopeless to expect that the day of disunion among the heterogeneous materials comprised within the great union of North America can be indefinitely postponed.

But, despite these admissions, I am not one of those who anticipate an early secession of one part of the confederacy from the other—nay more, (and while I by no means think that a peaceful separation would materially interfere with the rapid advancement, either of the north or of the south, of the east or of the far west, or lead to those anarchical results generally predicated as likely to follow the dismemberment of the American confederation,) I would, were I an American as I am a Briton, regard a severance of the Federative Union, albeit an amicable or at least a peaceful one, as the greatest calamity that could possibly befall my great and rising country. I cannot conceive that there is an American to be found who is not more or less imbued with this feeling. What heart does not respond to the thrilling sentiments beautifully expressed by Mr. Webster, when he says, "Who is there among us that, if he should find himself on any spot of the earth where human beings exist, and where the existence of other nations is known, would not be proud to say, 'I am an American, I am a countryman of Washington, I am a citizen of that republic which, although it has suddenly sprung up, yet there are none on the globe who have ears to hear and have not heard of it, who know anything and yet do not know of its existence and its glory.' And, gentlemen," adds he, "let me reverse the picture; let me ask who is there among us that, if he were to be found to-morrow in one of the civilised countries of Europe, and was there to learn that this goodly form of government had been overthrown—that the United States were no longer united, that a death-blow had been struck upon the bond of union, that they themselves had destroyed their chief good and

their chief honour—who is there whose heart would not sink within him? Who is there who would not cover his face for very shame?" There will be no doubt about the beauty of the passage I have thus quoted, and there can be as little doubt of its truth. Throughout this record of my impressions, I have endeavoured to avoid saying anything as to the peculiarities of mind and manners exhibited by the Americans as a people—not deeming the time spent by me among them sufficient to justify prominent allusions to such matters. But I have already elsewhere remarked, that there are few privileges an American citizen views with such complaceny, as his membership of the Union—the privilege of calling himself a citizen of the American confederacy. This fact lies too much on the surface to escape the notice of the most casual observer. The Englishman, the Scotchman, or the Irishman have each their separate subject of glorification connected with their several lands of the rose, the thistle, and the shamrock, even while they unite in the anthem of "Rule Britannia." But the national boast of the genuine American is, not that he belongs to New York, Massachusetts, Kentucky, or Ohio; it is that he is an American—a citizen of the United States' confederation—a native of the country which gave birth and fame to Washington, and a denizen of that land whose standard is "the star-spangled banner." This feeling is the chord so beautifully and effectively touched by Mr. Webster; it is one very generally prevalent throughout the United States, and the extent to which it prevails is one of the causes to which I look for a greater permanency to the Federal Union of America than has been by some thought probable. Even slavery itself—even the restlessness of the North under this blot on the national escutcheon, and its anxiety to wipe it off, conflicting with the determination of the South to stand by and to support it—will not suffice to countervail against the principle to which I have referred. In the last war with Great Britain, the States stood together at a time when their union was most severely tried, through the fact of the war being adverse to the most obvious interests of at least one section of the confederation; and, dark as is the cloud which at present menaces the integrity of the American Union, I do not doubt but that, under the auspices of such men as Clay and Webster, some measure of compromise and conciliation will yet be found, consistent alike with the principles of the North, the honour of the South, and the safety of both. No doubt, this question of slavery is the difficulty of the American Union. It is the "Irish question" of the American Legislature. Nay, more, it has difficulties connected with it, or arising from it, separate and independent of the question of the integrity of the central power, which has been already shortly considered. The very manner in which

so very keen a discussion upon the American slave question has been grafted on the consideration of a motion for the admission of California as a member of the Republican Union, proves how important and how intense the feeling which pervades the States upon this subject undoubtedly is. California having herself resolved on a constitution which excluded slavery, there was no absolute necessity for mixing up the question of her admission into the family of states with the general topic which divides the North from the South. It might be natural, but it was not necessary so to do. It might have been avoided, had the South and its Congressional leaders so willed. If there be, in the form of California's application to be admitted to the privileges of brotherhood, anything irregular and at variance with the constitution (as Mr. Calhoun alleges,) it was easy to have discussed the motion or resolution on that ground alone; and precedents are to be found in the admission of earlier states of the confederation, which might have been held authoritative on the subject. But that the fact was not so, and that the application of the American *El Dorado*, or golden region, has been made the signal for sounding the tocsin on the question of slavery throughout the Union, powerfully and eloquently evidences the strength of the feelings entertained upon the subject, by the two great parties who divide between them the influence of the confederation. That such has been the case is to be attributed mainly to the South, and, in part at least, it is charged against them as a fault. I have elsewhere expressed a sympathy with the position in which the inhabitants of the Southern States (many of them privately and on principle opposed to slavery,) feel themselves to be placed. But, at the same time, they are chiefly accountable for the excitement which at present agitates the Union; and, inasmuch as the question which has created it is one which seems to have been at present raised without adequate cause or imperious necessity, the originating of it may be regarded as a political mistake, and consequently a fault.

But whatever its destinies for the future, prejudice itself cannot deny that the past history of the American Federal Union has been one of scarcely paralleled prosperity. For above sixty years it has been found compatible with, if not conducive to, the most rapid advancement in wealth and in population that was ever recorded in the historic annals of any people. Since its constitution was subscribed by the Deputies in 1787, the Republic of North America has acted with a closeness of union, and a rapidity of increase, which contrasts most strikingly with the internal wars and back-going tendencies which have been at work to retard the advancement of the numerous republics to be seen in the southern portion of the same great continent. That such has been the good destiny of the North American

Union is, I apprehend, mainly to be attributed to the wisdom of the articles of its constitution of 1787, and to the strength and solidity of the central power thereby created. Of that constitution it was remarked by Franklin, at the time he signed it, "I consent to this constitution because I expect no better, and because I am not sure it is not the best;" and by Washington himself, the chairman of the Convention, that, "In the aggregate, it is the best constitution that can be obtained at this epoch." The words in which these great men thus couched their eulogy of the production they were themselves mainly instrumental in fashioning, may seem to argue something like moderate expections of well-working and permanency. It is therefore all the more satisfactory to know that, tested by the experience of nearly two generations of men, the federal constitution thus ushered into the world—after a few months' sederunt of the deputies who formed it—has been, if not productive of, at least entirely consistent with, an unusually large amount of national prosperity and advancement in all that adorns or dignifies a national career.

With these few observations on the sources whence alone danger may be anticipated to the integrity of the constitution of the United States, I again declare myself an admirer of that constitution; and it is because I am so, and that I desire its stability and continuance, that I bring my notes upon it to a termination, by remarking, by way of moral—That he who would conserve the permanency of the federal union of the American States, must strengthen the hands of the General Government. For reasons greatly too numerous to permit of their consideration being adventured on here, there are no grounds for fear of the central power proving too strong for that of the individual states of which it is the keystone; but there are at least some reasons for supposing that the centrifugal forces of the independent members of the body politic may prove too powerful for the centripetal attraction which directs their energies towards a common centre.

CHAPTER XIV.

"But midst the crowd, the hum, the shock of men,
To hear, to see, to feel, and to possess,
And roam along, the world's tired denizen."

BYRON.

"May Government never degenerate into a mob, nor mobs grow strong enough to become governments."—SAM SLICK'S TOAST.

LEAVING Washington, after an inspection of its environs sufficient to satisfy me of the fact that, although the site of the city is well chosen, the land by which it is surrounded is poor, and incapable of high cultivation, I returned to Baltimore, thence to Philadelphia,

and thence to New York, adopting, as I have already said, a return route from Philadelphia different from the one I had taken in my way up to the capital. I have however already said, regarding both the "monumental" and the "Quaker" city, all that I think likely to interest the general reader, and my return journey was not marked by any peculiar incidents, or by the sight of any particular novelty.

The return to New York afforded me an opportunity of visiting such scenes in it as had been omitted (through want of invitation or suggestion) on the occasion of my first visit. Amongst these was the place of resort known to the New York populace under the cognomen of "the Castle Garden," a place of public entertainment erected on a mole, and connected with the "Battery" by a bridge. This mole was formerly occupied as a fortress, to aid in protecting the harbour; but it is now made use of as a place of amusement; the area of it being chiefly occupied as the site of a great amphitheatre, capable, the guide-books say, of containing ten thousand persons, and certainly calculated to give sitting or standing room to a multitude little short of that number. Attracted thither by the announcement of an Oratorio, and the seductive promise of the melodious strains of a brass band of surpassing excellence, I wandered to the place, alone and unknown. Farther, however, than hearing the beautiful anthem of "Old Hundred" very creditably played, and enjoying its performance much, (albeit the sound of the instruments was somewhat interfered with by the noise from the eating and drinking of the numerous parties who were engaged refreshing nature within the gigantic erection,) there was nothing seen or heard within the Castle Garden of New York that would justify or require more prominent notice.

The inquiring visitor to the commercial emporium of America may be induced to direct his investigations to the state of crime and pauperism in that city; and if he does so, he will be somewhat startled on the subject of the latter, particularly if he has left the Old Country under the idea that, in coming to a new one, he has left destitution behind him. In a report to the municipal authorities of New York by Mr. Matsell, (the chief of the New York police,) in 1849, it is stated that, in eleven police districts, there existed 2955 children without the visible means of support—homeless, houseless wanderers, who are forced, either by their parents, or by poverty and want of protection, to the perpetration of crime for their subsistence. Mr. Matsell further states that, of these, two-thirds are girls of from eleven to sixteen years of age. The free coloured population of New York, in particular, is a class that largely contributes to fill the ranks of mendicity. The condition of these poor people is indeed, and in many respects,

deeply to be deplored. Looked down upon and despised, as they unquestionably are by the great mass of the white population, they form a kind of Pariah tribe amidst the rest of the community. Though freemen, they cannot be said to possess, much less to enjoy, the inestimable blessings which the term "freedom" conveys to the mind of a resident in these isles, where

"No slave ever trod."

And if one-fourth of the details heard by me, from intelligent, influential residents in the city of New York, were true, the statement of Mr. Hayne, (one of the senators of South Carolina) is not very greatly exaggerated, when he said that "there does not exist on the face of the whole earth a population so poor, so wretched, so vile, so loathsome, so utterly destitute of all the comforts, conveniences, and decencies of life, as the unfortunate Blacks of Philadelphia, and New York, and Boston." In the same speech (delivered in 1830) Mr. Hayne says, "I have seen, in the neighbourhood of one of the most moral, religious, and refined cities of the north, a family of free Blacks driven to the caves of the rocks, and there obtaining a precarious subsistence from charity and plunder."

Having remained a short time longer in New York, during which I confirmed or corrected opinions formed during my first visit, visited some additional scenes, enjoyed the society of kind and esteemed friends, saw enough of the New York ladies to convince me that the reputation they enjoy for elegance of deportment and beauty of countenance is fully warranted, and had some opportunities of satisfying myself as to the handsome, nay, extremely luxurious manner in which the mercantile aristocracy (and it is beyond all question that there is both an aristocracy of birth and an aristocracy of wealth in the great republic) of New York in general live, I proceeded in the steamer Massachusetts to Stonington, *en route* for the city of Boston, the chief town in Massachusetts, and the capital of New England.

The sail to Stonington is through the once famed and much dreaded strait which lies at the west end of Long Island Sound, about eight miles east of New York, and which is called by the more descriptive than polite name of Hell-gate. The passage is narrow and tortuous; and a bed of rocks below, which extends quite across the river, causes the water to boil and struggle with considerable violence. But Hell-gate, however useful to terrorists in days gone by, or advantageous to novelists as a weapon of excitement in latter days—or of however difficult navigation, even now, to sailing vessels—has to the traveller by steam, and in such a vessel as the good steamer Massachusetts, lost not only its dan-

ger, but all the romance of its interest. Whether it was my sense of security, or my recent introduction to the whirlpool of Niagara and the rapids of the St. Lawrence, that produced the result, I know not; but the result certainly was, that, during the passage of the Hell-gate, or Hurl-gate, I felt neither an extraordinary shaking, nor any unusual sensation whatever, as, racing with another steamer, (which eventually outstripped us,) our steamship hurried through the turbulent waters, beating them down with her paddle-wheels, and tossing them aside, as if in her impatience to get into the more open sea.

The sail from New York to Stonington—a distance of one hundred and twenty-five miles, through the entire length of Long Island Sound, and with Long Island on the one side, and the State of Connecticut on the other—is exceedingly pleasing. It did not, however, in my case at least, afford anything farther to chronicle, either in the way of description or of narrative.

From Stonington the traveller proceeds by railway to Boston, the distance being ninety miles. This railway was unquestionably the best, and the best appointed one, I travelled on during my excursion through the United States. I might with truth add, that my good fortune in this part of my journeyings was not confined to the excellence of the railway travelled on. It extended to the fellow passengers—ladies as well as gentlemen—whom I had the pleasure to meet with as fellow travellers on the Stonington and Long Island Railway. This passing tribute is due to one family party in particular, to whose intelligent courtesies I was, as a solitary stranger, indebted in this part of my journeyings, and who considerately and politely offered me much information I might not otherwise have so easily procured. Save that the individual members of the travelling party referred to were residents of Boston, or its neighbourhood, I had no proper means of ascertaining who or what they were. But whoever they were, they embodied much intelligence, as well as much beauty. But it was not only on this occasion that, in the course of my tour, I had been indebted to natives of the good city of Boston. Even before reaching New Orleans, an accidental rencontre had led to an acquaintance with two young fellow travellers, both of them from Boston, and with whom I parted in the crescent city with considerable regret. Again, at the Springs of Saratoga, I had made the acquaintance of a gentleman of the same town, whom I had afterwards the pleasure of meeting in his native place. So that, although I could not go the length of an English friend—one who, while he carried about with him most of the excellencies, entertained also not a few of the sturdy prejudices of John Bull—when he asserted (even from the few specimens of Bostoniana we had met with when travelling together) that the Boston men were decidedly the most gentle-

manlike in person and in manners of any in the Union, I was in every way predisposed for favourable impressions of Boston and its inhabitants. Indeed, so strongly was my temporary companion impressed with this idea of the superior republican graces of the Bostonians, that he one day said to me at Niagara, in reference to a somewhat distingué party, consisting of two ladies and two gentlemen, who joined the dinner table—"I feel sure these people are either English or Bostonians." Whatever the citizens of Boston may think of the compliment, I can assure them it was a very high one in the opinion of its author. But while I cannot, in justice to my friends in sundry other cities and towns of the American Union, give the inhabitants of the capital of Massachusetts so exclusive a place in the field of American intelligence or elegance, I can honestly say, that my limited experience of Boston and its society has left a most favourable impression on my mind, and excited in me a strong desire to repeat my visit.

But it is not merely on account of the society of Boston, or of personal reminiscences connected with some of its denizens, that I drew near the capital of Massachusetts with more interest than I had approached any other locality in the American Union. In visiting the seaboard of the state of Massachusetts, the English or Scottish traveller must surely feel that he is approaching almost to hallowed ground.

The Pilgrim Fathers—where is there the understanding that can appreciate liberty of conscience, or the heart that can denounce oppression, or feel for the oppressed, that does not sympathise with their struggles, and respect their heaven-directed and heaven-supported heroism? On an autumnal day in the year 1620, one hundred and one persons, men, women, and children, all inclusive—themselves the winnowings of a larger body who had previously made the same attempt, but had been obliged to put back owing to the frailty and unseaworthiness of their ships—set sail from the port of Plymouth, in England, to cross the broad Atlantic in the Mayflower, a vessel of only one hundred and eighty tons burthen. These emigrants became so for conscience sake; and that they felt in all their intensity those ties of country and of home which are to be found in nearly every human breast, may well be gathered from the fact, that one of the earliest acts done by them after their arrival at their far-off home across the waters—done even while as yet distracted by the pressing temporal necessities of their position—was to draw up a voluntary declaration, or deed of constitution, in which they acknowledged themselves the subjects of the pedant monarch whose blind adhesion to a fancied prerogative, and whose insane attempt to establish an impossible uniformity, had driven them forth to the then inhospitable wilderness of the New World. In this document,

these early English settlers of America expressly set forth that their voyage had been undertaken "for the glory of God, the advancement of the Christian name, and the honour of their king and country." The "Pilgrims," by whom this work of Christian colonization was adventured on, are correctly described by the United States' historian, Bancroft, (vol. i. p. 307,) as "Englishmen, Protestants, exiles for religion, men disciplined by misfortune, cultivated by opportunities of extensive observation, equal in rank as in rights, and bound by no code but that which might be imposed by religion, or might be created by the public will."

About the middle of November in the same year, the small but resolved band came in sight of the American continent. The land at which they first touched now forms part of the state of Massachusetts; and even here there is something to indicate that the bark which bore them was heaven-directed. When they set out from England their intention had been to proceed southward, at least as far as the mouth of the Hudson river, and there to settle, somewhere, in all probability, about the place where the town of New York now stands. Had they succeeded in this design, it is little less than certain that one and all of them would have fallen victims to the comparatively numerous and warlike Indians who were afterwards found to inhabit Long Island and its vicinity. But no such danger awaited the little band in the more northern haven into which Providence had sent them. The territory about Cape Cod, and for a long distance inwards from the coast, had been sometime previously devastated by a pestilence, under the withering effects of which nearly the whole of its savage occupants and original owners had sunk into the tomb. So much had the country been depopulated that, (to use the graphic but touching phraseology of the journal which describes the proceedings of these colonists during the first winter of their location in America, when narrating the results of an exploring expedition immediately after their arrival,) "after this we digged in sundry like places, but found no more corn—*nor anything else but graves.*" It seems to me that there is something in this worthy of being pondered over. The Pilgrims had left their native land—the land of their forefathers, and of their fondest associations—and crossed the broad Atlantic to a far-off country, of which they knew little more than this, that it was a land of vast extent, and comparatively uninhabited; and a land in which, in some way or other, their own country claimed a right of property. They had done this for conscience sake, and because they would not give way to a compelled uniformity in matters of public worship, when they thought it sinful so to do. And now that the step was taken, the God they served had guided their bark in a direction somewhat contrary to their intentions, and so as to prevent them from being either

themselves butchered by savage cruelty, or compelled to assert their independence by force, and to commence the establishment of their commonwealth with hands imbrued in the blood of the previous occupants of the soil. The pestilence had driven out the red men, irrespective of the white man's approach. His lease had been brought to a termination by the hand that gave it him, and the Pilgrim Fathers of New England were the appointed successors to the red man's inheritance.

But it were altogether out of place to prosecute here this interesting subject any further, or to follow the career of these earliest emigrants to New England, from the formation of their first settlement at Plymouth, (so called after their English port of departure,) on the shores of Cape Cod Bay, in 1620, till, by their own expansion, and the introduction of other and not in all cases favourable or congenial elements, their descendants and successors expanded into the numbers that now occupy the fertile townships of the states Massachusetts and Connecticut. Neither would I have it to be inferred that, in so adding my humble tribute to that of others, in vindication of the high principles and noble motives that animated the first settlers on the New England shores, and that induced them to seek for themselves and their descendants a home on the other side of the broad Atlantic, I desire to claim for them any higher measure of praise than I would for the many equally noble and devoted men who saw it to be their privilege, as well as their duty, to remain in the country of their forefathers, to contend against a spiritual despotism, and to fight for the establishment of entire liberty of creed or conscience—not only for themselves but also for their fellow countrymen—and who, by so remaining and so contending, achieved their end. Were it requisite to make choice between the two, and to apportion to either class, at the expense of the other, the greater meed of praise, it would be a difficult task to perform. If the Puritans who emigrated encountered the storms of the Atlantic in a small vessel at a stormy period of the year, together with the dangers and difficulties of establishing themselves in a new and barbarous northern country at the commencement of a winter season, they, by so doing, secured at once for themselves and their descendants entire freedom of person and of conscience, besides escaping the dangers of an unequal contest with a bigot king, a subservient ministry, and an oppressive priesthood. If the Puritans who remained at home escaped the storms which the little Mayflower encountered on the voyage across the then unfrequented Atlantic Ocean, or the difficulties which beset the Pilgrims, particularly during the first winter of their settlement, they encountered persecution, and penury, and prison (besides worse evils) at home, and they did this not merely for themselves, but for others. Thanks be to God! both succeeded in

their endeavours. The one laid the foundation for liberty of conscience and of worship in the desert, the other established the same principles on the ruins of a spiritual despotism.

But not to prosecute the subject farther, I have deemed myself justified in making these few remarks as to the parties by whom, and the circumstances under which, this part of the continent of North America was first colonised, because I regard the Pilgrim Fathers of New England as the noblest body of pioneers that ever went forth from any land on a mission of liberty; and to account sufficiently for the interest with which I have long viewed all that relates to this particular portion of the American Union.

BOSTON.

The city of Boston, however, was not established by the first of the Pilgrim emigrants. The parties who settled it may, indeed, be distinguished from the emigrants by the Mayflower by "some shades of theological opinion." Nor was it until 1630, ten years after the arrival of the first pilgrims at Cape Cod, that Boston was settled under the auspices of a company constituted in England under the title of the Massachusetts Company, and holding a charter from King Charles I., who, it has been remarked, strangely enough "established by this charter an independent provisional government within his own dominions, at the very time he was seeking to overthrow the chief privileges which the British constitution secured, and was entering on a contest which involved the absolute supremacy of Crown or Parliament."

I had almost feared disappointment on the occasion of my visit to the capital of the five populous states included within the limits of New England. Having heard so much of it and of its beauty, from natives and others, I scarce expected that it would come up to the ideal formed of it. But it was not so. I was much pleased—in many particulars delighted. The situation might not equal the preconception; for, although the town lies in a kind of crescent around the harbour, and the country beyond rises gradually, yet the rise is neither so regular nor so great as to give a fine view of the city from any part of the streets or harbours. But the private houses are so handsome, and so well appointed; the shops are so good, and apparently so well stocked; and the inhabitants, male and female, seemed, as a body, to be so well dressed and cleanly, and withal so cheerful and healthful, that, at the very first promenade and drive I had about the town of Boston, I was most favourably and agreeably impressed. Moreover, there seemed to be the union of an academic air with a business-like activity about this city, that I had not observed in any other of the towns of the United States or of Canada.

But perhaps it was the knowledge of the fact that Harvard University was in the immediate neighbourhood, and that I had the honour of an introduction to one of the Professors there—to Professor Longfellow, whose contributions to the literary world have given him a deserved fame, which is as great in Europe as it can be in America—that threw such a classic halo round my first impressions of the city of Boston.

Among the many celebrities of Boston, seen by me on the occasion of my visit, I find in my note-book prominent mention made of the following:—(1.) The common; a verdant park containing above forty acres of ground, and having in the centre of it a pond with a recently erected *jet d'eau*. This pleasure-ground is situated in the western or more fashionable part of the city, for Boston has followed the European, if not the invariable, rule of moving westward. In its vicinity are the residences of some of the principal inhabitants of the state, together with a mansion displaying greater antiquity than its neighbours, and shown among the lions of Boston as once the residence of John Hancock, the first President of the United States of America, and one of the most conspicuous men of the Revolutionary period. (2.) In the same locality stands also the State House of Massachusetts, from the lofty dome of which is obtained a remarkably fine view of Boston and the surrounding country. In this State House there is a pedestrian statue of Washington, from the studio of Chantrey. Of all the statues of Washington in which America abounds, this appeared to me to be the most natural, easy, and graceful. It reminded me not a little of the statue to the British statesman, George Canning, to be seen in Westminster Hall, and it impressed me fully as much as did that other beautiful production of Chantrey's art.

When on the subject of statues to Washington, I may here record a remark I find entered by me among my memoranda, shortly before I uttered the unwelcome "farewell," when leaving the shores of the United States. Nearly everywhere you go, there are statues to Washington—stone, marble, and even wood, are put in requisition, to multiply representations of him. All this is very right. No one contemplates with greater veneration than I do the character of the great and good George Washington, and no one more earnestly wishes that statesmen, on both sides of the Atlantic, were more gifted with his noble, disinterested, and far-seeing spirit. In a word, I fully acquiesce in the whole of Henry (Lord) Brougham's eloquent eulogium, and entirely concur with him when he says, after quoting Washington's latest words—"It will be the duty of the historian and the sage, in all ages, to omit no occasion of commemorating this illustrious man; and, until time shall be no more, will a test of the progress which our race has made in

wisdom and in virtue be derived from the veneration paid to the immortal name of Washington." Therefore would I say to all, and to his countrymen especially—Commemorate Washington and his heroic virtues in every possible way; display by all means you can—by pictures, by monuments, and by statues—your veneration for his name. But there is no necessity for stopping there. *Toujours perdrix*—without any intermixture—is apt to produce a feeling of sameness, if not satiety. There is no necessity for confining yourselves so much as you have done, even to Washington. No doubt, as yet, the United States of America has not a very lengthened catalogue of illustrious names. The comparative shortness of her course, as a nation, precludes the possibility of her having such a list. But still she has many names which well deserve not only a place in a nation's gratitude, but some substantial token of a nation's regard. Even among Washington's military compatriots, there were several men deserving of some national testimonial or tribute of respect; and young as the United States of America are as an independent nation, she is nevertheless rich in the possession of various names of high rank in the annals of literature, art, and science, to the commemoration of whose labours, for the benefit of their country and kind, some part of the funds and of the gratitude of the nation might fittingly be devoted. To speak of such men, in reference to the whole of the American Union, were too wide a field. But to confine the observation to this particular state of Massachusetts. Among the earlier founders of the state as a colony, the name and fame of Governor Bradford stands deservedly high. He was the first historian of the Pilgrim Fathers, and he died in 1657, "lamented," says Mather, "by all the colonies of New England, as a common father to them all," and leaving behind him a library of 275 volumes, which may be considered as the first library of which mention is made in the chronicles of America. In the same early list will be found also the name of John Winthrop, the first governor of the colony established under King Charles' charter, on the site now occupied by the city of Boston: of whom it has been remarked, that his character for ability, religion, and moderation was so generally appreciated, that "he was admired not only throughout New England, but in the mother country, and at court;" and of whom Charles I. observed, "That it was a pity that such a worthy gentleman should be no better accommodated than with the hardships of America."

No doubt, a marble monument, erected to the memory of Bradford, adorns the spot on Burial Hill, Plymouth, where lie the mortal remains of himself and of his son; and in the King's Chapel burying-ground, Tremont Street, Boston, there is a monu-

ment over a grave, which records the fact that there repose the ashes of "John Winthrop, Governor of Massachusetts, who died in 1649." But it seems to me these tributes are of too private a nature, considering the claims and excellencies of the men whose memories they are designed to perpetuate; and that, with their monumental taste, the Bostonians might devote some part of their funds to the adorning of their really fine city with testimonials to men like these. Or, to come down to more recent times—to times when America had assumed a separate identity, and an independent position as a nation—Benjamin Franklin, at once one of the most celebrated philosophers, and one of the clearest-headed politicians, of the age in which he lived, was a native of Boston; and the late lamented Justice Story, if not a native of the city or of the state, at least lived and laboured in Boston for a large part of his life. With such and similar claims upon their gratitude, the inhabitants of Massachusetts have certainly no reason for arguing that their commemoration of the merits and services of their ancestors is confined to Washington by the necessity of the case. Similar remarks might be made in reference to many of the other states of the American Confederacy; and, without questioning for a moment the propriety of erecting so many testimonials to the name and fame of the "Liberator," it were only as well and as creditable to remember others of the great departed.

The name of Boston savours strongly of the old England reminiscences, which Governor Winthrop and his fellow colonists brought with them to the woods and wilds of America. The Indian name of this particular locality in which the town stands was Shawmut, or the Living Fountain; and the circumstances which are supposed to have led to the selection of the spot, were the vicinity to the sea, the abundance of pure water, and the swelling though not lofty summits afterwards called Copps Hill, Fort Hill, and Beacon Hill, which, being three in number, have in their turn given rise to the name of Tremont, with which the streets, hotels, squares, and places in Boston, and some neighbouring towns, are so very liberally supplied.

But passing in rapid review, (1) Harvard College, which is situated about three miles from Boston, and is the oldest college in the States, (having been incorporated in 1638, in consequence of a legacy of £779 17*s.* 2*d.* left for the purpose by the Rev. John Harvard,) and which, from a beginning so humble, has risen so far that it now comprises an academical institution, halls of law, of divinity, and of medicine, with several libraries, containing together about 40,000 volumes; (2) Faneuil Hall, left to the town by a gentleman of the name of Faneuil, which contains a portrait of Washington, and also one of the donator of the building; (3)

The Custom-House, a large fine building in the Doric style of architecture; and other objects to which the stranger's attention in Boston is generally, or will be naturally directed, I would linger for a little over an attempt to describe Boston Cemetery, situated at Mount Auburn.

I have already said that, during my visit to the United States of America, I saw many burying grounds of exceeding beauty and appropriate quietude; and I trust it is not a mere appetite for melancholy musings, but a principle which declares it to be true wisdom to mingle sadness with mirth, that has engendered in me somewhat of a taste for visiting such scenes. But whether it be that my frame of mind, at the time I visited Mount Auburn Cemetery, predisposed me to be favourably impressed with the characteristics of the scene, or that I was peculiarly fortunate in the society in which I visited it, certain it is, that I know of no last resting-place for the departed, that rises to my mind as containing more of the elements of an appropriate scene of repose, after the turmoil and the care of life are over. It was on the evening previous to my leaving America that I so visited the Cemetery at Mount Auburn. Causes personal to myself had depressed my spirits to a somewhat unusual degree; and in complying with my request, by taking their afternoon drive in the direction of Mount Auburn, and in visiting the cemetery in question, my kind friends Mr. and Mrs. A—— conferred on me as great a favour as they could have done, and acted in entire accordance with the complexion of my wishes.

The Mount Auburn Cemetery of Boston embraces a large space of ground of a very undulating character, well covered with wood, and containing several ponds of water, dells, and glens, and everything to adapt it for the purpose to which it is devoted. The grounds are laid out with much taste and simplicity: there is more than the usual amount of taste and of variety among the tombs and monuments, and they are not as yet too numerous to detract from the rustic beauty of the calm retreat. Its characteristics are neatly embodied in certain lines I observed in an American newspaper—lines recited by the Rev. Dr. Dowling of New York, when dedicating another cemetery, and which are the composition of a daughter of the reverend speaker :—

> "I'd lay me down where the spring may crown
> My tomb with its earliest flowers,
> Where the Zephyrs stray, and the sunbeams play,
> 'Mid the peaceful cypress bowers."

Within the bounds of the Necropolis is a place named Consecration Dell, a lovely little spot, where Justice Story delivered the inauguration discourse when the cemetery was opened to the

public. In the vicinity of this dell appropriately stands the family monument, erected over the grave of the speaker of the discourse —the able, erudite, and excellent Story—a distinguished jurist, whose accuracy, learning, and ability are as widely known, and I trust as generally appreciated, in Great Britain as they are in America. The tongue that inaugurated the locality is silent, but the genius, wisdom, and worth of the speaker "liveth and speaketh for ever." The monument over Story's grave is exceedingly simple, and the inscription on it is neat and appropriate,—

"He is risen—he is not here."

In another part of the grounds stands a semi-public monument, erected to the memory of the distinguished and accomplished Dr. Channing, (long one of, if not the most eminent of, the divines and pulpit orators of America,) by a few of his Christian friends. So runs the inscription. In this burying-place there lie also the remains of the well-known phrenologist, Dr. Spurzheim, who died at Boston when on a tour through the United States, in the promulgation of his peculiar and favourite theories.

In the vicinity of Boston, within twenty-six miles of it, and connected with it by railway, stands the manufacturing, or as it may be correctly termed the factory town of Lowell, of which so much has of late years been written by travellers from Europe. It is not my intention to add much to the mass of statements made by these writers, having introduced the subject simply to mention one or two facts connected with the origin of Lowell, which I have not seen in any other published work, and which I believe are only generally known on the spot or in its neighbourhood.

The parties to whom belong the honour of having originated the undertaking which led to the foundation of the city of Lowell, are the late Patrick T. Jackson, and the Honourable Nathan Appleton of Boston, now or lately one of the senators for the state of Massachusetts in the upper house of the United States legislature. It was, I believe, when travelling in Europe that the idea first presented itself to the mind of Mr. Appleton. At all events, after his return to Boston, it occurred both to him and to Mr. Jackson that there was an opportunity for introducing the manufacture and printing of calicoes into Massachusetts; and in the summer of 1821 they together made an excursion into the neighbouring state of New Hampshire, in search of a suitable locality in which to commence their operations, but without finding any which equalled their expectations or their requirements. On their return to Massachusetts, the idea suggested itself of purchasing the stock of the Patucket Canal on the Merrimack river (which had been originally constructed in 1793 simply as a channel for boats and rafts round

the Falls) so as to secure it as a means of turning the machinery of the factories to be erected; and to purchase also such lands as might be necessary for the purposes contemplated. At this stage of the arrangements a Mr. Kirk Boott was taken into the projected enterprize; and the matter progressed under his management and agency until a company was formed, under the name of the Merrimack Manufacturing Company, which may be regarded as the germ and foundation of the present city of Lowell. This was in 1822, and while there was then only one company and a population not exceeding 200 people, Lowell now contains above 30,000 inhabitants, and there are about a dozen different joint-stock manufacturing companies carrying on business in it in a very extensive way. It were foreign to the character of a work like the present, to enter into details regarding the names, constitution, capital, or operations of these several companies—although there are abundant published materials to be had in Boston to enable a very clear statement to be given on the subject. But it may not be out of place to mention that, notwithstanding the productions of Lowell being protected in their American home markets from the competition of foreign goods of a similar or substitutive character, the interest payable on the stock of none of the companies is greater than that which may be obtained by lending money on the security of lands and houses, and does not exceed that paid on the stock of most of the joint-stock banks of Scotland. This appears from a printed tabular statement I saw when in Boston, and from which I noted down the general result. But this fact does not detract from the merit of the men who, with far-sighted policy, saw the capabilities of Lowell as a fitting location for manufacturing operations, and acted upon their anticipations. In a letter addressed by the founder, Mr. N. Appleton, to the Middlesex Mechanics' Association of Lowell, (in reference to their request that he should sit for a portrait of himself to be placed in their hall,) Mr. Appleton mentions that, when he and his enterprising associates first visited the scenes of their intended operations, in November 1821, one of the party remarked that some of them might probably live to see the place contain twenty thousand inhabitants. The prediction, extravagant as it seemed at the time, has been realized. Mr. Appleton himself has lived to see Lowell contain thirty thousand inhabitants, and there is every prospect that he will yet live to see within it double that population. For the sake of his country, as well as for the sake of those more closely connected with him, it is to be hoped that he may be spared to do so.

Some time back I remarked, that it was on the evening of the day previous to my leaving the United States that, in the society of the

gentleman above referred to, and of his lady, I visited the cemetery at Mount Auburn, and that my feelings on the occasion were in keeping with the scene. They were so, despite the cheering thoughts that on the morrow I was to resume careering over the waters on my return to Old England and to home; and also despite—or rather, I should say, in consequence of the kindness of my reception in America—kindness which I had experienced in almost every part of it—often from total strangers. But I was now to leave America with but little probability of ever again revisiting it; and notwithstanding the pleasure with which I regarded a return to my "ain countrie," I am not ashamed to confess that it was with many painful emotions that I contemplated doing so.

As to the reception and treatment in America of so humble an individual as the Author of these volumes, all that is to be said may and will be recorded in a single sentence. From the period when I first put my foot on that continent, until I left it, I received much unvarying kindness, not only from those to whom my credentials introduced me, but from the inhabitants of the country generally; and, if I did hear or overhear at any time remarks of a nature calculated to wound my feelings, or perchance my prejudices, as a British subject, it was from the lips of comparatively ignorant and illiterate persons, and usually when the utterer knew as little about the person who overheard him as he did about the subject on which he was speaking. Let me add that I felt it to be my duty to reciprocate in civility, and—without disguising my unfavourable opinions, if circumstances naturally led to an expression of them—not unnecessarily to obtrude them where their exposition was profitless or uncalled for. I heartily concur with the statement of the author of a little book on the United States, lately published, when he gives it as the result of his experience, that "the citizens of the United States do not dislike Englishmen individually—on the contrary they are rather disposed to like them, and to pay them most respectful attention when they visit America. Their dislike is to John Bull, the traditional, big, bullying, borough-mongering and monopolist," (he might have added prejudiced) "John Bull." Neither do the inhabitants of Great Britain dislike their brethren of the United States: "on the contrary, we are disposed to like them, and to give them a cordial welcome amongst us. But our dislike is to Jonathan—bragging, annexing, and repudiating Jonathan." These respective antipathies are surely equally well founded: but the intelligent of the two nations having nothing in common with such absurd extremes, and nothing to do with them, unless it be to make them the subject of mutual amusement. Sprung from the same Anglo-Saxon ancestry; speaking the same copious and energetic language; and seemingly, and in a very especial manner intrusted by Providence with the exe-

cution of the same glorious task—the spreading of peace, commerce, Christianity, and civilisation, over the two greatest divisions of the globe—it must of necessity be the wish of all the wise, as well as of all the good of either land, that the two nations should ever be found acting in concert in wise and well-directed efforts for the accomplishment of universal weal; and that, in the language of the American toast, "the Atlantic which ever rolls between them should ever prove a pacific ocean." If, therefore, all or any of my attempts at a portraiture of the scenery or society of the United States of America, should seem to any to be somewhat too eulogistic, I can only deny the impeachment, refer to my motto, and declare, in the words of the immortal bard of Avon, that

> "All my reports go with the modest truth,
> Not more, nor clipp'd, but so."

CHAPTER XV.

> "Where is the true man's fatherland?
> Is it where he by chance is born?
> Doth not the yearning spirit scorn
> In such scant borders to be spanned?
> Oh yes! his fatherland must be
> As the blue heavens—wide and free."

I AM now leaving the shores of America, and, save in so far as other subjects have presented themselves in natural connexion with the narrative of my journeyings, I have endeavoured to confine myself to what I personally saw, heard, and encountered, during my trip from Mobile Point to Boston; at the same time, and in as few words as I could convey my meaning in, endeavouring to give to my reader the impressions formed at the time by my experiences, modified and corrected by after reflection. In doing this, I have done all that was contemplated. If I have done it at all well, I have done as much as my ambition prompted me to attempt. But, nevertheless, I feel that I have not touched on many topics which the reader may very naturally expect to find treated of in a book of travels in the United States of America. In particular, I have not professed to give any opinion as to the general tone of society in America, either as regards mind or morals. Neither have I thought myself justified in characterising, or rather in caricaturing, the phraseology and conversational style of our transatlantic brethren: and last, and certainly not least among my omissions, I have not said anything, either as to the past history, the present condition, or the future prospects of the slave question in the great republic. One or two remarks on

each of these subjects will sufficiently explain at once the cause and the extent of these somewhat singular omissions in a European work which professes to treat of the United States of America. As to the general tone of male and female society in America, in relation to mind and manners, I may have formed—nay, I did form—my own opinions in the different places I visited; and it is but fair to say that, from what I saw, these opinions could not be otherwise than highly favourable. But still I have not professed to give the reader any information on the subject. My stay was too short, and my opportunities for judging too limited, to permit of my arriving at any general conclusions on questions lying so far below the surface of society. As regards the national manners in America, all I feel justified in saying is, that, in so far as I saw, the same principles of action prevail in private life, the same circumstances produce the same results, the same motives give rise to the same actions in America as in England; and that he or she who would be considered a lady or a gentleman in America, would be considered equally entitled to the distinction in England, and no more. In reference to the oft-quoted and much-caricatured peculiarities of our transatlantic friends, I would say that I heard nothing of the alledged *general* use or misuse of words not in an Englishman's vocabulary, or of English words to mean things and ideas different from the things or ideas we would understand them to mean in Great Britain. No doubt there are, in the conversation, and even in the writings of some Americans, occasional uses of words which sound unwonted to the English ear; but, in most cases, it would be difficult to prove that the use so made of particular words or phrases was at variance with their etymological meaning and strict significance. Again, among the general travelling public of the United States, one frequently hears such words as "fix," "settle," "dander," "calculate," "guess," "reckon," &c., applied in a manner that it is of course impossible to justify or defend. But the conversation, in good society, is as little interlarded with expletives, or with solecisms in language, as is the conversation of similar society in Great Britain; and sure I am that, limited as was my stay in each place, I could point out domestic circles in Boston, and in several of the other cities of the American Union, where the use of the extraordinary words and sentences, which many of my countrymen think to be ordinary characteristics of "Yankee phrase," would be viewed with as much surprise as they would be in the most courtly circles of queenly England. It is all very desirable to write agreeable, piquant, and readable books, but it is too bad to sacrifice truth at the shrine of effect, for the purpose of making them so.

Equally laconic, but for a very different reason, has this book been on the great subject of American slavery. I cannot indeed say that

slavery and the slave trade are subjects which I had not attempted to study—in truth they have occupied my thoughts, and been to me subjects of reflection, before I went, and also when in, as well as after I returned from the United States of America. But I have purposely refrained from entering on the large and important topic of American slavery at any length, or from adding to the much that has been written by other writers upon it—and that not only because of its magnitude and importance, but because of some other reasons which I shall shortly and honestly mention—even though I do so under the impression, if not the fear, that they may surprise and disappoint some of my friends on both sides of the Atlantic, if not on both sides of the question.

It may sound strange to say, that too much has already been written and said on the subject of slavery in the United States of America. But, in a certain sense at least, such appears to me to be the fact. At all events, I am prepared to take the responsibility of saying that the inconsiderate zeal of abolitionists in this country, and, still more, in the Northern States of America, in writing and speaking without due consideration of the peculiar position of their brethren who are the owners of the slaves in the Southern States, has raised up a spirit of determination to uphold and continue the system of slavery, which will tend to retard the result it was designed to promote. The spirit so excited may be a fitful one, but no one who has visited the Southern States of the American Union but must admit that is was and is a very determined one. The publicity and violence of this external warfare against slavery has, as it were, roused the pride and excited the energies of the slaveholders, thrown them upon the sympathies of each other, and prepared them to act more resolutely, and more unitedly, against what they conceive to be an unjust and an unwise attempt to involve them and their fortunes in sudden and irretrievable ruin. An unwonted energy pervades their speeches and their actions; and instead of permitting themselves to consider the comparative advantages and disadvantages of the systems of free and of slave labour, they start at once with the assumption that the latter is the one which it is their interest and their privilege to defend. Desirous as I am to see slavery abolished all over the globe, and anxious though I be that such a glorious day should speedily come, I do regard the position of the slave-holders in the Southern States of the great republic of America with much interest and some sympathy. What they are to do with their slaves, or for the proper cultivation of their lands, after emancipation, are questions which have been often put, and never yet satisfactorily answered. It surely must be somewhat galling to the men so situated —around and among whom slavery has rooted itself as a domestic institution, intertwining itself with every part of their affairs—to

find those of their own confederation, removed from all chance of personal participation in the dangers or the difficulties of a change, or still more those of a distant clime but kindred tongue, coolly promulgating sentiments, and even using more indefensible means, to swamp all their hopes, frustrate all their plans, and destroy their properties, if not their lives. It is difficult for parties situated as the southern planters of the North American Union are, to give their adversaries the credit for a disinterested and a wise philanthropy, in thus continuing to urge on the work of emancipation without regard to consequences, or adequate preparation against unfortunate results; and there is room for, if there be not reason in, the taunt of Colonel Haynes, when he says of the emancipationists of the north, that, while "they do not indeed throw themselves into the flames, they are nevertheless employed in lighting up the torches of discord throughout the country."

But I would not have it understood that I am to any extent, or in any degree, a defender of American slavery; and least of all would I have it supposed that I would desire the day of slave emancipation in America to be indefinitely postponed, or protracted for a single hour beyond what is necessary for the preparation of the community, and of the slaves themselves, for the greatness of the change. I am aware that this view of the matter, that even this style of reasoning, will be distasteful to not a few whom I esteem and respect, and whose motives, at least, I admire; and I know that I may be told, that this argument of "wait a little longer" is just the very one that has been repeated from the commencement of Grenville Sharpe's crusade against slavery down to the present time. But, conscious that I have no sinister view in using it, and that I am recording opinions formed dispassionately and on the spot, after ocular demonstration as to the existing state of things in the West Indian colonies of Britain, of France, of Denmark, and of Spain, I repeat it as my conviction that, were there less noise made on both sides of the Atlantic as to the emancipation of the slaves in the United States of America, it would conduce to the present comfort both of the slave and of the planter. Such discreet forbearance, while it would not retard, might probably accelerate the very event which the noise and clamour is intended to bring about. That the period of entire emancipation is on the wing, and rapidly approaching, I cannot doubt for a moment. The whole tendency of the social economy of the United States is in that direction. The true interests of the whole country lies that way, and the general spread of light and intelligence must necessarily lead to the same conclusion. Nay, more: the increased and increasing influence of the northern or free states, renders the permanence of the present system a matter almost of impossibility, unless, indeed, the Union itself be made to give way for the

prevention of the result. Indeed, I question if there be one sensible thinking man, throughout the length and breadth of the American Union, who would venture coolly to say that the time is never to arrive when African slavery will be finally and for ever abolished throughout the length and breadth of the Continent of America. But there are yet difficulties and dangers in the way—difficulties and dangers to the present slave-holders, and difficulties and dangers as regards the slaves themselves: and again I say, that, from what I saw of the determined state of public feeling on this subject generally prevalent in the United States, and in particular in the more southern states, I feel that there is great chance of the time of final emancipation being deferred through the action and reaction of inconsiderate zeal. To those who take an interest in the question of whether this matter of American slavery is likely to be determined by the increasing comparative influence and power of the free states over the slave-holding ones, the following tables, which exhibit the relative political strength of the two, and indicates very distinctly on which side the scale preponderates, will not prove uninteresting:—

FREE STATES.

States.	Electors for President.	Whole Number of Votes.	Average Vote for each Elector.
Maine,	9	87,000	9,666
Massachusetts,	12	134,409	11,200
Rhode Island,	4	11,155	2,788
Vermont,	6	47,907	7,984
New Hampshire,	6	50,104	8,350
Connecticut,	6	62,365	10,394
New York,	36	453,431	12,595
New Jersey,	7	77,735	11,105
Pennsylvania,	26	367,952	14,152
Ohio,	23	328,489	14,282
Indiana,	12	152,752	12,729
Illinois,	9	125,121	13,902
Michigan,	5	65,106	13,003
Wisconsin,	4	39,166	9,791
Iowa,	4	24,303	6,074
Total	169	2,027,006	11,994*

* Average number for each elector.

SLAVE STATES.			
States.	Electors for President.	Whole number of Votes.	Average Vote for each Elector.
Delaware, . . .	3	12,399	4,134
Maryland, . . .	8	72,355	9,042
Virginia, . . .	17	91,719	5,395
North Carolina, . .	11	78,473	7,133
Georgia, . . .	10	92,346	9,234
Florida, . . .	3	7,777	2,592
Alabama, . . .	9	61,845	6,871
Mississippi, . . .	6	52,459	8,743
Louisiana, . . .	6	33,588	5,598
Texas, ...	4	12,468	3,117
Arkansas. . . .	3	16,888	5,629
Tennessee, . . .	13	123,124	9,471
Kentucky, . . .	12	116,861	9,738
Missouri, . . .	7	72,748	10,392
Total,* . . .	112	315,050	7,545*

For the right understanding of the preceding tabular statement, and to enable the reader to deduce from it the conclusions which it warrants, it may be expedient to take a rapid survey of the leading characteristics of the political system of the United States of America—particularly as it certainly is not of the simple character generally supposed.

In particular, the mode of electing the members constituting the three bodies of the state politic is essentially different—each from both the others. The members of the House of Representatives, the Senators, and the President, are all elected on principles which differ materially. The House of Representatives (which for the present consists of 230 members, and is renewed by election every second year,) is chosen by ballot, and from the whole body of the people—one member or representative being allowed to each state, for every 70,000 inhabitants which it contains; so that the more populous the state the larger its share or voice in the general government, in so far at least as the lower branch of the legislature is concerned. The members of the Senate, or Upper House, (who hold their seats for six years,) are, however, chosen in a very different manner, and on a very different principle. They are elected by the local legislatures of the individual states composing the Federal Union; and two senators being allowed as the representatives for each state, the smaller or less populous states have here as large a

* South Carolina electors are chosen by the Legislature.

share in the government as their more important companions, of denser population or more extended territorial possessions. The mode of appointing the President, again, is a kind of Union between the two systems of election applicable respectively to the "Commons" and "Lords" of the United States' Legislature. The President of the United States of America (probably the most important office in the world the elevation to which is by election of the people) is chosen every four years: and while, in strict significance of language, he may be said to be elected by the people, his appointment does not proceed directly from them in the same manner as does the appointment of the members of the House of Representatives, or lower House of Congress. The President is chosen by electoral colleges. Of these colleges there is one for each state; and the number of members composing it is regulated by the joint number of the representatives and senators which the particular state sends to Congress. Thus Maine, having seven representatives and two senators, has an electoral college composed of nine; Rhode Island, having only two representatives and two senators, has an electoral college of four; while the populous state of New York, having thirty-four members of the Lower House of Congress and the usual quota of two for the Upper, has thirty-six members in her college for the choice of the President. The effect of such an arrangement, in throwing political power into the hands of the more populous states, is too obvious to require illustration or to justify argument.

From this brief explanatory statement, it will be understood that the first figures in the preceding tables show the number composing the electoral college of each state, the second the number of votes in the state, and the third the proportion subsisting between the two. When it is further mentioned, that the whole votes of each College go one way, and according as the majority sway it, (thus, if New York Electoral College contains twenty Whigs and sixteen Democrats, the whole of her thirty-six votes will go for the Whig candidate,) the value of the table, as an indication of how the scales of power preponderate, will be sufficiently obvious.

Nor would the view be complete without noticing the very rapid increase, of late years, in the political importance of the north-western states of Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Iowa, and Wisconsin, all of them slave-repudiating. A few years ago, the political influence of these six states was scarcely either known or felt. Within eight years, they have increased in population in a ratio of 49 per cent. Now, their votes for the President, and their voice in Congress generally, is much more than sufficient to swamp those of the old southern slave-holding states of Virginia, North Carolina,

Georgia, and Louisiana. In 1840, the population of the north-western states was about 2,900,000; in 1850, it is certainly not less than 4,500,000. If they progress for the next ten years as they have done for the last eight, their votes for the Presidency will outweigh that of all the slave-holding states together, even should the future increase of the latter be according to the ratio of the past.

Do not these simple facts speak volumes on the question of American slavery? Do they not lead irresistibly to the conclusion that, provided only the Republican Confederation of North America continues—if the American Union only survives the fierce assaults at present making against its integrity, and holds together for ten years longer—the increase in the political power of the northern and western states will have made them so preponderating—so overwhelming—as to enable them to carry triumphantly any measure they may determinedly resolve on? And is there any one, either in the United States of America or in Great Britain, who seriously doubts that, if these free states of the Union had such transcendant power, it would not be employed, first indirectly to discountenance and suppress, and thereafter, directly to destroy, slavery and slave-dealing, throughout the whole of the republic? If there be, let him attentively peruse the language of complaint, on the subject of northern and western aggression, and of slave-concealing and removing, even now used, on the part of the southern representatives, in the American Congress.

Another plain corollary from the above fact is, that anything that goes to increase the number of the free states, must necessarily tend to precipitate the above anticipated *dénouement* and result. It is only in this view that the southern states of the Union are justified in the strenuous opposition they are now making to the introduction of California into the republican brotherhood, with an anti-slavery manifesto emblazoned on her constitution. Even one state will make a serious difference, particularly as the south can have but little hope of recruiting her ranks by territorial additions. It is scarcely necessary to add that, if ever the "Canadian annexationists," aided by republican influence, should succeed in their difficult attempt, the fact of their doing so would very speedily, and for ever, settle in the negative the question of slavery and the slave trade, all over the great continent of North America.

Such are a few of the reasons which have induced me to exclude, in a great measure, from the pages of this work, the so much agitated question of American slavery. Even had I the space, the statistics, and the inclination, for its full discussion, I am satisfied that nothing which my pen, or even more able ones, will now write upon it could accelerate the event so much to be desired, although it might tend to

irritation of feeling, or perchance retard the issue, or aid in surrounding it with disastrous incidents with which it might not otherwise be attended. But, even while I do so, I rejoice in the conviction that events are progressing in their natural and necessary course, that must inevitably lead to the wished-for result; and that, provided only the Union be preserved in its integrity, there is every prospect that, ere many years shall have passed away, we may receive intelligence of the passing of some measure of "American abolition and emancipation."

But there is another question relating to England and America—one which affects and concerns the interests of both nations, or at least the interests of a highly valuable and important class of the communities of both countries, to which I gladly turn before closing my remarks—I mean the question of an international copyright law between these two kindred nations of the world. This is a subject to which I profess to have paid some attention, ere I left my native country; to which I also directed much of my attention while in the United States; and to the attainment of right views regarding which, I have been aided by information supplied by professional friends on both sides of the Atlantic; so that, if my opinions be unsound, and my arguments inconclusive, I have certainly no proper apology to plead for giving them to the world.

In considering the question of an international law of copyright between England and the United States of America, which would have the effect of protecting the works of the authors of the one country from being reprinted *verbatim et literatim* in the other, and there sold without his (or her) consent or participation in the profits in any way, it seems to me that the natural way of treating the subject will be to consider—1. The reasons which render such an international law, particularly between these two countries, desirable or the reverse; 2. The principles on which the question of the law of copyright depends; and 3. The effects that may be expected to arise to the literary communities of the two nations from the enactment of such a law. Distinct views on these three points will, I apprehend, place the subject in such a light as will enable any one to form for himself at all events an intelligent and a dispassionate opinion on this important question.

From the manner in which this topic of an international law of copyright between England and the United States of America is often treated, as well as from the spirit in which it is occasionally discussed, it would almost seem as if America stood alone in her refusal of reciprocal legislation on this interesting subject, and that such refusal amounted to a denial of that protection which, in point of morality, she was bound to accord. Now, it is only placing the argument on its proper basis to say, that this is an erroneous view of

the matter. The United States neither stands alone in her refusal to grant to foreign authors, as regards works published abroad, a copyright protection within her own limits, nor is there any propriety of language in affirming that there is a positive violation of the rules of morality in her refusal of a reciprocity of legislation on this subject. It is the importance of the question, when considered in relation to England and America, that has given rise to this erroneous idea in connection with which it is often viewed, and which I would here in the outset desire to remove. Speaking the same language, sprung from the same ancestry, personally interested or excited by the same histories, references, and reminiscences, the work adapted for the one people is, by the necessity of the case, equally accessible as well as intelligible to the other. There is here no translation required. The book, as published for the one country, addresses itself to the people of the other; and thus it is that, while Byron, Scott, Macauley, Alison, Dickens, &c., have as ready a sale in America as in England, Longfellow, Cooper, Prescott, Irving and Bancroft, are as well known in Great Britain, as if they had all been born and educated beneath the skies of England. In literature the two nations are, in point of fact, virtually the same; and hence the magnitude of this question of copyright, considered in relation to them—which very magnitude has excited a keenness of discussion that has led to views and expressions having no proper application to the question. To talk of "piracy" when characterising the act of a publisher, in the one country, in printing and publishing without the consent of the author, a book originally published in the other, and to stigmatise as literary "pirates" the parties so republishing, is to misapply terms, and to do so in a way which is anything but calculated to aid the cause such statements are generally intended to serve. The fact is, that the question here at issue cannot be determined on any abstract principles of morals, right or wrong. No doubt, and under one view of the question, a strong case of hardship towards literary men may be made out; and, being so, it may be made to form a legitimate argument and an important element in an attempt to arrive at a right determination on the question. But the question itself is surely one of expediency; and the sooner this is seen and admitted, the sooner are we likely to have it settled on a satisfactory reciprocal basis. As an independent nation, the United States are quite entitled to refuse to concur with England in any measure of international copyright, if they see fit to do so, and if they can do so without injustice to any class of their own subjects, whose interests they are bound to protect. Whether it is their policy so to refuse, and whether American statesmen can so refuse without trampling on the rights of members of their own confederation, are separate and important questions. But, in so far as Great Britain and her authors and people are concerned,

I cannot see that they can charge America with injustice towards them, whatever view she may continue to take upon this subject. Therefore would I lay it down as the basis on which the question is to be here discussed, that, as an international one, it is only to be properly determined on considerations of expediency; so that they who look here for the hard terms so often applied to our transatlantic brethren, in relation to this matter, will look in vain. If, even viewing the matter on this basis of expediency, it can be shown that, in reference to their refusal to reciprocate with England, the United States of America are acting inexpediently and unwisely—inasmuch as they are repressing literature throughout their own border—doing injustice to their own authors—retarding the progress of their own literary shool—and refusing encouragement to that very class of foreigners whom it were both their dignity and their interest most to encourage—I think I shall have done more for the real advancement of the question than if, contrary to my convictions of international law, I were to endeavour to show that a refusal to reciprocate on this subject were the perpetration of a violation of the *comitas gentium.* The true doctrine of the *jus gentium,* in reference to the length to which one independent state is bound to recognise the laws or rights of the subjects of another in any respect, is, as it is laid down in the third law of Huber,* where he says—"That the rulers of a nation act up to the principles of international law and comity where they admit that the laws of every people, exercised within their own limits, should have *everywhere* the like force, *in so far as they do not prejudice the power or rights of other states or their own citizens.*"

If anything were wanting to my mind to satisfy me that it is an error to view this question as one involving, on the part of America, (in her refusal of a system of reciprocity,) an absolute negation of a claim for justice towards foreign authors, it would be the fact that the most eminent men in England have taken opposing views, even when the subject has been considered with reference to this country alone. Although it may now be considered as a question settled in the negative, it was a question long and ably, as well as anxiously, discussed in the courts of Great Britain, whether there existed a copyright at common law, and irrespective of statute. Indeed, the decisions on the point were at first conflicting. In the case of Miller against Taylor, of which a very copious report is given in Sir John Barrow's "Reports of Cases decided in the King's Bench," (vol. iv. p. 2303,) the question was originally decided in favour of the existence of a common-law right. In that case the question was very elaborately discussed, it being in general maintained for the plaintiff that there is a real property remaining to authors after pub-

* Huber, lib. 1, t. 3, De Conflictu Legum, sec. 2.

lication of their works; and that they only, or those who claim under them, have a right to multiply the copies of such their literary property at their pleasure for sale; that this is a common-law right which has always existed, and does still exist, independent of, and not taken away by, the statute of 8 Anne, Cap. 19. While for the defendant the general answer was, "That no such right of property remained in the author after the publication of his work; that the pretension of a right at common law was a mere fancy and imagination, for which there was no ground or foundation." In that case the judgment was for the existence of a right at common law—a right founded on the principles of equity. But in the subsequent case of Donaldson against Becket, decided 22d Feb. 1774, in which the question came up before the House of Lords, upon an appeal from a decree of the Court of Chancery, (founded on the judgment in Miller's case,) and after the opinions of the whole judges upon the point had been taken, it was finally settled that, if such common-law right ever existed, it had been taken away by the statute of Queen Anne; and that an author's only remedy was in virtue, and on the condition, of that statute. True, the majority were also of opinion that a right at common law had existed anterior to the passing of the act; but very learned opinions were likewise expressed on the other side, and very unanswerable arguments were advanced in support of these opinions.

Now, if it has thus been held, even in this country, and considering the question solely with reference to British subjects and to British interests, that there is now no remedy for the author whose work has been pirated save under the statute of Queen Anne; that, on the principles of common law, he cannot now maintain an action either of injunction or interdict, or for damages; and that it is much more than questionable whether such common-law right ever had existence—how can it with justice be said that the American publisher, reprinting in America the published work of a British author, printed in this country, is, in so doing, guilty of a violation of the principles of international law? Without carrying the argument any farther than this, it surely follows that, if there be good grounds for doubting the existence of any right of property competent to an author over his work, after he has given it to the world by publication, on the principle of the common law of England or of Scotland, (and in a late case, decided in the Sheriff Court of Renfrewshire in Scotland, it was held that, in Scotland as in England, copyright, or the right of property in literary compositions, rests not on common law, but on statute alone,) then there can be no ground whatever for maintaining that the term piracy, with any strictness of propriety, can apply to the conduct of the foreign republishers of a work brought out in England. At all events, the circumstance that

the facts of this matter are as I have shortly detailed them, should modify the severity of the strictures with which the subject of American reprints have been occasionally discussed. I am not ignorant that, while the law in this country denies and repudiates the principle of copyright save under the statute, there are many ingenious arguments that might be adduced to show that the law ought not to be as it is. Neither am I unacquainted with many of the able pamphlets written to vindicate the existence of a principle of copyright apart from the statute. In particular I have perused the elegant and eloquent work on the subject, entitled "Present State of the Copyright Question," from the pen of Mr. Sergeant Talfourd, with whose observations it is scarcely possible not to sympathise. But it is not my province or intention to argue the question: what I desired was, to draw attention to the fact that the law in this country is as I have above described it; and to point attention to it as a reason why, in considering the question of international copyright with America, I shall not follow the course of characterising a refusal of reciprocal legislation on the subject as a denial of a claim for justice, or a violation of those principles of equity which are as binding upon nations as they are upon men. Let it be granted that, if America chooses, she has a right to continue her present course of supplying the literary appetite of her increasing population mainly by the reprinting of English works, without the consent of the authors who have given them to the world. But her right to do so, and the wisdom of her policy in so doing, are two different things: and I apprehend there will be but few who will be disposed to defend the wisdom of that policy, after they have attentively and dispassionately considered the present effects produced by the want of an international copyright, and contrasted these with the consequences which must necessarily ensue from the introduction of such a measure.

We have seen that, as regards the question of internal copyright in Great Britain, the first legislative act passed for the regulation of the subject was the excellent statute of Queen Anne, chap. 19, (enacted in 1710,) which gave to the author or proprietor of a then previously printed work a copyright for twenty years, and to the author of a book not then printed a copyright for fourteen years from the date of publication: while, if the author was still alive at the expiry of that period, his copyright revived and extended for other fourteen years. By another act (54 Geo. III. cap. 156, passed in 1814) the provisions of the statute of Queen Anne, and of other relative acts, were reconsidered, and the terms for unpublished works was extended to twenty-eight years, and if the author survived that term, till his death, and other provisions made. These statutes, with certain acts relative to the drama, and

to public lectures in colleges and universities, comprised what may be called the internal or municipal statutory law of England on the subject of the right of property in literary compositions after publication, up to the year 1842, when the statute 5 and 6 Vic. cap. 45, was passed for the "amendment of the law of copyright." By that enactment, which recites and repeals the two acts of 8 Anne, cap. 19, and 54 Geo. III., cap 156, above referred to, the term of continuance of the copyright was somewhat changed. The provisions in this respect now are, that the copyright shall exist for the author's lifetime, and for seven years after his death; while if these two terms—the lifetime and the subsequent seven years—expired before the lapse of forty-two years from the first publication of the work, then the protective period extends to the whole period of forty-two years. Other provisions are made with regard to the publication of posthumous works, and also relative to the conditions upon which the right is to be secured, for which reference must be made to the act itself. Upon this statute now rests the law of copyright in reference to the writings of British authors first published within the limits of Britain's own extensive dominions.

By the statute 1 and 2 Vic. cap. 59, an attempt was made by this country to establish an international copyright, by providing that her Majesty may, by an order in council, direct that foreign authors, or their "assigns," shall have a copyright in their works within her Majesty's dominions. That statute has since been superceded and amended by the late legislative enactment of 7 and 8 Vic. cap. 12. The provisions of this act it is unnecessary to notice more in detail here, (particularly as they must be alluded to below,) farther than to say that they carry still farther out the general provision of the 1 and 2 Vic. cap. 59, which the latter act repeals.

Thus far of the laws on the statute-book of Great Britain on this subject of copyright, municipal and international; and I shall have exhausted the short mention of these required for the argument in hand, when I state that the law which prevents the importation into British foreign possessions of the reprints of books first "composed, written, or printed in the United Kingdom," is to be found in a place where it might not readily occur to look for it—viz., in the statute 8 and 9 Vic. cap. 93, intituled "An Act to regulate the Trade of British Possessions abroad," where it forms a solitary clause among a multitude of others relating to everything but authorship, books, or matters of a literary nature.

It were out of place to enter here into any elaborate exposition of the judicial decisions by which the true meaning of these legislative enactments thus referred to have been illustrated and de-

termined. But as the question of the existence of a copyright in foreign publications, irrespective of the international act, has of late years been the subject of much and learned argument in this country, while the decisions which that discussion have evoked are not at first sight very consistent with each other, perspicuity seems to require a brief notice of the most prominent of the judgments, and of some of the principles which they may be held to have settled. The older cases of Miller *v.* Taylor, and Donaldson *v.* Beckett, have been already referred to. These may be regarded as settling the principles of municipal copyright in this country, and as deciding that it now entirely rested on statutory law. As regards copyright in foreign compositions, in Chappell *v.* Purdey, (*English Jurist*, vol. ix., p. 495,) it was decided in the Court of Exchequer that where a work was first published abroad, and by a foreign author, such author could not afterwards acquire any copyright in this country under the statute 8 Anne, cap. 19, and 54 Geo. III. cap. 156. But by a subsequent decision of the Court of Common Pleas, in Cocks *v.* Purdey, (12 *Jurist*, 677,) it was ruled that a foreigner the native of a country in amity with Great Britain, the author of a work composed abroad, which was published *simultaneously* in England and on the Continent, had a copyright in the work. This judgment was afterwards followed by the Court of Queen's Bench in the case of Boosay *v.* Davidson, (13 *Jur.* 678,) wherein it was found, on this point, that there is copyright in this country for the works of a foreigner published in this country *without having been before published abroad.*

On the faith of the train of decisions of which those above mentioned are the leading and the most important ones, it was at one time held that, even under what may be called the municipal copyright acts of Great Britain, a foreigner, the native of a country enjoying peaceful relations with England, (in the language of the law books, an "alien friend,") might, by himself or his English assignee, secure the benefit of a copyright in this country, provided always he did not first publish abroad. In this way a very liberal interpretation was given to the copyright law of England. The obvious effect was, that if the foreigner was a native of a country which recognised a copyright within its own dominions, he might by simultaneous publication, (*i. e.* publication in both countries, not at the same hour, but in *any part* of the same day; for it was found that the legal rule here is *de minimis non curat lex*,) secure a copyright in both countries. But on an attentive perusal of the whole decisions, ending with the case of Boosay *v.* Davidson, it will appear that the question of the applicability of the statutes of 8 Anne, cap 19, and 54 Geo. III. cap. 156, to the writings of foreigners, was not fully brought up or discussed. At

all events, in the subsequent and very recent case of Boosay *v.* Purdey, (13 *Jur.* p. 918,) the Court of Exchequer, upon a careful review of the whole authorities, and a very elaborate argument upon all the statutory provisions, determined and decided that "a foreign author or his assigns" are not parties within the meaning, and cannot have the benefit of the statutes 8 Anne, cap. 19, and 54 Geo. III. cap. 156, as those acts were intended for the encouragement of British talent and industry, by giving to authors who are British subjects, either by birth or residence, or their assigns, a monopoly in their literary works, dating from the period of their first publication here.

It is by the writer believed to be the opinion of most lawyers in this country, who have devoted any measure of attention to this important subject, that the decision last above-mentioned is undoubtedly a sound one, as embodying a correct view of the statutes which it interprets. Further, in the present state of the copyright law of other countries, and of America in particular, it is satisfactory that our law stands as has thus been held. If the judgment destroys a preconception that the copyright law of England is based upon principles of extreme liberality towards foreigners or their assignees, it at all events places the matter on a much clearer, more consistent, and more definite footing, than it seemed to rest on under the operation of the decisions by which Boosay's case had been preceded.

It may thus be regarded as settled law that, save under the existing international copyright act, 7 and 8 Victoria, cap. 12, (and the statutes made mention of in it,) there can be no copyright in this country for the untranslated writings of a foreign author. But that valuable act is sufficiently liberal; and, in pointing at a spirit of national reciprocity on this important subject, it does all that can be done, consistently with a due attention on the part of Great Britain to the rights and interests of the numerous and valuable class of men who compose her own literary school. By that statute, the Queen is empowered by an order in council to authorize a copyright in the works of foreigners; and, after due and full provision as to the conditions of the order and of the grant, an enactment is made in section 19, which points out both the object and the extent of the whole statute. It is there provided that "neither the author of any book, nor the author or composer of any dramatic piece or musical composition, nor the inventor, designer, or engraver of any print, nor the maker of any article of sculpture or other work of art as aforesaid, which, after the passing of this act, may be first published out of her Majesty's dominions, shall have any copyright therein, or any exclusive right

to the representation or performance thereof, otherwise than such (if any) as he may become entitled to under this act."

After this rapid sketch on the present state of the law of copyright in literary productions in Great Britain, let us now, as shortly, notice the present position of that law among our transatlantic friends in the American republic.

In the United States of America, there is no international copyright law whatever; and the internal or municipal copyright is regulated by an act of Congress of 3d February 1831, in which the provisions, with regard to works first published in America, are very much the same with the earlier law of this country as embraced in the statute of Queen Anne extended by the subsequent act of 54 George III. cap. 156, with regard to books brought out in Great Britain. The right is granted to citizens or residents, and is given for twenty-eight years, with an extension of fourteen years if either the author or his wife or children survive the term of the original grant. By section 8 of this act, it is expressly declared "that nothing in this act shall be construed to extend to prohibit the importation or vending, printing or publishing, of any map, chart, book, musical composition, print or engraving, written, composed, or made by any person not being a citizen of the United States, nor (or) resident within the jurisdiction thereof;" and the next section limits the protection of unpublished manuscripts in the same manner.

Contrasting the two systems, it will be at once seen that the main distinction between them consists in these particulars: that, while in Great Britain it is essential to copyright that there has been no *prior* publication elsewhere, in the United States of America that requisite is not included. But second, while in this country there is provision for giving to a foreign author—the native or inhabitant of a country which recognises a reciprocity of legislation with Great Britain on this subject—a copyright in his work in this country, there is no such provision in United States law. Had the latter country adopted the cosmopolitan policy of England, (which is leading the way in this as in everything else,) the copyright of new works might be secured to authors in both countries; but the stipulation of "citizenship, or residence within the dominions of the United States at the time of publication," is of course a fatal barrier to any such attempt. As a British subject, I am thankful when I say that the barrier is not of English, but of American formation.

Thus, at present, stands the law of these two countries in relation to this subject. There is nothing to prevent the works of British authors, printed in England, being reprinted and sold in

America without their consent; neither is there anything to prevent the works of American authors, published in America, from being reprinted and sold in England, without the consent of such American author being obtained or even asked. An author publishing in either country has no way of securing to himself any benefit from the sale of his work in the other, save by some such ruse as that of bringing out, in addition to his original work, an edition with such notes as may, through the medium of a third party, be the subject of copyright in the other country; or, by the mode often adopted in the United States by the English magazines, of introducing into some of the numbers during the year articles from the pens of American writers, which articles, being previously made the subject of copyright in America, cannot be reprinted by any one there, save with the proprietor's consent.*

But while the laws of the two countries thus operate in the same way against the interests of the literary men of both, there is this substantial distinction between the two—one in which the liberality of the mother country contrasts favourably with the more exclusive policy of her gigantic offshoot—Great Britian offers a reciprocity of privilege, and it is America that refuses it. England says, give my literary children an equal privilege in your territories, and I have already passed an act under which I will give your authors copyright privileges throughout my dominions. But the United States refuses to listen to the proposal, and by her provision of "citizenship or residence," limits her copyright to the authors belonging to, or living on, her own soil.

Now, among the effects that would be produced by an international law of copyright between the two countries—or, to speak more accurately, among the beneficial results that would arise were America agreeing to reciprocate the liberal policy of Great Britain on this subject, the following are palpable and beyond question:—

Such reciprocity would secure to the authors of both countries a much larger field for profit, as well as fame; and, while the writers of both would be thereby benefited, the larger share of the advantage would be to the literary men of America. To them there would be immediately opened up profitable access to a population of some forty millions of people, exclusive of the whole vast colonial empire of Great Britain; while the similar addition made to the field for the Englishman's operations would be some-

* I was told, in Boston, that the proprietors of *Blackwood* had the merit of striking out this most legitimate mode of countermining the attempts made to deprive them of the profits arising from the very extensive sale of their popular periodical in the United States of America. By securing the services of literary men of the American Confederation, and resident therein, they have not only added to their staff, but secured themselves against reprints in the United States—save with their own consent.

where about one moiety of the number above named. Than the literary men of a nation, there is surely no class of persons who more deserve that attention should be paid to their interests in the general legislation. They are no doubt a comparatively small body, and therefore it is that their voice is so little heard, even in matters in which they are especially concerned. But let not our American friends forget that it was the remark of one of their own earlier Governors—an observation of the first Governor of Massachusetts (Winthrop)—that "the best part of a community is always the least, and of this least part the wiser is always the less" —a remark which deserves special remembrance, not only in America, but everywhere else.

While, however, it would conserve and promote the literary interests of both countries that America reciprocated the international policy of Great Britain on this subject, it is most especially for the interest and consequent advancement of her own literary school that she should do so. Compared with that of England, the literary school of the United States is yet in its infancy. No doubt in this, as in other respects, the republic is making rapid progress; and when adorned with such names as Sigourney, Irving, Bancroft, Prescott, Longfellow, Bryant, Story, Kent, Greenleaf, and Hoffman, it were absurd to question the right of America to take a high position in the world of letters. But still, as contrasted with England, most of her national literary laurels have yet to be gathered; and what can more tend to retard her in this career than placing her literary men at a disadvantage as regards the remunerative character of their productions? Exposed as he is to the competition of another publisher, who reprints an English work of a kindred nature, without paying its author a single sixpence out of the profits derived from its sale, how can the publisher who purchases the manuscript of an American author afford to give a fair or reasonable price for the object of his acquisition? That authors of distinction do not, in general, write from motives of gain has nothing to do with the question. If it had, it might be worth while to stop, to point out the host of facts that are on record which lead to a somewhat different conclusion; but this, at all events, must be conceded—that the supply of literary productions, and the number of men who will devote themselves to literary pursuits in any country, will ever be more or less influenced by the value placed on them, as evinced by the remuneration given them for their labours. Most of the men of distinguished literary name in America follow other professions or callings, or are engaged in diplomatic life. The classic and elegant Longfellow is Professor of Modern Literature in Harvard College—Bryant is editor of a newspaper in New York—the United States' historian

Bancroft was sent by the cabinet of the United States to this country—Washington Irving went as minister of the United States to Spain; and the same remark may be made with reference to various others of the great names of the literary republic of America. How far this sinking of the literary in the professional and diplomatic character has originated in the non-remunerating nature of literary labour, I do not pretend to say; but, in saying that it has much to do with it, I only state the opinion I have myself formed, and one which is very generally entertained in the United States themselves. I find no fault with the fact. That the field of diplomatic life should be open to the ambition of literary men augurs favourably for a nation. Nay, more; because men are actively engaged in the discharge of the duties of professional or official life, it does not therefore necessarily follow that they have the less inclination, or, apparently, the less time for the prosecution of literary pursuits. Of this we have many remarkable instances. In addition to the American ones I have before mentioned, we have numerous men in Great Britain who may be referred to by way of illustration. Henry (Lord) Brougham wrote the numerous works, treatises, essays, lives, histories, and dissertations, which remain a record of the versatility as well as of the vigour of his powerful mind, while in the discharge of the duties of an arduous profession, and engaged in the turmoil of political life, or after he had commenced the herculean task of disposing of the arrears of business in the Court of Chancery of England; Francis Jeffrey found time to produce the numerous papers which adorn the pages of the *Edinburgh Review*, while engaged in the very vortex of his profession as a lawyer—in which profession he occupied the very highest position; Professor Wilson, the world-renowned Christopher North of *Blackwood*, wrote his various poems and novels, in addition to all his numerous and noble contributions to the magazine he so long edited, while discharging the duties of the professional chair; and to add yet another instance, the historian of Europe, Alison, has not only found time to write the greater part of his great work, but to write many other works, besides numerous and erudite contributions to the periodical literature of the day, while occupying the situation of judge-ordinary, both in civil and criminal matters, in the most populous county—in which is the most populous city—in Scotland.*

* It will give the reader a more graphic idea of the amount of official and judicial duty, ably and satisfactorily discharged by this eminent and popular author, and the zealous discharge of which has not prevented the production of the many works of ability and research which immortalise his name, to peruse the following quotation from a speech of Mr. (now Lord) Brougham, delivered in the House of Commons on the 29th April 1830, in which he thus makes mention of the amount of judicial business transacted in the *civil* court, of which Mr. Alison is the judge:—

Similar examples might be multiplied, but they only prove that professional, official, or even judicial duty does not necessarily debar from literary labour. They furnish no reason why men of letters should be almost compelled to engage in other, and ofttimes uncongenial pursuits, because of the insufficiency of the remuneration received from their publications. Besides, it is to be questioned whether literature will flourish as a separate profession in any country in great vigour, unless there be in it a body—a large body—of men who make it the principal, if not the exclusive business of their lives; and this cannot be reasonably expected to be the case, if the prosecution of it leads not to competence, if not to something more. If therefore the United States of America would see literature flourish amongst them with additional vigour, let their Congress at once pass a law, similar in effect to the bill introduced into the United States' Senate in 1837, by that able, venerable, and accomplished statesman, the Hon. Henry Clay, for extending the privilege of the act of 1831 to the non-resident subjects of Great Britain and of France in respect of future publications. The result of such a measure would be at once seen in the renewed impetus it would give to American literature itself, whatever might be its effects as regards the literature of England.

Another effect of such a measure on the part of America as that now contended for, would be to improve the character of the English works which are generally sold at public places—at railway stations—on board steamboats—and in hotels, in and throughout the United States. Who, that has travelled in the American Union, has not been struck with the inferior, trashy, if not immoral character and tendency of the majority of the cheap publications that are tendered for his acceptance at such places as have been indicated? Nearly all of these publications are reprints of books published in England, and the works of our inferior novelists, productions replete with the marvellous, or with details taken wholesale from the criminal records—books which profess to give the minutiæ of what is called European fashionable life, for the gratification of a morbid taste or desire to pry into its secret details; but which carry falsehood on the very face of them—reprints of English translations of demoralising books originally brought out in France—and which are the more calculated to do mischief in that they make a parade of exhibiting the pleasantness of vice, only that they may afterwards show that the end was destruction. I appeal to every candid American if such be not a fair and disinterested description of the

"Taking the number of cases, and the value of property involved in them, brought in the county court of Lanarkshire, which includes Glasgow, it will be found that half a million's worth is adjudicated on annually by that court." If such was the state of maters twenty years ago, the amount, as well as the importance of the business, has more than doubled since the above date.

literary food supplied in public places, and public vehicles of travel, for the use of the general public in the United States of America. When I went over the rivers and railways of America, there was a temporary improvement on the general state of matters in this respect. The two first volumes of Macaulay's *History of England* had some months before made their appearance from Great Britain, and after a very brief space the work had been reprinted in a very cheap form; and it is but fair to say, that I saw many of these reprints, of this great and good work, in the hands of the travelling stationers and others, and many of them sold at the very low price of seventy-five cents, or about three shillings sterling. But they were exposed for sale side by side with such books as *The Mysteries of the Criminal Records*, Paul de Kock's *Paul the Profligate, The Great City, et hoc genus omne.* Indeed, I refer to this sale of the cheap editions of Mr. Macaulay's book the more readily, not merely because it is only right to state the whole facts, but because in a conversation I had with an intelligent statesman in America on this subject of international copyright, he pointed to the rapid and extensive sale of such a book as Mr. Macaulay's *History of England*, as one of the advantages secured to his country by the non-existence of such a copyright law. Now, even were it so—even did the refusal of reciprocity in protection, by way of copyright, lead to the cheapening of English books of an improving character, and consequently to their being more read by the great mass of the people, it were easy to show that the advantage is gained at the too costly price of doing injustice to the great body of American literary men, retarding and repressing America in her literary career, and leading to an inundation of cheap books of the most demoralising character. But it is not so. Ere I close these few observations on this subject, I will show that the cheapness of books might be secured in America, without involving any denial of the reciprocity for which I contend: meanwhile, the object is to prove that one of the effects of such a denial is the overwhelming number of cheap publications, of an inferior and injurious character, which find their way into the hands of the general body of the people, to the exclusion of the better works. If theft it be, (as some argue,) it is a theft of trash. The reason of this is very obvious. If a publisher could not reprint an English work without some previous arrangement with the author of it, such publisher would take care that he did not put himself to the expense of printing and publishing anything that would not stand the test of time and examination; and however the taste of the vicious part of the public may throw the tendency at first, the taste of the general body of a people is sure to come right at last. Silly, immoral, impure works may find a degree of popularity for a time, but in a short space they are sure to become unsaleable. But

as cheapness and novelty are (as matters at present stand) the main consideration in the United States, and as the publisher of an English reprint pays nothing for the right to do so, all he cares for is to print just so many copies of a work as will take immediately, without reference to its inherent merits, or the probable continuance of its popularity,—as many as he can rapidly dispose of before a rival can interfere with a reprint, to deprive him of part of his sales. Were the publisher secured in his possession by a copyright, he would be more careful in his selection of the work to be reprinted, and more regardful of the probability of its finding acceptance with the moral and reflecting, who compose, I rejoice to think, a large proportion of the American nation.

Another effect of such an international copyright—and the last I will trouble the reader with for the present—would be to equalize the price of standard works in both countries; and, on the whole, also to cheapen such works in both. Here we touch on the kind of argument which is in general used as a reason for America's refusal to reciprocate with England in an international law. It is supposed, and said, that the effect would be to enhance the prices of English books in America, and thus place them beyond the reach of many of the industrious classes. This is a misconception of the probable effects. Whether, even were the result to be a slight or even a considerable enhancement in the price of the works of British authors in the Union, the American statesmen are acting wisely in refusing reciprocity—whether they do right in sustaining a state of things which makes Macaulay, Alison, and Tytler, Hemans, Wordsworth, and Moore, Dickens, Wilson, and Bulwer, so cheap, that their very cheapness offers an inducement for the American public to read them in preference to Sigourney, Longfellow, and Bryant, Bancroft, Everett, and Prescott, Irving, Cooper, and Dana, admits of very grave questioning. But they do not, by so sustaining the questionable system, get even the supposed advantage. It is not America's denial of international copyright that has cheapened and is cheapening books, but it is America's denial of international copyright that has produced all the injurious consequences to America herself that have been already pointed out.

Other causes than the supposed one have contributed to the lessening of the price of literary productions, not only in America, but in England. In both countries they have been coming down in price for some years past, and they are now in general published and sold at prices so low as to place the best works within the reach of the general body of readers. If, as a rule, books are now much lower in price in the United States than they are in Great Britain, the observation applies chiefly, if not alone, to the reprints of British authors—reprints which are ofttimes brought out with a degree of

inaccuracy of type, inelegance of form and of printing, and insufficiency of binding, which makes them truly dearer, at the cheap price, than editions printed and published with greater care would be at the high one. This is another of the effects of the want of a system of international copyright, between these two kindred nations, of which I would say a few words ere I conclude; meanwhile the question is as to the legitimate causes which have so much lessened the price of literary productions of late years.

Of these it will be sufficient here to mention these two—the falling in of copyright books by the expiry of the term of protection, and the increase in the numbers of the reading public. The first of these, although important, is of such second-rate influence compared with the last, that it may be passed over without further remark. The main cause of the diminished price of books is the increase in the number of readers, and that authors and publishers have found from experience, that here, as in everything else, an enhanced price produces a diminished demand. Proprietors of copyright books do not now wait the expiry of the term of protection before publishing editions at a price so cheap as to put them within the reach of the general public. Of this the instances are so numerous that the difficulty is in selection. To take the latest I have observed, most of the popular novels of Mr. James, and of the equally popular historical romances of Mr. Ainsworth, most of which were within the last few years published at the price of £1 11s. 6d. each, are even now, in the lifetime of the authors, and during the subsistence of the copyright, publishing in London in volumes each containing a complete novel or romance, printed on good paper, with a good clear type, neatly got up, and *not in columns*, at the price of one shilling. Similar instances will present themselves to every reader, illustrative of the fact that the effect of a copyright in keeping up the price of books of general acceptability has been greatly over-estimated. In short, the price at which the works of our best authors are now usually published, or republished, seems to be very much regulated by the number of the class of readers to whom they are addressed or adapted, or who may be likely to peruse them. Works on law, medicine, or abstract science, or curious and erudite dissertations on philology and suchlike abstruse subjects, are dear—not from anything in the difficulty or expense of publication, but from the limited number of the parties to whom they are more immediately addressed. Works on theology are comparatively cheap, because there is in this country a numerous class by whom they are purchased, if not perused; and books of fiction and light literature are generally cheapest of all, because such works find numerous readers among all classes of the community.

And what, then, might not be expected to arise from the intro-

duction of an international reciprocity system on this subject? Were American authors protected in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and our numerous colonies, and were British authors protected in the United States of America, the number of readers would be vastly increased to both; the authors would be protected from a most undesirable competition; the general price would be reduced, because more books would be sold; and only better and more accurate editions would find their way before the public. And, let our American friends ponder this, the advantage in all these respects would greatly preponderate on their side. The field opened up to the American author would be increased in a greater ratio than that opened up to the British one. The undesirable competition which exists at present tells far more against him than it does against the literary men of England. It is in America, not in England, that the great complaint is made of works being thrust before the public with a haste and carelessness which is inconsistent with accuracy: a fact which is powerfully illustrated by this, that some of the first booksellers of New York, Boston, and Philadelphia, sell many copies of English editions of English books, inasmuch as American gentlemen, making additions to their libraries, often prefer paying the English price for the accurately printed and strongly bound imported work, rather than the much smaller price for the hastily got up and loosely put together copy of the reprinted book. In one of the most extensive publishers in the city of Boston, I was assured of this fact; and it was corroborated by the number of imported books I saw in the premises; and confirmed by a sale, in my presence, of an English copy of the two first volumes of Mr. Macaulay's great work, at the English price of 16*s*. per volume, although an American reprint of the book, of as much apparent neatness and largeness of type, and excellence of paper, lay alongside of it, marked at a price of only one-third the abovenamed sum.

The introduction of Mr. Clay's bill of 1837, and the support it received, shows that there is a class of men in America favourable to this literary reciprocity of legislation between the two countries —a class which is both intelligent and influential. It is to be hoped that their numbers and their influence will increase; and that, aided by the pens of those to be chiefly benefited, their efforts will eventuate in the production of legislative enactments which will treat authors as they deserve to be treated—not as members of this or of that country, or as citizens of this or of that community—but as cosmopolitans, as benefactors of their race, and candidates for the plaudits of the whole family of mankind. As he peruses the immortal productions of their genius and patient research; as he appropriates to himself their observations or their

creations, or as he proceeds to furnish his mind from their works with thoughts, and to people his brain with never-dying and ever-delightful memories and associations, who thinks or who cares what country may have given birth to a Shakspeare, a Byron, a Campbell, or a Scott? The country whence they sprung is proud of them, and well she may; but they wrote not alone for her, or scarcely even more for her than for the rest of the world. Their name and their fame is heard over all the earth. Wherever there exists a mind that can appreciate talent, or a heart that can respond to the touch of genius, to that spot did they address themselves; and of that spot, wherever it may be, such men may be considered the adopted children. And as I hope it is with the departed as well as with the living authors of Great Britain in America, so I know it is in Great Britain with the literary men of the Republic. Who cares to consider, as he peruses the works of the American Hemans—Mrs. Sigourney—or of the graceful, elegant, and able Longfellow, or the vigorous and energetic Bryant, whether the authors of such works are English or American—whether they were born and educated in Boston in England, or in its greater name-child, Boston in the States?

The only legislation that were fitted for the question of international copyright, is one based upon the above principles—one which recognizes, in all its length and breadth, the cosmopolitan nature of literary claims—one, in short, which acknowledges wisdom in the motto prefixed to this chapter, and sympathizes with the feelings set forth in its kindred verse,—

> "Where'er the human heart doth wear
> Joy's myrtle-wreath or sorrow's gyves;
> Where'er a human spirit strives
> After a life more true and fair,
> There is the true man's birth-place grand,
> His is the world-wide fatherland."

There is one other subject on which I would desire to say a few words, ere bringing to a conclusion this narrative of impressions and experiences connected with a visit to the United States of America, and that subject is the question of

EMIGRATION,

and the advantages or disadvantages attaching to the great North American continent as a place to which Europeans, and especially my own fellow-countrymen, may convey those thews, sinews, and other appliances, or that knowledge, science, and capital, which have proved insufficient for their comfortable maintenance in the midst of the greater competition and elbowing of their native land.

Emigration from Europe is likely to become one of the leading questions of the day; and without disputing—nay, on the contrary, admitting—the great claims, capacities, and advantages held out by the vast continent of Australasia, as a field for the able and the enterprising, it is hoped that the following remarks on emigration to America may prove of some use to those persons whom connexion, vicinity, or other ground of preference, may induce to go there, rather than to the more distant British dependencies of New South Wales or New Zealand.

Never having visited the vast possessions of England in the Indian or South Pacific Ocean, I am, as a matter of course, quite incompetent to institute any comparison between them and the American continent, in regard to the inducements they respectively hold out to intending emigrants. In offering the following suggestions, therefore, it is very far from my intention to persuade any one to prefer North America to Australasia. Neither is it my intention to make any direct comparison between the United States of America and the noble, varied, and extensive colonial possessions of Great Britain on the American continent, as places of location for parties from this country seeking a home on the other side of the Atlantic. Such tasks are too extensive to be introduced at the close of a work of this nature. Were I to adventure on such comparative views at all, I fear my feelings of patriotism would give a strong bias to my reasoning. As a general rule, I think it most desirable, and most worthy the attention of the Government of this country, that everything possible should be done to direct the torrent of emigration, which has for many years been going on and increasing, towards the shores of our own valuable colonies; and, inasmuch as the vast majority of voluntary emigrants are influenced in their choice of the place to which they emigrate, chiefly, if not solely, by ties of a hereditary or family nature, the plain course would be to give direction and impetus, by making public grants to aid in conveying bodies of emigrants from particular localities of the mother country, and for settling them in circumstances of sufficient comfort on public lands in the colony. Such an arrangement might be accompanied by provision for the repayment of the loan or grant, or of part of it, by small annual instalments out of the profit of the reclaimed lands. The nucleus thus formed, the hereditary and family ties already spoken of might safely be left to work out the rest.

This is an interesting and important subject, but it is not my intention to follow it farther for the present, having made mention of it simply to show that in the following remarks I do not profess to enter upon, much less to discuss, the general question of emigration. My object is merely to note down a few remarks as the

results of personal inquiry and observation—remarks which may prove of service to persons who may contemplate emigrating, and who may have determined on America as the scene to which they will remove themselves.

Believing that emigration has its origin in natural causes which no legislation can effectually control, and believing also that any legislative measures designed to restrain it would be unjust and unwise, even if they could accomplish the object aimed at, I think the wisest course is to direct and not to retard, and that the best direction is to circulate information on the subject of American emigration, both to the colonies and to the States.

The intending emigrant to America should, in the first place, make himself well acquainted with the nature of the climate of that portion of the British possessions, or of the Republic, to which he may think of directing his steps. On this subject there is great misconception prevalent. The Southern States of the Union, such as Georgia, North and South Carolina, and Virginia, are neither so hot nor so unhealthy as they are generally supposed to be; neither are the extreme Northern States, or the Canadas, or New Brunswick, or Nova Scotia, so cold as they are usually supposed to be. As regards the former, while parts of them are too hot and too unhealthy to be comfortable or desirable locations for a European, yet other parts of them, among the hill-country and villages of the western portions, enjoy a temperate climate, which is not merely consistent with, but also conducive to, comfort and longevity. While as regards the latter, it may be safely laid down as a general truth that, though the winters are somewhat colder than they are in Great Britain, they are also much drier; and while they do not exceed, even in Nova Scotia, an average of four months' duration, the spring and summer are characterized by a luxuriance and rapidity of vegetation which adapts the north particularly to agricultural pursuits. Moreover, the chief cities of Canada, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, &c., are all to the south of Great Britain.

There are thus, at all events, very great variations of climate in the North American continent, from an almost tropical heat to a great intensity of cold; and these varieties are not to be judged of simply by a knowledge of the latitude and longitude of the particular places: therefore the emigrant should carefully acquaint himself, through channels on which he can rely, regarding the particulars of the climate of his contemplated location, ere he leaves his native country.

After climate, the selection of soil is the next matter to be attended to. Here the choice is so great as to be very puzzling. In the United States, the price of the Government lands is one

dollar and a quarter an acre. But these lands lie chiefly in the newly-settled states; and I found it to be the generally expressed opinion of intelligent Americans, that the emigrant from Europe would find it more to his advantage to secure lands in some of the older states, even though he should do so by the payment of a considerably enhanced price. If the lands in the new states are lower, there are disadvantages in the thinness of the population, and in the want of roads and markets; while in the older states, if the price of land be higher, there are great advantages in sufficiency of labour and means of transit. Besides, the price of land in the older settlements is not very much higher than it is in the new—at least if favourable opportunities of purchase be watched and taken advantage of. In 1849, while the California mania was in the height of its fervour, and even at a later date, lands were to be had in North America, in localities where the roads were good, the markets accessible, and the institutions of the country, with all the appliances for comfort and even luxury, in a forward state, at very moderate prices—such prices as two, three, or four dollars per acre, according to the comparative advantages of location. Moreover, the purchase of lands in such localities makes the change of country less felt than when it is to a remoter, ruder, and newer scene; and there are always plenty of persons to be found who, from a variety of causes, are disposed to sell their established partially-cleared farms, and either depart to the south in search of gold, or go farther onwards to clear for themselves a new home on the outer extremity of civilized life, as the pioneers of advancing civilization.

The above remarks on locality have more peculiar application to the United States; but they apply also to the British possessions in North America. In these colonies also it is true that the emigrant often commits the mistake of choosing a lonely location, in a part of the country comparatively unsettled, when a very little more of original expenditure would secure him better land, in a settled community, and with ready access to markets.

Having formed his resolution regarding climate and soil, let the emigrant look well to the sufficiency of the title he may get to any land he may invest a part of his money in purchasing. In the British possessions this is easy enough; and I have great pleasure in saying, on the information of many professional friends in the United States, that if the matter be properly gone about, it is there as easy. There is an error generally prevalent on this subject in Great Brtain. Land titles in the American Union are not environed with more difficulties than they are in this country. There is no reason they should be so; inasmuch as American lawyers, as a body, are abundantly acute and able, and, I have much pleasure in adding, highly honour-

able likewise. Moreover, the record system is universal in the United States; and the very fact that land is plentiful and cheap lessens one of the difficulties in settling boundaries.

There are some other considerations that might be suggested as requiring the attention of the emigrant contemplating the continent of North America as the scene of his future home. These would be specified and commented on, were this brief dissertation intended to be a full disquisition on the subject. What has been written is, however, sufficient for the purpose in view, which was to direct attention to the difficulties in the way of emigrants, particularly the poorer class of them, getting that accurate information before leaving home, which is so necessary and so desirable; and to the advantage likely to accrue from the establishment of a proper association for their assistance and protection—not merely up to the hour of their arrival on the shores of the country of their adoption, but when proceeding, after reaching that land, to the particular location forwhich they are destined. He who has seen the condition of numbers of the poorer class of emigrants, when passing up the rivers either to the North or the South of the American continent, (either up the St. Lawrence or up the Mississippi,) on their way to their destination, will appreciate these remarks without further illustration. Having left their native country with but little information as to the place for which they are destined, save that it is in America, and that they have relations or connexions there—after having been partially robbed of their little all at the seaport of their embarkation—after having also been misled into taking a circuitous and expensive route to their future home—it frequently happens that these poor people arrive at an American seaport, to be again partially plundered, and put to much unnecessary trouble, inconvenience, and expense, ere they are permitted to reach the particular locality chosen by them as the scene of their voluntary exile. The perishing of thousands of such emigrants by the way adds a feature of deep melancholy to the scenes thus feebly pointed at. Some of the notes in which these remarks originated were written when sailing on the Mississippi, in May 1849, during which month nearly every steamer that went up that mighty and muddy river, with emigrants, lost a large portion of its living freight through the ravages of cholera, and the total unpreparedness of the poor people as regards every thing calculated to aid the constitution in resisting attack. Part of them were also taken when sailing up the St. Lawrence, from Quebec to Montreal, in the same year, with a steamer which had on board of it a number of emigrants, the remains saved from certain shipfuls that had sailed from Ireland and Scotland, but had suffered shipwreck in the ice. There was no cholera or other epidemic raging amongst these last, but it was melancholy to find, on getting into

conversation with them, how ill-defined were their ideas, and how vague were their hopes. Few of them knew anything at all of the peculiarities of the part of Canada, &c., they had selected for their future home, and many of them did not even know in what direction it lay.

Now all this suffering might be saved, were an association formed, established on proper principles, and presided over by men of influence and character, (to give a public guarantee for its integrity,) both in Great Britain, in her colonial possessions, and in the United States—an association whose officers might obtain and circulate all necessary information, and take charge of the emigrants, both ere they leave this country, and after they arrive on the distant shore. It is not my intention here to point out what should or might be the constitution of such an association; but it is candid that I add, that the idea of protecting the emigrant from spoliation, by means of the organisation of an emigration company, while it had its origin in conversations with men of influence and information on the other side of the Atlantic, has been greatly confirmed by considering the constitution of the Universal Land and Emigration Association, formed in London, with branches in America and elsewhere—an association to which I wish every measure of success, being satisfied that its objects are philanthropic, and its basis sound; and knowing that, even did its beneficial operations extend no further than to the protection of the emigrant up to the period of his arrival at the place of his choice, the amount of good to be effected would be unquestionably great. An attractive feature of this association, (but one not peculiar to it, though only of late introduction in aid of emigration,) is an application of the principle of life insurance. Under the operation of this principle, the emigrant who is unable to purchase the land which he designs to cultivate may lease it for life, at the same time insuring his life for a sum equivalent to the value of the fee-simple. Thereafter, an annual payment of the premium of insurance, and of the small annual rent of the land, secures him the possession during his lifetime; while, at his death, the property descends to his heirs, or follows the disposition he may himself have made of it, free and unencumbered, the Association being protected from loss by means of the life-policy originally taken out.

It is not for a work like this either to discuss the general question of the necessity and expediency of emigration from Europe, or to follow out the various modes in which systems of emigration may be originated and carried on, of a nature, and in a manner, which will conserve both the comfort of the emigrant and the profit of the capitalist; but there are a few broad facts on the subject which demonstrate the importance of the adoption of proper measures for the regulation of the emigration. Of these the greatest is, that, even

while we speculate on its necessity or expediency, it is going on and increasing. Even while we debate the question of whether any withdrawal of labour from the markets of Europe is requisite or desirable, multitudes are deciding that question for themselves, and crossing the ocean, many of them literally in *search* of a new home. Nay, more, the numbers of those that do so are increasing. In 1846, the total number of emigrants from Great Britain was 129,851; in 1847, it rose to 258,270; while, in 1848, it was 248,089. The mass of these emigrants have gone to the continent of North America; and, of those that have gone there, the larger number have gone to the States. With such a fact before us, it is obviously no answer to an appeal for the adoption of measures to regulate this stream of emigration, (so as to prevent its being attended with a sacrifice of life and property,) to say that there is no necessity for emigrating at all. Of that the individuals who emigrate should be the best judges; and it surely augurs a very powerful motive, that whole families, from the grayheaded grandsire to the young man just entering upon that period of life when hope is brightest and love of country strongest, tear themselves from ties of home, and embark by shipfuls to seek a distant home across a hitherto untried wave. No speculation will getter the better of the argument which the fact supplies; and therefore it is that every friend of humanity ought to contemplate with satisfaction any judicious measure for conducting emigration in such a way as will prevent its being attended with that loss of life, and squandering of property, the past existence of which is best known to those who have most studied the fortunes of the emigrants, not only up to the date of their leaving this country, but up to that of their arrival at the far-off home of their adoption. No doubt it has been by some urged, as an argument against concurring in measures for the encouragement of emigration, by making it more pleasant and more safe, that we are thereby aiding in the withdrawal, not of the useless or worthless, but of a very valuable class of the community, and also of much capital, which might otherwise be profitably employed or invested at home. A little inquiry and reflection destroys much of the force of the first branch of this objection; and the same means lead to the conclusion that the second is not so sound, in point of fact, as it at first sight appears. No doubt, many very valuable members of the community do emigrate; but the fact of their doing so is the best evidence of their inability to find profitable development for their capabilities at home; and besides, their departure makes room for others, who would not otherwise be able so to employ themselves as to add to the general resources of the nation. Exceptional cases there are, but these prove nothing against the general rule. Emigrants from some districts might find all the relief their particular

cases require, without emigrating beyond the limits of their native land. But it is surely not to be argued that obstacles should be thrown in the way even of the departure of such persons. Liberty to choose for himself the place of his location is one of the dearest birth-rights of a free-born man; and the love of country and of home, by nature implanted, and strongest in the breasts of the most valuable of a nation's peasantry and people, is an abundantly safe check against the undue increase of such exceptional cases as have been now referred to.

As to the monetary part of the question, it is of course true that a large sum is annually withdrawn by the departure of a numerous army of emigrants. But, even without going into a very lengthened investigation, it would not be difficult to show that the impetus given to trade by these very "pioneers of civilisation and of liberty," and by the demand which they aid in creating, in distant lands, for the manufactured commodities of the Old Country, very speedily restores the amount removed, even with the addition of a profit. There is, however, another source of return which is more apt to be overlooked, and that is, the pecuniary amounts sent home by previous emigrants, in their affectionate desire to aid the relatives and connexions they have left behind to leave the crowded fields of competition at home, and join them in the less occupied, though perchance ruder, scene to which they had withdrawn themselves. To the credit of the warm-hearted sons and daughters of Erin be it said, that this is an especial feature in the emigration from the Emerald Isle, nearly three-fourths of the whole expense of emigration from Ireland being defrayed by remittances made by previous emigrants. As to the amount actually remitted I find it authentically stated that the sum paid in the United States of America, in settlement of the passage-money of persons going hence, with the amount remitted on the same account through mercantile firms in Liverpool and different parts of Ireland, (exclusive of that which passed through the house of Baring, Brothers, and Co., of which there was no return,) was in the year 1848 upwards of £460,000.

But the facts last mentioned are only subjects for consideration; They enter not into the general argument of whether it is expedient to adopt measures for the regulation of that tide of emigration which has for some years been so steadily increasing. With many others, I have arrived at the conclusion, that to do so were highly expedient and highly philanthropic.

But while the government and people of these lands, already abundantly supplied with inhabitants, are thus called upon to aid in the promotion of the comfortable translation of such of their fellow-countrymen as may wish expatriation, those of the lands to be supplied from that abundance have even a stronger call, and a

deeper interest, in the matter—although this is a view of the question to which much attention has not yet been directed. If *emigration*, properly conducted, tends to the relief of a too thickly-peopled country, *immigration* properly conducted, will tend to the advancement of a nation whose territory is too extensive for its population. In both these cases there is the same necessity for the adoption of controlling measures. Emigration may weaken and impoverish when it should only relieve. Immigration may demoralize and debase, when it should only supply the means of subjugating the soil. If in either case evil is the issue, the fault lies not in encouraging the one or in promoting the other, but in the absence of proper measures of regulation or control. As natives of a land whence numbers of the community are annually removing themselves, it is with emigration that the British public have to do; and few among them can fail to rejoice at the spirit which has lately manifested itself to adopt measures for the protection and safety of those whom difficulties at home, or any other causes, may induce to seek a new and distant home in any of Great Britain's numerous and noble colonies, or even in other lands.

CHAPTER XVI.

"Lives there the man . . . .

Whose heart hath ne'er within him burned,
When home his footsteps he hath turned
From wandering on a foreign strand."

SCOTT.

TRITE as is the above quotation, it accurately describes a feeling which more or less pervades every one of whose composition love of country forms a part. We may talk and write of being cosmopolites, and it is right and proper that we should often feel, and generally act as if we were so. But there is an inner shrine for love of country and home; and strangely constituted must be the heart that can return to the shores of his native land without some feelings of pleasurable emotion. What may be the feelings of the man who has expatriated himself for nearly a lifetime, or even for a series of years, I cannot pretend to say; but this I can affirm, that it was with much satisfaction, excitement, and pleasant sensation that, the pain of the farewell to my kind friends in Boston over, I found myself on the morning after going on board the steamship Caledonia, Captain Leitch, bounding onwards in the course for the white cliffs of Old England.

A sail of some forty hours brought us to Halifax, the capital of Nova Scotia, which I was agreeably surprised to find both a larger and a better built town than the descriptions of others had led me to expect. The most favourable view of Halifax is from the sea—as it stands on the declivity of a hill of about two hundred and fifty feet high—the sides of which are thus seen covered with warehouses, dwelling-houses, and public buildings, rearing their heads in rows, one over the other, up to the summit. These buildings are interspersed and enlivened with the spires of the churches, and of some other erections; and, amongst the whole, a rotunda-looking Dutch church and the signal-posts on Citadel Hill stand conspicuous. To these elements add the different batteries—the variety in the style in which the houses are built, and of the colours with which they are painted; the rows of trees showing themselves in different parts of the town; the numerous ships moored opposite the dockyard, with the establishments and tall shears of the latter; the merchant vessels under sail, or at anchor, or moored alongside the wharves; the wooded and rocky scenery of the background, with the island and small town of Dartmouth on the opposite shore—and the reader will see at once that there is much in a view of Halifax, Nova Scotia, which is calculated to gratify a visitor.

It fortunately happened that the day of our arrival at Halifax was the centenary of the first establishment of the town, by the British in 1749, in which year it was founded in order to protect the British settlements in Nova Scotia from the attacks of the French and the Indians. Preparations had been made for the celebration of the day by a salute of a hundred guns, ringing of bells, review of troops, and display of fireworks. Brief, therefore, as was our stay in Halifax, we were privileged to see it in full dress, and the two hours' ramble through its streets presented more incidents to interest and amuse than, in other circumstances, could have been anticipated. Silken and satin badges, in commemoration of the event, had been prepared; and a colonial bard had composed, printed, and published a Song for the Centenary, in lines of great sweetness of versification as well as of considerable poetic power, and commencing with the verse,

> "Hail to the day! when the Britons came over,
> And planted their standard with sea-foam all wet;
> Above and around us their spirits still hover,
> Rejoicing to mark how we honour it yet."

The public buildings of Halifax are, the Provincial building, which is about 140 feet long, by 70 broad, and has a handsome Ionic colonnade; the Government House, a somewhat gloomy-looking but substantial stone edifice; and Dalhousie College, a fine building, erected of free stone. These, and the very spacious and superior dockyards,

which cover a space of about fourteen acres, may be said to constitute the celebrities of the capital of Nova Scotia.

Leaving Halifax, we found ourselves once more at sea, steaming onward, at an increased rate, as the vessel gradually rose in the water on the equally gradual consumption of the heavy cargo of coals with which she had started from Boston.

The incidents even of the most agreeable sea voyage do not afford much that would interest in the narration; and if that be the case even in a sailing vessel—where there is always the rise and fall and direction of the wind as a subject for speculation, and not unfrequently the amusement of fishing for the monsters of the deep, as "slow the ship" is tracking her progress through the waters—far more true must it be when the voyage is performed in a steamship. Still there were one or two occurrences to note even in the voyage in question. We saw numerous icebergs, a multitude of whales, and enjoyed at least the report that something "as long, sir, as a snake" had been seen performing its evolutions in the vicinity of the ship.

Within two days after leaving Halifax we came in sight of the icebergs, and, during that and the following day, a great many such sparkling islets were visible from the deck. Not less than eight large ones were within near view at one time. The sun shone brightly during the forenoon of each day, and it were not easy to conceive a more beautiful sight than these masses of ice displayed under the influence of his rays. Like most of my fellow-passengers, my attention was particularly directed to the appearance of two of them. The first, to which we approached within the distance of less than a mile, was generally estimated at from 200 to 250 feet high from the surface of the water—although it is a curious study to observe the variety of the conclusions as to the size and distance of objects to which different members of the same party will arrive when the eye alone is the guide. The upper part of the "berg" was of the purest white, as if powdered over with snow, while the base was washed smooth, clear, and somewhat hollow; and the dark-blue wave, as it surged upon it, shone green, or sparkled into foam, in a singularly beautiful manner. When first seen, this ocean-wanderer from the northern seas appeared to all on board as bearing an exact resemblance to a lion couchant; and this semblance it bore during the whole time it continued within view. Ere it faded into distant view, the other I have alluded to attracted the general notice. It was considerably larger in every way than the one already described; and as we approached, neared, passed, and receded from it, the appearances it assumed were ever varying. At one time the exclamation was, How like a perfect fortress of ice! at another, How strongly it resembles a Gothic ruin! These, and the several appearances of mountains, churches, monasteries, Swiss mountain and adjacent goatherds'

cottage, all had their advocates, and each could appeal to the beautiful object itself for some sort of countenance to the similarity which his own imagination had been partly instrumental in forming.

The danger of coming into actual contact with such stern wanderers of the ocean is, of course, much less in a steamship than in a sailing one; but, nevertheless, it seems but too probable that such was the mode in which the ill-fated President, and her whole living freight of crew and passengers, were hurried into eternity: and now, when steaming in the very track in which, in all probability, they were at the time proceeding, and in sight of objects of the same species as those which had sunk them to the bottom, most natural was it that the memory of the gallant Roberts, and his ill-fated crew and passengers, should rise upon the mind with much freshness of recollection. So great a length of time has now elapsed since the event alluded to occurred, without any certain intelligence being obtained on which a competent opinion can be formed as to the exact mode in which the President was lost, that there is no probability of the truth being known to us, till the day of the revelation of all things—that day when "the sea shall give up its dead." But that the destruction was a violent one, although in open sea, is certain; and it is little less so that it occurred in the manner I have supposed, and in the darkness of night, after

> "The sunless day went down
> Over the waste of waters like a veil."

Even while yet among the icebergs, we saw several whales, but it was not till the last of the bergs had faded into thin air that we came to the places where it would seem these monsters "most do congregate." And there they were in number plentiful—ahead, astern, and on every side of us. At some distance they seemed to be reposing on the water—their dark backs alone visible, to an extent of about the size of the back of a horse, or occasionally rolling over in porpoise-like rolls, as if amusing themselves in lazy gambols. As the ship approached nearer—sometimes so near that the bow or paddles were within twenty or thirty yards of the huge animals ere they appeared to observe us—they threw up their tails three or four, or occasionally six feet out of the water, revealed the white underskin beneath, and plunged into the deep abyss, to rise and "spout" at some considerable distance from the ship. One of them performed such-like evolutions within only a few feet of the paddle-box, on which about half-a-dozen of the passengers were standing watching his motions; and, on comparing notes with several of my fellow-passengers, I found the prevalent opinion to be, that, in the course of a few hours, we had seen, within near view, fully a hundred of these fish-like beasts. Of what particular species they were, I did

not inquire; and as to the nature of the occupations in which they were engaged, they had so much the appearance of enjoying themselves with their young, in their appropriate ocean-home, that I was reminded of the facetious description of a whale's probable pleasures, put into the mouth of Hogg, in the "Noctes Ambrosianæ" of *Blackwood*, where the Shepherd says—"Let me see—I sud hae nae great objections to be a whale in the polar seas. Gran' fun to fling a boatful of harpooners into the air, or wi' ae thud o' your tail to drive in the stern-ports of a Greenlandman. But then whales marry but ae wife, and are passionately attached to their offspring. There they and I are congenial speerits. Nae fish that swims enjoys so large a share o' domestic happiness."

It was on the morning after we had passed through the longest herd or flock of whales, that the incident occurred regarding the sea-serpent, of which casual mention has already been made. But, inasmuch as the first report of a snake having been seen from the deck of the ship, about two o'clock in the morning, degenerated into the fact that, at the hour named, one of the passengers, and the officer on the watch, had observed a motion in the waters which had a strong resemblance to the undulating movement in the waves which would be produced by the rapid swimming of a large member of the serpent tribe, the matter would not have been worthy of allusion, had it not been for the discussion which resulted from it on this *questio vexata*, of the probable existence of some such monster—which is not merely amphibious, as most serpents are, but which is so provided, by natural adaptation, as to be able to make the sea its home, just as is done by the whale and other animals, even of the genus mammalia. To judge from the statements of some of the parties on board, having reference to the personal experience of themselves, or of their own credible acquaintances, there would seem to be little doubt of the existence of some such inhabitant of the "world of waters." And, after the description given of the animal, seen some years ago by a clergyman and others in the Hebridean sea—of the one seen several times, and by different parties, off the coast of North America, and particularly off New York and Boston and the shores of Nova Scotia—of the brute clearly seen and minutely described by Captain M'Qhae of the Dædalus and some of the officers of that ship, when cruising in the South Atlantic Ocean in 1848, (not to say anything of the more ancient, but equally graphic account of Pontoppidan,)—it is surely more probable that some such animal exists, than that these various parties have either been deceived themselves, or are attempting to deceive the rest of mankind. The latter idea is now out of the question, and the former seems equally excluded by the very minuteness of the description given by the witnesses themselves. That few such animals have been seen makes nothing against the fact of their exist-

ence. They may be few in number, and there may be good and sufficient reason why they are so, or why they are but rarely seen by human eye, although it may be impossible to adopt the theory, that the existing sea-serpent of American fame is "the only ane o' his species noo extant; and, whether he dees in his bed, or is slain by Jonathan, must incur the pain and opprobrium o' defunckin' an auld batchelor."*

The other incidents of the voyage—the sighting and passing Cape Clear, the going up Channel, the arrival at Liverpool, and the return home, I leave to the imagination of my readers,—thanking them for having accompanied me thus far; and assuring them, that, if they should ever be disposed to take such a voyage, and such a round, it is my fervent hope that they may derive from it as much benefit, and as much pleasure, as it was productive of in the case of

THE AUTHOR.

* See *Blackwood* for July 1827.

APPENDIX.

A

DANISH EMANCIPATION ACT OF 3D JULY, 1848.

JEG

PETER CARL FREDERIK V. SCHOLTEN

Giör villerligt:

1. Alle Ufrie paa de danske vestindiske Oer ere fra Dags Dato frigivne.

2. Negerne paa Plantagerne beholde i 3 Maaneder fra Dato Brugen af de Huse og Provisionsgrunde, hvoraf de nu ere i Besiddelse.

3. Arbeide betales for Fremtiden efter Overeenskomst, hvorimod Allowance ophörer.

4. Underholdningen af Gamle og Svage, som ere ude af Stand til at arbeide, afholdes indtil nærmere Bestemmelse af deres forrige Eiere.

Givet under General Gouvernementets Segl og min Haand.

General Gouvernementet over de danske vestindiske Oer, St. Croix den 3die Juli, 1848.

(L. S.) P. V. SCHOLTEN.

[TRANSLATION.]

I

PETER CHARLES FREDERICK V. SCHOLTEN,

Maketh known:

1. All Unfree in the Danish West India Island are from to-day emancipated.

2. The Estate Negroes retain, for three months from date, the use of the houses and provision-grounds, of which they have hitherto been possessed.

3. Labour is in future to be paid for by agreement, but allowance is to cease.

3. The maintenance of old and infirm, who are not able to work, is, until farther determination, to be furnished by the late owners.

Given under the General Government's Seal and my Hand.

General Government of the Danish West India Islands, St. Croix, the 3d July, 1848.

(L. S.) P. v. SCHOLTEN.

B

Translation of the PROVISIONAL ACT to regulate the relations between the Proprietors of Landed Estates and the Rural Population of Free Labourers.

I, PETER HANSEN, Knight Commander of the Order of Dannebrog, the King's Commissioner for and officiating Governor-General of the Danish West Indian Islands,

MAKE KNOWN: That whereas the Ordinance dated 29th July, 1848, by which yearly contracts for labour on landed estates were introduced, has not been duly acted upon; whereas the interest of the proprietors of estates, as well as of the labourers, requires that their mutual obligations should be defined; and whereas, on inquiry into the practice of the island, and into the private contracts and agreements hitherto made, it appears expedient to establish uniform rules throughout the island for the guidance of all parties concerned, It is enacted and ordained:

Para. 1. All engagements of labourers now domiciled on landed estates and receiving wages in money, or in kind, for cultivating and working such estates, are to be continued as directed by the ordinance of 29th July, 1848, until the first day of October of the present year; and all similar engagements shall in future be made, or shall be considered as having been made, for a term of twelve months, viz: from the first of October till the first of October, year after year.

Engagements made by heads of families are to include their children between five and fifteen years of age, and other relatives depending on them and staying with them.

Para. 2. No labourer engaged as aforesaid in the cultivation of the soil, shall be discharged or dismissed from, nor shall be permitted to dissolve, his or her engagement before the expiration of

the same on the first of October of the present, or of any following year, except in the instances hereafter enumerated :

A. By mutual agreement of master and labourer before a Magistrate.

B. By order of a Magistrate, on just and equitable cause being shown by the parties interested.

Legal marriage, and the natural tie between mothers and their children, shall be deemed by the Magistrate just and legal cause of removal from one estate to another. The husband shall have the right to be removed to his wife, the wife to her husband, and children under fifteen years of age to their mother, provided no objection to employing such individuals shall be made by the owner of the estate to which the removal is to take place.

Para. 3. No engagement of a labourer shall be lawful in future unless made in the presence of witnesses and entered in the day-book of the estate.

Para. 4. Notice to quit service shall be given by the employer, as well as by the labourer, at no other period but once a-year in the month of August, not before the first, nor after the last day of the said month. An entry thereof shall be made in the day-book, and an acknowledgment in writing shall be given to the labourer.

The labourer shall have given, or received, legal notice of removal from the estate where he serves, before any one can engage his services. Otherwise the new contract to be void, and the party engaging or tampering with a labourer employed by others will be dealt with according to law.

In case any owner or manager of an estate should dismiss a labourer during the year without sufficient cause, or should refuse to receive him at the time stipulated, or refuse to grant him a passport when due notice of removal has been given, the owner or the manager is to pay full damages to the labourer, and to be sentenced to a fine not exceeding twenty dollars.

Para. 5. Labourers employed or rated as first, second, or third class labourers, shall perform all the work in the field or about the works, or otherwise concerning the estate, which it hitherto has been customary for such labourers to perform, according to the season. They shall attend faithfully to their work, and willingly obey the directions given by the employer or the person appointed by him. No labourer shall presume to dictate what work he, or she, is to do, or refuse the work he may be ordered to perform, unless expressly engaged for some particular work only. If a labourer thinks himself aggrieved, he shall not therefore leave the work, but in due time apply for redress to the owner of the estate, or to the Magistrate.

It is the duty of all labourers on all occasions and at all times to protect the property of his employer, to prevent mischief to the estate, to apprehend evil-doers, and not to give countenance to or conceal unlawful practices.

Para. 6. The working days to be as usual, only five days in the week, and the same days as hitherto. The ordinary work of estates is to commence at sunrise and to be finished at sunset every day, leaving one hour for breakfast, and two hours at noon, from twelve to two o'clock.

Planters who prefer to begin the work at seven o'clock in the morning, making no separate breakfast time, are at liberty to adopt this plan, either during the year, or when out of crop.

The labourers shall be present in due time at the place where they are to work. The list to be called and answered regularly; whoever does not answer the list when called, is too late.

Para. 7. No throwing of grass, or of wood, shall be exacted during extra hours, all former agreements to the contrary notwithstanding; but during crop the labourers are expected to bring home a bundle of longtops from the field where they are at work.

Cartmen and crookpeople when breaking off, shall attend properly to their stock as hitherto usual.

Para. 8. During crop the mill gang, the crook gang, boilermen, firemen, still-men, and any other person employed about the mill and the boiling-house, shall continue their work during breakfast and noon hours, as hitherto usual; and the boilermen, firemen, magass carriers, &c., also during evening hours after sunset, when required; but all workmen employed as aforesaid shall be paid an extra remuneration for the work done by them in extra hours.

The boiling-house is to be cleared, the mill to be washed down and the magass to be swept up, before the labourers leave the work, as hitherto usual.

The mill is not to turn after six o'clock in the evening, and the boiling not to be continued after ten o'clock, except by special permission of the Governor-General, who then will determine if any, and what extra remuneration shall be paid to the labourers.

Para. 9. The labourers are to receive, until otherwise ordered, the following remuneration:

A. The use of a house, or dwelling-rooms for themselves and their children, to be built and repaired by the estate, but to be kept in proper order by the labourers.

B. The use of a piece of provision ground, thirty feet in square as usual, for every first and second class labourer; or if it be standing ground up to fifty feet in square. Third class labourers are not entitled to, but may be allowed some provision ground.

C. Weekly wages at the rate of fifteen cents to every first class labourer, of ten cents to every second class labourer, and of five cents to every third class labourer, for every working day.

Where the usual allowance of meal and herrings has been agreed on in part of wages, full weekly allowance shall be taken for five cents a day, or twenty-five cents a week.

Nurses losing two hours every working day shall be paid at the rate of four full working days in the week.

The wages of minors to be paid as usual to their parents, or to the person in charge of them.

Labourers not calling at pay-time personally, or by another authorized, to wait till next pay-day, unless they were prevented by working for the estate.

No attachment of wages for private debts to be allowed, nor more than two-thirds to be deducted for debts to the estate, unless otherwise ordered by the magistrate.

Extra provisions occasionally given during the ordinary working hours are not to be claimed as a right, nor to be bargained for.

Para. 10. Work in extra hours during crop is to be paid as follows:—

To the mill gang and to the crook gang for working through the breakfast hour one stiver, and working through noon two stivers per day.

Extra provision is not to be given, except at the option of the labourers, in place of the money or in part of it.

The boilermen, firemen, and magass carriers are to receive for all days, when the boiling is carried on until late hours, a maximum pay of twenty (20) cents per day. No bargaining for extra pay by the hour is permitted.

Labourers working such extra hours only by turns are not to have additional payment.

Para. 11. Tradesmen on estates are considered as engaged to perform the same work as hitherto usual, assisting in the field, carting, potting sugar, &c. They shall be rated as first, second, and third class labourers, according to their proficiency. Where no definite terms have been agreed on previously, the wages of first class tradesmen, having full work in their trade, are to be twenty (20) cents per day. Any existing contract with tradesmen is to continue until October next.

No tradesman is allowed to keep apprentices without the consent of the owner of the estate. Such apprentices to be bound for no less period than three years, and not to be removed without the permission of the magistrate.

Para. 12. No labourer is obliged to work for others on Saturdays, but if they chose to work for hire, it is proper that they should give

their own estate the preference. For a full day's work on Saturday there shall not be asked for nor given more than :—

Twenty (20) cents to a first-class labourer.

Thirteen (13) cents to a second-class labourer.

Seven (7) cents to a third-class labourer.

Work on Saturday may however be ordered by the magistrate as a punishment to the labourer, for having absented himself from work during the week for one whole day or more, and for having been idle during the week; and then the labourer shall not receive more than his usual pay for a common day's work.

Para. 13. All the male labourers, tradesmen included, above eighteen years of age, working on an estate, are bound to take the usual night-watch by turns, but only once in ten days. Notice to be given before noon to break off from work in the afternoon with the nurses, and to come to work next day at 8 o'clock. The watch to be delivered in the usual manner by nightfall and by sunrise.

The above rule shall not be compulsory, except where voluntary watchmen cannot be obtained at a hire the planters may be willing to give, to save the time lost by employing their ordinary labourers as watchmen.

Likewise the male labourers are bound, once a-month, on Sundays and holidays, to take the day-watch about the yard, and to act as pasture-men, on receiving their usual pay for a week-day's work. This rule applies also to the crook-boys.

All orders about the watches to be duly entered in the day-book of the estate.

Should a labourer, having been duly warned to take the watch, not attend, another labourer is to be hired in the place of the absentee and at his expense, not however to exceed fifteen cents. The person who wilfully leaves the watch or neglects it, is to be reported to the magistrate and punished as the cause merits.

Para. 14. Labourers wilfully abstaining from work on a working day are to forfeit their wages for the day, and will have to pay over and above the forfeit a fine which can be lawfully deducted in their wages, of seven (7) cents for a first class labourer, five (5) cents for a second class labourer, and (2) cents for a third class labourer.

In crop, on grinding days, when employed about the works, in cutting canes or in crook, an additional punishment will be awarded for wilful absence and neglect by the magistrate, on complaint being made.

Labourers abstaining from work for half a day, or breaking off from work before being dismissed, to forfeit their wages for one day.

Labourers not coming to work in due time to forfeit half a day's wages.

Parents keeping their children from work shall be fined instead of the children.

No charge of house-rent is to be made in future on account of absence from work, or for the Saturday.

Para. 15. Labourers wilfully abstaining from work for two or three days during the week, or habitually absenting themselves, or working badly and lazily, shall be punished as the case merits, on complaint to the magistrate.

Para. 16. Labourers assaulting any person in authority on the estate, or planning and conspiring to retard, or to stop, the work of the estate, or uniting to abstain from work, or to break their engagements, shall be punished according to law on investigation before a magistrate.

Para. 17. Until measures can be adopted for securing medical attendance to the labourers, and for regulating the treatment of the sick and infirm, it is ordered:

That infirm persons, unfit for any work, shall as hitherto be maintained on the estates where they are domiciled, and be attended to by their next relations.

That parents or children of such infirm persons shall not remove from the estate, leaving them behind, without making provision for them to the satisfaction of the owner, or of the magistrate.

That labourers unable to attend to work on account of illness, or on account of having sick children, shall make a report to the manager, or any other person in authority on the estate, who, if the case appears dangerous, and the sick person destitute, shall cause medical assistance to be given.

That all sick labourers, willing to remain in the hospital during their illness, shall there be attended to at the cost of the estate.

Para. 18. If a labourer reported sick, shall be at any time found absent from the estate without leave, or is trespassing about the estate, or found occupied with work requiring health, he shall be considered skulkingly and wilfully absent from work.

When a labourer pretends illness, and is not apparently sick, it shall be his duty to prove his illness by medical certificate.

Para. 19. Pregnant women shall be at liberty to work with the small gang as customary, and when confined not to be called on to work for seven weeks after their confinement.

Young children shall be fed and attended to during the hours of work at some proper place, at the cost of the estate.

Nobody is allowed to stay from work on pretence of attending a sick person, except the wife and the mother, in dangerous cases of illness.

Para. 20. It is the duty of the managers to report to the police any contagious or suspicious cases of illness and death; especially

when gross neglect is believed to have taken place, or when children have been neglected by their mothers, in order that the guilty person may be punished according to law.

Para. 21. The driver or foreman on the estate is to receive in wages four and a half dollars monthly, if no other terms have been agreed on. The driver may be dismissed at any time during the year with the consent of the magistrate. It is the duty of the driver to see the work duly performed, to maintain order and peace on the estate, during the work and at other times, and to prevent and report all offences committed. Should any labourer insult, or use insulting language towards him during, or on account of the performance of his duties, such person is to be punished according to law.

Para. 22. No labourer is allowed, without the special permission of the owner or manager, to appropriate wood, grass, vegetables, fruits and the like, belonging to the estate, nor to appropriate such produce from other estates, nor to cut canes, or to burn charcoal. Persons making themselves guilty of such offences shall be punished according to law, with fines or imprisonment with hard labour; and the possession of such articles not satisfactorily accounted for, shall be sufficient evidence of unlawful acquisition.

Para. 23. All agrements contrary to the above rules are to be null and void, and owners and managers of estates convicted of any practice tending wilfully to counteract, or avoid, these rules by direct or indirect means, shall be subject to a fine not exceeding 200 dollars.

Government House, St. Croix, 26th January, 1849.

P. HANSEN.

FINIS.

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*

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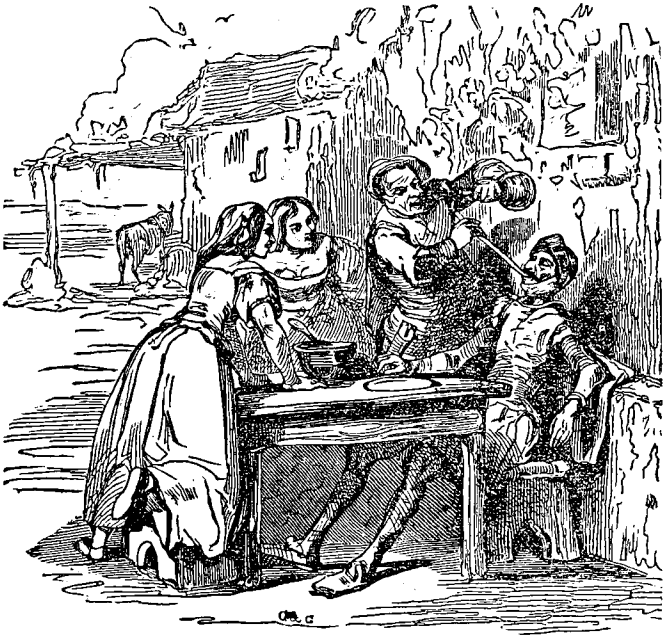

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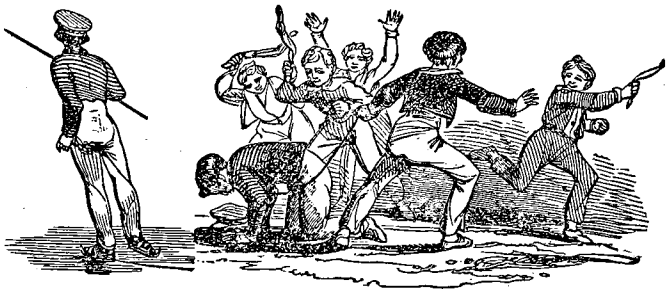

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