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THE
UNITED STATES MAGAZINE
AND
DEMOCRATIC REVIEW.

"THE BEST GOVERNMENT IS THAT WHICH GOVERNS LEAST."



"THE GREATEST GOOD TO THE GREATEST NUMBER."

VOL. XXV—No. CXXXVI.

OCTOBER, 1849.

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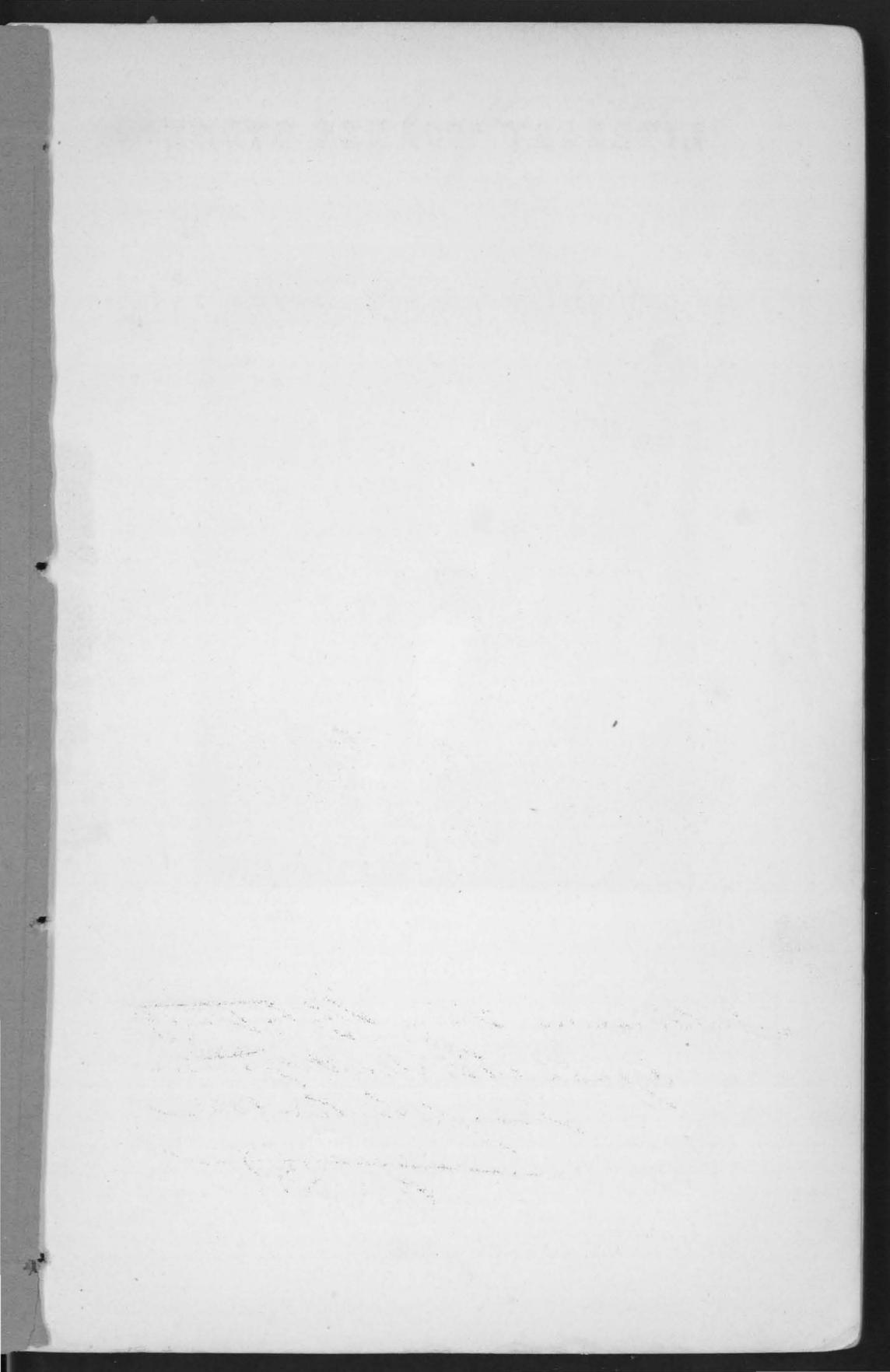
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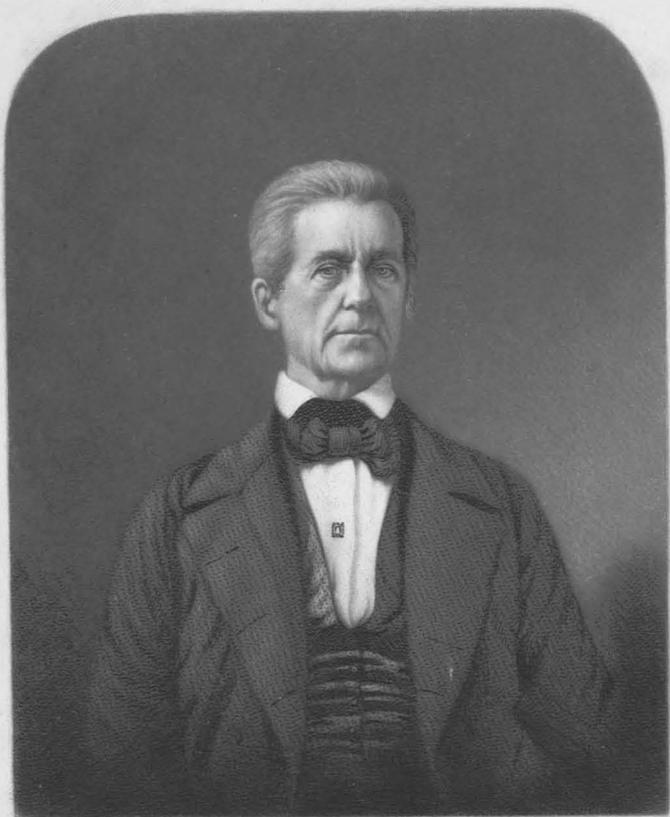
I have the honor to be, sir, your Excellency's faithful servant,

C. MEYER, Sec'y to H. R. H. Prince Albert.

Buckingham Palace, June 29, 1849.

HIS EXCELLENCY, THE AMERICAN MINISTER.





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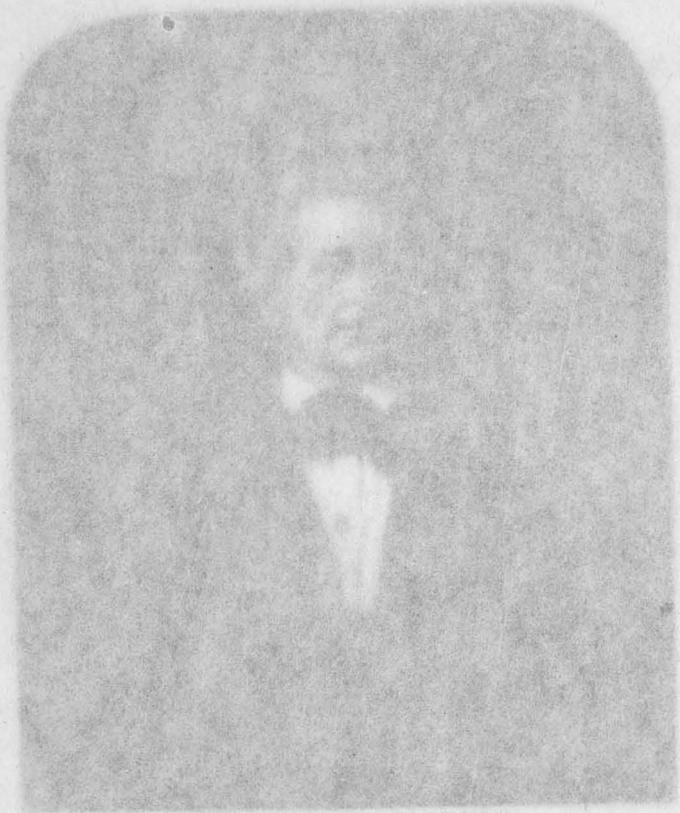
I remain Very Respectfully
your Obedt. Servant
Joseph Wells

THE
 UNITED STATES MAGAZINE
 AND
 DEMOCRATIC REVIEW.

Vol. XXV. NOVEMBER, 1888. No. XXXVI.

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Portrait of George W. Davis, Secretary of the Board of Education, 1872.

George W. Davis
Secretary of the Board of Education
1872

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THE
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THE CENSUS.

WHEN on the formation of the present government of the United States, under the federal constitution, it was decided that representation should be based on numbers alone, irrespective of property, and that direct taxes should be levied on the same principle, an exact enumeration of the people became matter of first-necessity. From the nature of our country, and the character of its people, it was obvious that this basis of numbers would be continually changing, as well in the aggregate as in sections, and that consequently, the weight of power would be constantly shifting, probably from east to west. It became necessary therefore to provide for a re-enumeration at short intervals, which should adapt the representation to the increase and migration of the population; and it was accordingly directed by the constitution, that a census should be taken "*within every subsequent term of ten years,*" after 1790, the date of the first census. It is worthy of remark, that number was made the basis of "direct taxes" as well as representation, obviously with the view that the support of government should be derived from those sections which enjoyed the largest share of representation; and this liability to taxation would prevent the disposition that might otherwise exist on the part of political leaders, to exaggerate the numbers of sections with the view to swell their representative power. By substituting indirect taxes for "direct," not only was the purpose of enriching privileged classes, at the expense of the people, subserved, but a desirable check upon any disposition to tamper with the census removed. Thus, when all the people of a section are subjected to a direct tax, in support of government, according to the number of their representation in that government, it will not be to the interest of the tax-payers, that their number should be exaggerated in the census, which is to be the basis of taxation as well as representation. On the other hand, when not exposed to this liability, by reason of the

operation of indirect taxes, they trouble themselves less about the intrigues of dishonest political leaders, who seek, by knavish collusion with unfaithful officers, to swell the numbers in one locality, and to diminish them in one of an opposite political stamp. In the progress of the nation, the absence of this check has been fruitful of error, and with each succeeding census the necessity for reform has become more manifest. The indirect system of taxation has been prolific of corrupt patronage, and detrimental to the equality of representation, which can be reached only by the most faithful enumeration.

In the next year we enter upon the 7th enumeration, under circumstances which require the utmost watchfulness on the part of the people, to prevent the loosening of the foundation of our system of government. By the census of 1790, the population of the United States was first ascertained by actual enumeration, with the distinguishing features of white and black, free and servile. That census was directed to be commenced on the 1st Monday of August, 1790, and to be closed in nine months. The subsequent laws were nearly transcripts of that, authorizing the census of 1790, with provision for some additional information. The second census was ordered to be commenced on the 1st Monday of August, 1800, and closed in nine months. The third census began 1st Monday of August, 1810, to close in nine months. This term was, by an amendment, extended eight months. This census also ordered a return of the persons engaged in manufactures. The fourth census was ordered to commence 1st Monday of August, 1820, to close six months, extended to thirteen months, and to report in addition, the number of persons engaged in agriculture, commerce, and manufactures. The time of commencing the fifth census was changed to June 1st, 1830, to close in six months, afterwards extended to twelve months. It was, also, to return the numbers of whites, deaf, dumb and blind. The sixth census also began June 1st, 1840, to close in ten months, subsequently reduced to five months, again extended to eleven months, and further prolonged to seventeen months. This was to report the deaf, dumb, blind and insane, together with general information respecting occupation and the education of the people. It may be remarked, that in all the previous laws for the taking of the census, the Secretary of the state was authorized to issue instructions to the marshals appointed at salaries for districts, and who were aided by assistants, receiving compensation per 100 names. The census law of 1840, indicated the spirit of the administration at that time, which was to centralise as much as possible, all the patronage of the government in one person; and the Secretary was authorized to issue instructions under *the direction of the President*, in order that not a lamp-lighter or scarcely a chambermaid, in the service of an employé, not subservient to a single individual at the head of the government, might receive appointment. The mode of remunerating by the 100 names, was every way calculated to induce large returns, from the hands of the generally incapable agents, selected for the most part on account of political subserviency, without regard to faithfulness, intelligence or industry. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that great errors crept into all the returns, or that very little faith could be placed in reports made through such sources, when it is obvious that the utmost care, intelligence and integrity, are indispensable to secure even proximate accuracy. According to these several returns, the population of the union has progressed as follows:

CENSUS OF THE UNITED STATES.

Whites.	1790.	1800.	1810.	1820.	1830.	1840.
Males,....	1,615,625	2,204,421	2,987,571	4,001,064	5,355,133	7,249,266
Females,....	1,556,839	2,100,068	2,874,433	3,871,647	5,171,115	6,939,842
Total,....	3,172,464	4,304,489	5,862,004	7,872,711	10,537,378	14,189,555
<i>Free Blacks.</i>						
Males,....				112,783	153,453	192,550
Females,....				120,783	166,146	199,821
Total,....	59,466	108,395	186,446	233,566	319,599	386,384
<i>Slaves.</i>						
Males,....				790,965	1,012,823	1,240,408
Females,....				752,723	996,220	1,240,805
Total,....	697,897	893,921	1,191,364	1,543,688	2,009,043	2,487,355
Grand Total,....	3,829,827	5,305,925	7,239,814	9,654,596	12,866,020	17,063,353

In the first decade, viz., from 1790 to 1800, the three classes were affected by three different elements, viz.: the whites by immigration, the slaves by importation, until 1800, and the free blacks by emancipation. In each subsequent decade, the slaves have depended only on their own natural increase, modified by that emancipation, which has served in an increasing ratio to swell the numbers of the free blacks, while white immigration has progressively increased. When the census of 1810 was completed, a further increase in the aggregate population had taken place to the extent of 77,000, through the annexation of Louisiana, and by a more free importation of slaves, in anticipation of the closing of the trade, according to the constitution in 1808. The number of blacks introduced by importation, and annexed with Louisiana, in those years, was probably about 56,000. The census of 1820 first distinguished the sexes and ages of the blacks, and also furnished some data, in relation to employment of the whites. The decade from 1830 to 1840, was one of such great prosperity in England and Europe generally, as to check the usual current of immigration, while on this continent Texas presented for the first time an attraction to whites beyond our borders, and they emigrated thither with their slaves, while the course of the abolitionists tended by a natural reaction to diminish the increase of free blacks by emancipation, and many of that class emigrated to Canada. It was also the case, doubtless, that during the mania for settling new lands, which raged in those years, the transportation of slaves from old northern to new southern states, accelerated the mortality of that class.

Throughout all the period of half a century, covered by the six enumerations, political power was constantly shifting westward, and the several states constantly changing their political rank, as they were affected by the current of emigration. The following table will show the relative rank after each census, in which the changes are very marked. Thus, Ohio, which was the lowest of 16 states in 1800, became the 3d in the Union in 1840; Virginia and New-York changed places relatively in 1790 and 1840. The Western States are rising rapidly in the scale, while the Atlantic States are losing their importance:

Apportionments according to the Census.

Apportionment before the Census.		Apportionments according to the Census.											
		1790.	1800.	1810.	1820.	1830.	1840.						
States.	No. of Reps.	States.	No. of Reps.	States.	No. of Reps.	States.	No. of Reps.	States.	No. of Reps.	States.	No. of Reps.		
Virgin'a	10	Virgin'a.	19	Virgin'a.	22	N. York.	27	N. York.	34	N. York.	40	N. York.	34
Mass....	8	Mass....	14	Penn....	18	Penn....	23	Penn....	26	Penn....	28	Penn....	24
Penn....	8	Penn....	13	N. York.	17	Virgin'a	23	Virgin'a.	22	Virgin'a.	21	Ohio....	21
N. York.	6	N. York.	10	Mass....	17	Mass....	20	Ohio....	14	Ohio....	19	Virgin'a.	15
Maryl'd.	6	N. Car..	10	N. Car..	12	N. Car..	13	Mass....	13	N. Car..	13	Tenn....	11
Conn....	5	Maryl'd.	8	Maryl'd.	9	Kent'y..	10	N. Car..	13	Kent'y..	13	Mass....	10
N. Car..	5	Conn....	7	S. Car..	8	Maryl'd.	9	Kent'y..	12	Tenn....	13	Kent'y..	10
S. Car..	5	S. Car..	6	Conn....	7	S. Car..	7	Maryl'd.	9	Mass....	12	Indiana.	10
N. Jer..	4	N. Jer..	5	N. Jer..	6	Conn....	7	S. Car..	9	S. Car..	9	N. Car..	9
N. Ham.	3	N. Ham.	4	Kent'y..	6	N. Ham.	6	Tenn....	9	Georgia.	9	Georgia.	8
Georgia.	3	R. Isl'd.	2	N. Ham.	5	Verm't..	6	Georgia.	7	Maine...	8	Maine...	7
R. Isl'd.	1	Verm't..	2	Verm't..	4	N. Jer..	6	Maine...	7	Maryl'd.	8	S. Car..	7
Delaw'e.	1	Georgia.	2	Georgia.	4	Georgia.	6	N. Ham.	6	Indiana.	7	Alab'a...	7
		Kent'y..	2	Tenn....	3	Tenn....	6	Conn....	6	Conn....	6	Illinois..	7
13 States	65	Delaw'e.	1	R. Isl'd.	2	Ohio....	6	N. Jer..	6	N. Jer..	6	Maryl'd.	6
		Tenn...*	1	Delaw'e.	1	R. Isl'd.	2	Verm't..	5	N. Ham.	5	N. Jer..	5
		Ohio...*	1	Delaw'e.	2	Louis...*	1	Indiana.	3	Alaba'a.	5	N. Ham.	4
16 States under 1st app.,	106			Louis...*	1	Indiana.	3	Alaba'a.	3	Louis...	3	Conn....	4
17 States under 2d app.,	142			Indi'a...*	1	Alaba'a.	3	Louis...	3	Conn....	3	Conn....	4
						R. Isl'd.	2	Illinois..	2	Illinois..	3	Verm't..	4
19 States under 3d app.,	183					Delaw'e.	1	R. Isl'd.	2	Louis...	2	Louis...	4
						Miss...*	1	Miss...	1	Miss...	2	Miss...	4
						Illin'is...*	1	Missori.	2	Missori.	2	Mich....	3
						Miss'ri...*	1	Delaw'e.	1	R. Isl'd.	1	Delaw'e.	2
								Mich...*	1	Delaw'e.	1	Delaw'e.	1
24 States under 4th app.,	213					Ark...*	1	Ark....	1	Ark....	1	Ark....	1
26 States under 5th and 6th app.,	242												323

NOTE.—The States marked thus * were admitted into the Union after the apportionment under which they are here arranged was made, but before the succeeding census.

The census now about to be taken will produce greater changes than any of those which have gone before. At the last session of Congress, a new mode of taking it was adopted, by creating a Census Board, composed of three cabinet officers, whose duty it is to prepare suitable forms and schedules for the full enumeration of the people, and also general information in relation to certain heads of statistical inquiry. These inquiries are, however, limited to 100. Everything that throws weight on the social condition of the people, is undoubtedly of great importance; but the value of statistical information of the character indicated, depends in an eminent degree upon its proximate accuracy. The experience of the last census, as well as those of some of the states, which have pushed statistical inquiry, is not such as to create much confidence in the results. The New-York census for 1845, as an instance, was so much at variance with that of the United States, for 1840, and both with known facts, as in many respects to destroy all confidence in either. The United States census of 1840 gave the population of Utica at, 12,782 persons, 1,777 families. The state census of 1845 made it 12,190 persons, 2,142 families, showing a *decrease* of 592 *persons*, and an *increase* of 365 *families*. There is no doubt that the number by the United States census of 1840 was grossly exaggerated, under the influence of the mode of renumeration. The state census of Massachusetts, which fixes the representation in the General Court, gave the population of Boston, May, 1840, at 83,979, and the United States census for June, of the same year, gave it at 93,979, showing a difference of ten per cent. This error led to investigation, and it was found that in the second ward 41 families con-

tained 7,664 persons, of whom 7,589 were stated to be employed in navigation. By the state census the same families by name, were reported to contain only 309! a difference of 7,357 in 41 families. This arose from the fact that the taker of the state census reported the persons actually present, while the taker of the national census, under the pretence that those persons were inhabitants of Boston, who made that place their home when in port, counted all the names entered on the books of the sailor's boarding houses, for several years previous. This effort to swell the number, doubtless arose from the mode of remuneration, viz., \$2 per 300 names, at which rate the old boarding-house records were worth \$50 to the employé. There is, doubtless, a great difficulty in enumerating seafaring men. In the Boston census of 1845, the principle was adopted of enumerating all who sailed out of Boston, and considered it their home. In the New-York census of the same year, such seamen were enumerated as were actual residents, and hailed from the city. It is evident that without close questioning than is generally practicable, seamen hailing from Boston were enumerated there, while being in the port of New-York, they may have also been counted here. In the census of Great Britain, in 1841, the rule was to enumerate all who slept at their lodgings on shore on a certain night, wherever they may have belonged. In the United States census for 1840, it also occurred that the seamen on board the national vessels were enumerated in the several towns where they were supposed to belong, and were also added as a distinct class to the aggregate returns. The mode of taking the English census for 1841, was to divide the whole country into 35,000 districts; all the persons who slept in each house on the preceding night were then taken down in one day, by 35,000 employéés. It was estimated that the strangers present would compensate for the natives absent. By these means the number of persons actually in the country was arrived at with more accuracy than could possibly have been the case, where several days and even weeks elapsed under negligent marshals before completing their enumeration, even in a small district.

It is, however, the case, that this matter of official inquiry is almost altogether a novelty; both the people and the government have yet to learn a great deal in relation to the best mode of attaining the desired object. Thus very few of the officers have a clear idea of the nature of the information they are commissioned to obtain, and therefore cannot direct* inquiries with the precision necessary to obtain satisfactory re-

* *An Act to make arrangements for taking the seventh census.*

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Secretary of State, the Attorney General, and the Post-master General, shall constitute and be a board, to be styled the Census Board; that it shall be the duty of the said board to prepare and cause to be printed such forms and schedules as may be necessary for the full enumeration of the inhabitants of the United States; and also proper forms and schedules for collecting in statistical tables, under proper heads, such information as to mines, agriculture, commerce, manufactures, education, and other topics, as will exhibit a full view of the pursuits industry, education and resources of the country; it being provided that the number said inquiries, exclusive of the enumeration, shall not exceed one hundred, and that the expense incurred in preparing and printing said forms and schedules shall not exceed ten thousand dollars.

SEC. 92. *And be it further enacted,* That the said board shall have power to appoint a secretary, whose remuneration shall be determined by Congress, upon the completion of the duties assigned to the board. [APPROVED March 3, 1849.]

plies. This evil can never be remedied until a systematic and permanent arrangement is made. The government has hitherto once in 10 years issued instructions, and hired men to go round by the job, and ask a few questions, which were put and replied to with more or less carelessness on one hand, and reluctance or archness on the other. The whole affair was forgotten as soon as completed, to become again a novelty at the end of another decade. Now, it is very obvious that when the officers of the government are sent to every man's house, to write down his name, and record his business, the numbers, ages, and occupation of his family, that the machinery for a very extensive dissemination, as well as collection of knowledge exists, and if this direct communication upon subjects of national interest frequently occurred, a degree of familiarity with the subject would spring up, leading to far more important results than any ever before derived from barren returns of questionable accuracy. In a country which increases so rapidly as ours, ten years is far too long a time to defer the re-adjustment of representation. When the clause in relation to the census was formed, no idea was entertained of the rapidity of the increase. The census of 1800 showed an increase over that of 1700, far in excess of Dr. Franklin's estimate, by which the convention was guided in some degree, and that increase of late years, was seen very much more rapid. As an instance, Illinois in 1840, had 472,929 inhabitants, and its representation was raised from 3 to 7. By the state census of 1845 it had 662,125 inhabitants an increase of 40 per cent.; consequently it ought to have increased its representation proportionately. Georgia as an instance, on the other hand, increased its representative population from 577,912 to 653,922 or 76,000 only, and from 1845 to 1850, although it has less representative inhabitants by 10,000 than Illinois, it has one more representative in Congress than that state. Why should this inequality exist for five years? Missouri presents a case similar to that of Illinois, viz., up to 1844, she increased her population in the proportion of one representative and in 1848, by at least two representatives. This injustice is to be remedied by more frequent enumerations. The constitution does not restrict the enumeration, but provides only that they shall not be delayed longer than ten years. They may be made as often as Congress may direct "within" that time. It has also been the case, that most of states for their own purposes, have ordered enumerations on which to base the representation of state government, and these have been conducted on plans very similar to those of the federal government. The states which have completed these enumerations, are as follows:—

	NUMBER OF REP. PER CENSUS.				
	1830.	1840.	1845.	1840.	1845.
New-York,	1,918,608	2,428,921	2,604,495	34	37
Michigan,	31,639	213,267	304,278	3	5
Illinois,	157,455	476,183	643,482	7	10
Missouri,	140,445	383,702	511,937	5	7
Wisconsin,	—	30,945	211,252	3	3
Iowa,	—	43,112	81,920	1	1
Total Western,	3,248,147	8,575,130	4,357,364	53	63
Georgia,	516,823	691,392	774,325	8	9
Alabama,	309,727	590,756	624,827	7	8
Louisiana,	215,739	352,411	427,755	4	5
Arkansas,	30,388	97,574	145,000	1	2
Total Southern,	1,072,677	1,732,133	1,971,897	20	24

Thus, at the electoral vote of 1848, there would have been eight more for Gen. Cass had the population been represented truly, according even to the apportionment of 1840, and at the coming important session of Congress there would be eight more Democratic voters in the House. That is to say, by the ten year system of apportionment, the nation as a body is not truly represented. Inasmuch as that, in the first named six states, there has been an increase of 782,234 persons since the census on which the apportionment took place, on the basis of 70,680 persons to one representative, these 782,234 persons are not represented at all for five years; or, in other words, as compared with some of the Atlantic states which have not increased, these six states are deprived of eleven representatives in Congress; no small matter when momentous questions are at stake. Now this is precisely the evil which the old federalists sought to attain when they urged the property qualification. Mr. Gouverneur Morris, in convention, thought property ought to be a qualification, because he "thought the rule of representation ought to be so fixed, as to secure to the Atlantic states a prevalence in the national councils." "Provision ought to be made to prevent the maritime states from being hereafter outvoted." This he thought would be done by fixing invariably the number of representatives each state should have, because it was supposed that although numbers would increase more at the west, *wealth* would increase more on the Atlantic, a tendency which the "protective" system was designed to promote. Now, by the ten year system of apportionment, the number is fixed irrevocably for ten years. The result of this, practically, is that, notwithstanding all the increase of population which has taken place in the new states, those states will have no greater weight in the presidential election of 1852 than they had in 1844. Thus, Illinois had, in 1844, nine electoral votes; she ought to have had twelve; and by 1852 will be entitled to fourteen, according to the present basis, whereas she will have but nine; this arises from the fact, that although the enumeration takes place in 1850, the apportionment will not be fixed until March, 1853, six months after the election. The injustice of such inequality is manifest. The coming census will embrace, in addition to Texas with its 143,000 souls, California and Mexico with at least 70,000 strangers, and Oregon with some few thousands. That there will be delay and difficulty in these enumerations will no doubt be the case; but that is no reason why the utmost energy should not be exercised in order that, not only those states, but all the new states with their vast accessions of citizens, should have their just weight at the next presidential canvass. Nor is there any reason why every Congress should not feel in new apportionments the influence of the growth of the country and the comparative progress of its several sections. Mr. Morris's idea of retaining control in sections not entitled to it by members, is that which the federalists and Van Buren reactionary democrats perseveringly pursue; but it is evident that this idea, like others of the last century, must give place to the progress of popular rights.

That population was made the basis of representation and direct taxes, was probably a step in advance for the close of the last century; but it would seem that the progress of the public mind points to a modification of the system. The principle of representation must be carried out further, and by more frequent and accurate adjustment, made to approximate more closely to the actual numbers of the represented classes. In

relation to taxation, however, a change in the other direction is becoming manifest. The monarchial principle of protection has become so interwoven with our financial system, as to cause direct taxes to be lost sight of almost altogether, in the insidious operation of indirect taxes, which have exonerated the wealth of millionaires, while the pockets of the producers have been drawn upon, not only for the whole support of the federal government, but to swell the accumulations of the rich, under pretence of protection. While the prosperity of the whole country has been retarded by the pernicious operation of indirect taxes in checking the free operations of trade, vast sums have, by federal laws, been put into the pockets of individuals who never contributed a shilling towards the support of the government that enacted them. John Jacob Astor accumulated near a score of millions under the protection of the federal government, whilst he never paid more for its support than his penniless valet. The new minister to England, Abbott Lawrence, Esq., has accumulated some \$3,000,000, legislated by Congress out of the pockets of consumers of cotton goods into his coffers, while the outfit, \$9,000, he receives as minister from the federal treasury, probably exceeds all that he ever paid for the support of government, from which he derives such advantages. Mr. Van Buren has received probably \$250,000 in salaries from the federal treasury, while the vast Kinderhook estates are exempted, like those of the Austrian nobles, from tax. On this class of men the indirect taxes fall with less weight than on the poor. They buy no protected articles; and on the occasional visits of relatives to Europe, the resplendant fabrics of royal capitals are purchased for their use, and entered free of duty, as personal baggage. Even the white top-boots of the English footmen are of Parisian make. These vast estates require to be reached and brought under their proportional quota to the federal support. While the machinery and patronage of the federal government are used as the means of conferring honors and wealth upon certain men and classes, and through them of controlling the elections, and consequently the patronage of states, towns and counties, at least those who derive the emoluments and honors should be liable to an equal share of the charges. Under a system of direct taxation, the Atlantic states, which have, under the protective system, been enriched at the expense of western citizens, would be called upon to discharge their due proportion of government expenses, and "capital" would then bear part of the burden which now falls almost exclusively upon "labor."

The town, county and state expenses in all the states are now discharged by direct taxes, imposed upon property according to valuations that vary in all the states, and frequently in the same state. This whole plan of taxation might be consolidated by some such plan, as causing to be elected by the people in every county in every state of the Union an officer, to be called a "census commissioner," in the same manner as the office of "loan commissioner" was in most states called into being by the distribution of the surplus revenue of the United States. Those sums were loaned out in the several counties of the states upon real estate. In New-York, these offices of loan commissioner, added to the patronage of the Governor under the Van Buren system of centralization, but are, under the new constitution, made elective by the people of the counties. This office could obviously be combined with that of census commissioner, whose duty it should be annually to report, under heavy bonds, the

number of the people in his district, the births, deaths, marriages, nati-
vities, ages, &c., of the inhabitants, together with the amplest details of
property, occupations, and every point interesting to the statesman and
economist. On these enumerations should be based, as well city and
state, as federal representation. On these returns each Congress should
be reapportioned, thus always readjusting representation to changes in
population. While enormous sums of money are annually expended for
comparatively unimportant subjects, nothing whatever is done for the ad-
vancement of economical and political science, although this of all
others is that which most affects the rights and interests of the people.
The coast survey, as an instance, is doubtless a great and praiseworthy
object, properly carried out. The nation pays annually \$250,000 dollars
for its prosecution, while the moral results that are derived from it clearly
show, that it is an infamous political job; and if one-half the money ex-
pended upon it were bestowed upon a census system to procure correct
enumerations and statistical information, it would prove the surest safe-
guard to popular liberty.

It is obviously, in a country such as this, where the great residue of
power rests with the people, and that exercised by the representatives is
essentially delegated, in State and Federal constitutions, a matter of the
first importance that the numbers should be correctly represented, and
all the property subjected to an accurate *pro rata* tax for the support of
government. That capital should bear its responsibilities, and that labor
should be relieved from an undue proportion of the public burdens, not-
withstanding the vital importance of the subject, is that which has re-
ceived the least attention. Vast sums have been expended on exploring
expeditions, coast surveys, geological surveys and other objects, all good
in their way; but the great object of equal representation and just taxa-
tion have been altogether slighted. The details, such as they were, of the
United States census of 1840 and of the New-York state census of 1845,
resulted mostly from a desire to enhance Mr. Van Buren's patronage.
They, however, threw no light upon the question of taxes. In taking the
seventh census, it is to be hoped that the new board will not overlook the
fact, that the people of all the states are now subjected to heavy direct
taxes for town, county and state purposes, and that the collection of infor-
mation upon this subject would, while it would be most easily accom-
plished, be of more practical importance than almost any other item. As
an indication, the following are taxes collected in several states with the
aggregate valuations:

	Valuation.	State Tax.	County Tax.	Town Tax.	Total Taxes.
New-York,.....	651,619,595	235,000	3,750,738	1,309,720	5,295,458
Ohio,	421,067,991	1,265,769	1,976,186	—	3,241,955
Illinois,	100,000,000	550,000	500,000	—	1,000,000

This is a mere indication of the heads of taxation. Such information
collected of every state in the Union, accompanied by explanations as to the
mode of valuation and process of assessment adopted everywhere, would
produce at once reliable data as to comparative wealth, as well as pro-
portionate liability for government support as well as ability to pay.

These objects of representation and taxation are the leading ones; but
the comparative healthiness and degree of longevity in all sections of the
Union, are also of much importance. In Massachusetts it has been
customary for a long time to register births, deaths, and marriages. When

these are correctly kept, they form a very certain indication of the progress of the population in the excess of births over deaths. The population of France is mostly estimated on these data. Even the Massachusetts registration is, however, a mere farce. In a late report the secretary himself says, that the whole number of births and deaths returned does not, probably, very much exceed one half of those actually occurring in Massachusetts, while that of marriages returned is, perhaps, about three quarters of the truth. Of course, such returns are worthless. In New-York marriages and deaths are registered by clergymen, and in some cases, also, christenings; but the aggregates never see the light, and would be of no value if they did, from want of accuracy.

In the last New-York census, that of 1845, a new feature was introduced, viz., to ascertain the nativity of the inhabitants. The results reported were, that of a population of 2,604,495 souls, 1,984,278 were born in the state, 228,881 in the New-England states, 83,642 in other United States, 977 in Mexico, 277,890 in Great Britain, 10,619 in France, 49,558 in Germany, 8,222 other parts of Europe, making 2,554,067, or 50,428 less than the aggregate. Probably these persons were born nowhere. A uniform and accurate system of taking the natiivities in all the states, in addition to the births, deaths, and marriages, would not only form complete checks upon the accuracy of the enumerations, but would show with great clearness, the progress of emigration from state to state, as well among blacks as whites, and the influence of immigration from abroad upon the population of each state. At present there is no possible way of ascertaining with any degree of accuracy, how much of the growth of the white population is attributable to immigration. Mr. Goodwin suggested a mode by which it may be approximated. It is to assume the fact that all those who are under ten, at the date of the census of 1850, must have been added to the population since 1840. Now, if we knew how many of those returned in 1840 died within the ten years, the difference between that number and that of those under ten, in 1850, would be the natural increase of the population. As we have not that information, it is necessary to assume the usual estimate, viz., that in healthy civilized countries, 16 per cent. die in the course of ten years. Thus, in 1830, the number of whites was 10,526,248; in 1840, 14,189,218, an increase of 3,662,970; now there should have died in ten years, 1,684,199 persons, which, deducted from the 4,485,131 under ten years, in 1840, would give an increase of 2,800,931 souls, or 822,160 less than the true increase. This difference represents the number of immigrants. According to this calculation, the immigrants in fifty years, ending with 1840, were 2,058,655 souls. In the decade ending with 1850, the result will probably be 1,000,000 immigrants, or half the number that arrived in the course of fifty years previous. These are vast numbers, and it is a matter of great interest to know what becomes of them. This can be ascertained by an accurate report of the natiivities, with the births, deaths, marriages, &c. Since 1810 the number of slaves can have increased only from natural causes, modified by emancipation.* The two decades of 1830 and 1840, show results as follows:

	1820-1830.	1830-1840.
Increase of Slaves,.....	455,355	478,324
Under ten years,.....	701,160	844,069
Resulting deaths 15 per cent.,.....	235,805	18 per ct. 365,745

This increase in apparent deaths arose from emigration to Texas, emancipation and flight, as well as from perhaps some increased mortality. In the case of free blacks, the same calculation makes the deaths nearly as much too small as they are apparently too large, in the case of slaves, arising from similar cause, viz., emancipation. None of these data for ascertaining the condition and locality, the wants and wishes of the people, should be left to conjecture. Enumerations of bank capital and parades of factory dividends, are necessary in making up the tax list, under a just system; but the numbers, locality, rights and immunities of the whole body of the people, are what is desired of a just representative government. It is well understood, and universally acknowledged, that all wealth is the creation of *labor*; and under our institutions, it is admitted that the government is the creature of the *laborers*. It has long enough been the case, that while the wealthy have monopolized the products of industry, they have also grasped the honors of the government, the support of which they charge upon the producers of the wealth. This must undergo a change. The legislative halls must exhibit a full representation of the people; and the wealth they have created, no matter in what locality it may be found, must bear the charge of the public burdens.

The ability of a people to pay taxes does not arise from the mere possession of property at a nominal valuation, but from the actual annual amount of wealth for consumption or accumulation that comes into their hands. Thus, the whole wealth of the country being created by industry, a large portion goes to support the producers, a portion to accumulation, and a portion to support government. The amount which can be afforded for this latter purpose must depend upon the surplus production over the necessary consumption of the people.

Thus in Great Britain the annual tax per head for the support of government reaches nearly \$30 for each individual. In the United States it is about \$4; yet this \$4 may in proportion to the annual increase of wealth be a heavier tax than the \$30 in England. The annual increase of wealth in that country arises, however, to a considerable extent, from the fact that the mass of producers do not consume sufficiently, whereas in the United States the producer is more the master of his own earnings, and consumes a greater proportion of it, and that he may do so it is required that the public expense be limited and equally proportioned upon incomes. The accumulation of wealth is always in a few hands, and the competition of labor for capital always is greater than that of capital for labor; hence, precisely in the proportion that capital increases, is the tax upon labor for its further accumulation enhanced. It is principally to counteract this tendency that accumulated wealth should be required to bear all the expenses of the state. The greater the accumulation in the hands of a single individual, the greater is the excess of his means over his actual wants, and therefore the greater should be the ratio of his tax for the support of the state. It is obvious that all laws, such as indirect taxes and protective privileges, which tend to the accumulation of capital in the hands of the few, should be repealed; but these can be reached only by just representation. Thus it is ably shown that the capital and money corporation of Boston, which throws only one-third the votes of Massachusetts, command, through the defective representative system, the whole legislative power of the commonwealth. The government of that state being in fact an oligarchy of corporation directors, and this

defective representation is true to a greater or less extent of almost every state and city; and in most of the states the public mind is becoming aroused to the importance of reforming it.

If unjust laws of incorporation and "protection" enable a few persons to absorb a considerable proportion of the annual production, the amount which remains for the consumption of the producers will be limited, and further curtailed by the exactions of the government. It is therefore of great importance to ascertain what the actual annual production is, who produces it, and, as far as practicable, what becomes of it. This is the problem to which statistical inquiry ought to be directed—at the same time, it is that which has received the least attention. The data heretofore collected are so inaccurate as at least to serve only to guess by. That part of the census of 1840, which relates to this branch, is the most inaccurate, yet it is the one perhaps most susceptible of improvement, and it well deserves the attention of statisticians, in order that they may make suggestions to their representatives in Congress. These gentlemen cannot all be expected to be familiar with details, and many that are so are too much taken up with matters that bear more directly upon their personal advancement to attend to it. After the quantities of the several products are accurately enumerated, there should be some system for accurately estimating the *value*. In raw produce this is comparatively easy; but in manufactured articles what is required is only the additional value given to materials by the labor of manufacturing, so that those materials may not be reckoned twice in arriving at the aggregate annual product. Thus, in reckoning the value of houses built within the year, the bricks or timber which have been used may have been estimated under those separate heads; so may the locks, nails and hinges, the glass, paint, &c., and consequently the value of these should be deducted from the gross value of the houses, to show the clear addition which the latter have made to the annual product.

Sometimes, indeed, without such deductions, the same article would be counted more than twice. Thus, the iron which had been reckoned as the product of the furnace, may be again reckoned in the products of the rolling or slitting mill; a third time in the manufacture of nails, or fabrics of sheet iron; and even a fourth time in the gross value of a house or a ship.

In like manner, in our estimate of manufactures, after reckoning the value of the leather made in the year, if we reckon the whole value of the shoes, saddles, bridles, trunks, &c., the leather is counted twice; and the value of the hides, which had been comprehended in the estimate of the cattle or of the imports, would be counted three times. In this way the amount of the manufactures in some states has been greatly exaggerated.

Nor must we fall into the opposite error, as some have done, of confounding the nett addition to the wealth of the country with the value of its annual product. The first, which consists of the excess of production over consumption, bears a very small proportion to the actual product, since nearly all the value that is annually produced is annually consumed. Such excess, even in the most thriving countries, probably never exceeds, even if it reaches, 5 per cent. of the annual product; and although a knowledge of its amount is desirable, as making the addition that has been made to the national capital, which is one of its sources of wealth, yet it is of far less importance than a knowledge of the value of the whole product, since that constitutes the fund from which the whole population is

to be fed, clothed, housed, and furnished with all that is to be consumed, both productively and unproductively. Thus, of the annual products of agriculture, one part is productively consumed in feeding the industrious classes or useful animals, in furnishing the seed for a future crop, or in supplying materials for export; and the other part is unproductively consumed by the idle classes, consisting of a small proportion of men, a somewhat larger proportion of women, and more than half the children.

The value of the gross annual product is not only most important, but is also most practicable. We can make a much nearer approximation to the value of the whole product than to that of the several parts of which it is composed, since each is subjected to its own uncertainty, besides sharing in that of the whole product. We can, for example, make a nearer approach to the value of the whole crop of wheat than we can, first, to the values, which respectively replace what was consumed in making it, in paying laborers, in feeding work-horses and oxen, in the cost of the seed, and in the wear and tear of the farming utensils; and secondly, to the values which remain as the properties of capital and of rent.

In estimating the vegetable products of agriculture, we should take the value of each at the place of production, or at that market to which it is transported by the labor appertaining to the farm or plantation. The increased value at more distant markets would be the result of the cost and profits of transportation, which should be separately estimated.

But the value of the *animal* products of agriculture presents a problem of more difficulty, since so far as the live stock have been fed in the year on articles separately valued, to that amount deduction should be made from the value of their natural increase. That increase, too, differs in the different species of stock, and in different species of husbandry, and the different conditions in which they are sent to market. The price of those fitted for the shambles is commonly double, or more than double of the general average price.

The only basis for a correct estimate of this part of our agricultural products, would be an enumeration of each species of live stock slaughtered in the year, separately valued in each state.

Having arrived at the annual production and its value, a good basis is laid, on which taxation on incomes should be graduated above a certain amount, say \$3 00 of income. The income tax of Great Britain is an experiment, and is open to manifold objections, but it is founded on a just principle. The true mode of applying it, in this country, is required to be developed by a correct system of statistical inquiry in connection with the census.

The desideratum is to arrive at an accurate knowledge of every man's income, not in an inquisitorial spirit, but in order to assess upon him his proper quota of tax. The progress of wealth in the country has been very rapid, perhaps it has increased in a greater ratio than the population, rapid as that has been. The principle of apportioning taxation to numbers in the same manner as representation, involves the supposition that individual wealth increases in the same proportion as numbers, which is never the case. On the contrary, the constant tendency is for the wealth to accumulate in few hands. The principle that the burden of taxation is the result of a compound ratio of wealth, and population is sound only when the individuals acquire equal wealth. Thus, if a community consists of 10 individuals, and each has an income of \$100, the

collective income is \$1,000. If now the tax is 10 per cent., each pays \$10 to make up the sum of \$100 for the government. This is equal and just. If, now, the taxes are not direct, but are levied upon articles of consumption manufactured by a portion of the number, those will benefit by the tax the others pay. In a short time then the numbers will increase, say to 15, of whom 5 have \$200 income, and the others \$75, making an aggregate increase of \$1,750. The consumption of necessities remaining as before, those with small incomes will pay 15 per cent. of their incomes, while the 5 will pay but 5 per cent. The possibility of the poorer number saving anything is lessened, while the ability of the richer to do so is increased. This is soon enhanced by the ability of the accumulators to lend, and the disposition of the workers to borrow capital at a usance. A class is then in a short time created who live upon the rent, which usually consists of all the profits of labor. From this class emanate all laws authorizing special privileges to invested capital, by chartered rights and protective regulations, interfering with the inherent rights of the consumers of goods, and of producers of raw material. All these laws have a tendency to accumulate in the hands of a few, the wealth that has been created by the many. Now, inasmuch as that all the wealth of the state is the product of the common industry, it should collectively be assessed for the support of the common government. That one individual has been enabled by fortunate circumstances or even by the exercise of his own skill to acquire the products of the industry of a great many, can by no possibility furnish a reason why that property should not be taxed in the same proportion as if it was divided up and remained with the producers. According to a very imperfect estimate on the data of the last census, the annual value of the products of industry in the United States, is \$1,063,134,736, produced by in round numbers 5,000,000 active persons, say \$200 per annum each. A considerable portion of this is consumed—perhaps 5 per cent. is accumulated. Now, we have instances where manufacturers have acquired in 20 years \$1,000,000, which would be the net earnings of 5,000 persons in that period. Why should that property, in the hands of one man, bear a less ratio of taxation than if it had remained in the possession of the producers of it? Yet by the indirect system of taxation it is not taxed at all, while the producers continue to bear the whole burden. The whole of it has been the production of many; and if an amount equal to their average incomes is exempted altogether from taxation, and the burden imposed upon the surplus wealth of the few, the tax after all will be paid from the common industry of the whole people.

The state, after the support of the producers has been provided for, has doubtless the first claim upon the wealth of its people, and this claim should be discharged from realised wealth, and not from continuous labor. The ideas sometimes advanced, that the accumulation of capital should be encouraged, in order that it may employ industry, we regard as utterly fallacious. It is industry that requires to be encouraged in order that it may create wealth.

The benevolence attributed to capital is seldom apparent. It never relieves starving labor when there is no chance of gain. It employs industry only when by so doing it can swell its own volume at the expense of labor, and it never will relinquish this opportunity, because it is taxed. If the burdens are too great, the remedy is to diminish government expenses.

MY FIRST WEEK IN PARIS.

(CONCLUDED.)

THE PRESIDENT'S BALL.

THE palace assigned to the President of the Republic is one of the smallest of all the late royal abodes in Paris. Of late years it has, for the most part, been used for the accommodation of royal visitors to the reigning family, but is invested with certain historical reminiscences connected with the Bonaparte family, which gives singular and romantic significance to its being now occupied by the last heir of that line, destined, in all probability, to sway the destinies of France. I had often heard its comfort and elegance lauded by visitors, but I had never had the curiosity to inspect it. The present occasion was certainly favorable to seeing it to the best advantage. The spacious court yard was already crowded with carriages, disposed in regular rows, when I arrived; and, making a circuit round them, I alighted at the *grand penon*, which was neatly carpeted for the occasion. The first door led to a vestibule of good size, ornamented richly with a mass of flowers, which concealed the walls, and threw out strong and delicious odors. Double rows of servants, in the old imperial livery of green and gold, lined the passage to an inner room, where, behind a long table, sat several secretaries in black, who received the cards of invitation. This ceremony over, turning to the left, I passed into the first saloon, which was of fine height, but no great extent. It was already full to excess, and I made way, by dint of pushing, into a *salle de bal de danse* on the right. This was a very fine apartment, with walls painted in landscape, frescoed ceiling, and decorated with fine mirrors and noble columns. An immense orchestra, conveniently posted on a sort of wooden terrace against one of the sides, poured forth such floods of sweet sounds as to drown the very senses—hearing amongst the rest. The pressure here was even worse than what I had just left, but a vast circle of desperate waltzers were indefatigably eddying to and fro in the midst. Edging my way along, I got at length into a long gallery, lined with flowers and lighted with pleasing softness. It was singularly refreshing, after the heat and pain I had escaped from, and I found my new quarters pleasant enough to begin reconnoitering a little. As yet I had seen nothing of my host, who had, doubtless, been carried away from his place of reception by the overwhelming tide of his visitors. I trusted to chance to bring me later in contact with him. A large portion of the company was in uniform, diplomatic or military, the latter, however, vastly predominating. The ladies were attired with great richness, and, it is needless to add, with exquisite taste. I soon began to recognise many of the proudest families of the Faubourg St. Germain, whom it was a novel sight to see grouping round any government which was not their own. I suppose it is scarcely necessary to explain that I am now speaking of the legitimist party, which still clings to the fallen fortunes of the old monarchy, though its illusion of divine right be rapidly wearing away under the steady growth of popular power and popular contempt. Such

was their intense detestation of Louis Philippe, whom they accused of having planned the Revolution of '30, that they never could be tempted to enter his palace. It was a curious sight to see them, at last, gathered round a Bonaparte, with whom they could really have no sympathies in common. Was it from a frivolous desire to participate in the fetes of a court from which they had been so long cut off, or from a serious sense of danger? Did they conceive it wise to lend to the head of the state, be he who he might for the moment, any additional influence that their presence and support might bring with them? But there they were in great numbers and in high spirits, elegant in manners, perfect in *tournure*, and with a bearing distinguished enough to show they had not forgotten their historical descent, but totally devoid of that superb arrogance which belonged to the arbitrary power they once enjoyed. There were also a flood of the well-known class which succeeded these and pushed them from their stools—the *Bourgeoise*. This pregnant word may be definitely applied to all of not old or aristocratic blood, and represents the shrewd men of business, into whose capacious hands fell the wealth of the nobility and the power of the state, after the Revolution of '89. During the time of the late king this aspiring tribe was in high favor, and constituted the only aristocracy that graced the Tuilleries on gala nights. They were here, too, doing homage to the new comer of a new regime; but they had evidently lost by the change. You could see in their carriage and looks, which had lost a good deal of that familiar pertness and parvenue pretension that in times past distinguished them. The presence of their old rivals, with their superior breeding and singular refinement, seemed to throw a restraint over them, and they strutted about listless and unamused. There were the usual number, besides, of a set that belongs precisely to neither of these, but representing both—the men and women of fashion, nicknamed in Paris as the lions, male and female. One of the most notorious of these celebrities was flitting just near the place where I stood, and there was some strange fascination about her that drew my attention, in spite of the strong antipathy I nourish against women of her calling. I scanned her attentively without being observed, and sought to analyze what traits or charms there were that lent a different and peculiar effect to everything she said and did. She was very handsome—dark hair and eyes, regular features, a perfect shape, and dressed with consummate taste in white, with a coiffure of gilded net-work. These, however, were far from constituting her only attractions. Her manners were so singular—not noisy and fussy, which is low-bred; on the contrary, there was a profound calm, a repose, almost amounting to listless indifference, that awakened interest to know its cause. Was it satiety, weariness already with the vanities of life, or was it—something else? This languid, dreamy manner never left her. In talking, walking, dancing, she seemed elsewhere, as though her soul occupied another region, and was differently engaged; her movements were all so mechanical and involuntary-like. But opposed to this, and contradictory to every sequence you might attempt to draw, was the expression of her eye. How extraordinary that was. It had the vague restlessness of insanity. It was always in rapid, varied action, as if searching its object, which it never encountered. This it was that bothered the dandies ever circling around her. They could never, by getting before or beside, sun themselves even for a moment in its brilliant light. It always looked over them, or fell direct

upon them with as little consciousness as though resting on a bed of tur-nips. There was method in this madness, though a subtle tact and a great intelligence. What a pity it should all be thrown away on such a life as her's. I will make no allusion to that; for it would startle American ears to touch even so lightly on a part, even, of the irregularities of a woman of fashion in Paris. Her liaisons, their variety, and the mercenary motives which inspired them, for the most part, would make only one chapter of the dark volume of her vices and follies, and that far from the most palpitant. I turned off, and moving down the gallery, I had the pleasure of meeting, after some years interval, the Duke de Sotomayor, the Spanish ambassador. I saw him last in England, where, in 1845, he held the same distinguished rank as now in France, though, for the greater part of the intervening period, he has filled the arduous post of chief minister of the Spanish crown at home. It is not at all generally known that this distinguished nobleman, though of old Spanish family, is on the maternal side, of American descent. His father, when minister to the United States, married a daughter of the celebrated Governor McKean, of Pennsylvania, mother of the present duke. He takes great pleasure in talking of the United States, whose progress he watches with the liveliest interest; and I have met with no foreigner of any rank who seems better informed of her true condition. With an intelligent energy, which is characteristic of his American origin, he has made strenuous efforts, for years past, to rouse his lethargic country to exertion, in the way of material improvement.

He struggled very hard with indifferent success to introduce railroads into Spain, and he prevailed on the government to offer the most enticing conditions to any individual who would undertake the construction. A large quantity of land along the margin of the road, together, I believe with all the materials requisite—and I don't know what other advantages besides—were held out as incentives to enterprise, but all in vain. The Spanish capitalists heard the propositions; puffed their cigaritos in silence, and resisted the temptation of profit, by yielding to the stronger one of pleasure. Bull-fights, in Spain, are yet victorious over railroads.

Is there no modern Columbus, who will come forth, and undertake the navigation of a railroad across the length and breadth of Spain? It is a considerably less perilous task than that which immortalized the close of the fifteenth century, and promises much larger profits to the parties concerned. On the reciprocity principle, now so much in vogue, I think some adventurous Yankee ought to come, and propose to discover Spain to herself, by offering to make her a complete line of railroads, and so respond to the obligations he owes the great Spanish navigator that first brought him and his country into locomotion. But I am running off from the ball, in enlarging too much on the topics I hastily glanced at with the Duke de Sotomayor, as we stood chatting together on the spot where I encountered him. In parting, he was kind enough to invite me to visit him at the Embassy, where I promise myself another interesting conversation on Spanish affairs. I passed leisurely along in the direction of some delightful music, which ever and anon, rose in melodious echoes above the buzz and murmur about me, from a brilliantly lighted room. I perceived in the distance, as I was throwing my eyes about from right to left, for numbers of beautiful and charmingly dressed women lined both sides of the way, I was struck with the noble beauty, and exquisite

toilette of a splendid looking woman, whose head was turned from me, but whose tournure was so *distingué* that I made a full stop to contemplate her. She seemed to be the centre of a fine group of ladies, whose manner had a subdued and respectful air, as though they were the personal friends or attendants of some great princess or other; and, of a truth, quoth I, as I continued my steady gaze of admiration, she is lovely enough to be everything my fancy could invent. I was just about looking round for some acquaintance to tell me who was the transcendent object of my wonderment, when her face turned round in my direction, and, to my surprise and delight, I recognized the beautiful Princess Demidoff, the cousin of the President. It was odd enough that she should turn out to be just the person I was thinking she was worthy to represent. And there she was, in fact, with her little court about her, doing the honors of the fete, and I observed that all who passed, bowed lowly in deference to her position. It was two years since I had seen her, and I hesitated to approach her, thinking it quite likely, in spite of my *amour-propre*, that I had passed completely from her memory. Besides, the new addition to her rank as a near relative to the head of the state, demanded corresponding reserve on my part, and I prepared to salute her, merely, as I went by, scarcely hoping to be recognized. As I bowed, she uttered an exclamation of surprise, and extended her hand with all her former cordiality. "Pray, when did you arrive?" she asked—"I have heard of your being in France." I satisfied her inquiries on this point, and then hastened to congratulate her on the rapid fulfilment of all my former predictions. "Yes, you were perfectly right on all, I confess," returned the Princess Mathilde; "but who could have thought it. I ought not to neglect, however," she continued, "to return you my thanks for the flattering mention you made of me in the account of your last visit to Paris, though," she said, smiling archly, "it was not exactly what was agreed on." I acknowledged my offence of *lisc-majeste*, and receiving a gracious nod of absolution, I withdrew. This remark had reference to an apprehension once expressed by the Princess, lest I should put her in a book. As I had, then, no intention of the kind, I frankly said so; but in yielding afterwards to the temptation, I sought only to give expression to the respect she inspires in all who approach her, and I was glad to find she appreciated my motives, by affecting no displeasure. It is just like her.

After some tight squeezing, for the crowd seemed to thicken, I effected my *entrée* into the room I had before descried. I discovered it was another, a *salle de bal*, if anything more gorgeous than the one I had lately left. It was ornamented in festoons of yellow silk, and glittering in the dazzling light of innumerable chandeliers. At the lower end of this immense hall was another monster orchestra, which steeped the senses in a swelling ocean of melody. Along the sides were benches, covered with velvet, terraced one above the other, and crowded with beauty, rank and splendor. It was a fairy scene that entranced my senses, and I stood in mute delight, with my gaze wandering enchanted from one to the other of these various fascinations. Having surfeited my sight with a long and steady survey of the general features I have mentioned, I turned to inspect more in detail the objects about me. I discovered, with a start, that I was just in the neighborhood of the President, who amused himself with walking about the rooms in his character of host, encountering and chatting

familiarly with his friends and guests that he knew. At the moment I espied him, his back was partly turned, so I had a good opportunity of regarding him. Notwithstanding all the tremendous fatigue he had undergone since I saw him last, he looked well; no thinner, but somewhat paler. The expression of his face was the same—grave, pensive, almost sad. I thought of the expression applied by a friend of mine, O'Gorman, the Irish refugee, who, speaking of this dejected cast of countenance, said, "he looked like a doomed man." The manner of Prince Louis was in nowise changed—always easy, calm and reserved; if anything, there was a little more formality in his style, which was necessary to the extraordinary change in his position. At the instant I observed him, he was talking to a man, who, of all others, I little dreamt of ever seeing in his palace; a man who, not content with merely opposing his election to the presidency, but who, in the zeal of his opposition, indulged in personal reflection, the most violent, against him; a man, in fact, who so erred in his judgment, as not only to resist the pretensions of the nephew, but strove to denounce the claims of the great emperor himself to the good will of France. I speak of Lamartine. And here, in spite of all his fury and abuse, stood the illustrious orator, face to face with the object of his eloquent diatribes, both quietly discussing, I inferred from the extreme calmness of their demeanors, the inexhaustible topic of the state of the weather. I am free from blaming Lamartine for assailing Louis Napoleon's aspirations to sovereign power—his opinions he had an undoubted right to express—but it does seem somewhat strange to find him so soon after on terms of perfect brotherhood. Whence comes this change? Has Louis Napoleon turned out a politician more in harmony with his own views than he looked for? What is the meaning of all this? What, really, are the views, then, of Lamartine? What the views of Louis Napoleon? Perhaps, after all, I said to myself, I am making a mountain of a mole-hill. For there is one thing I ought to recollect, that a French statesman, be his opinions what they may, would rather any time confiscate or suppress them, than give up his privilege to bask in the sunshine of power. Louis Philippe bought and sold the whole batch of public men of his day, one after the other, who could not for their lives, nay, for their principles, which *ought* to be worth ten times more, resist the fascination of going to his palace, eating his dinners, and meandering through his ball-rooms. It means one thing or the other,—Lamartine's presence at the *Elysée National*,—that he could not resist the luxury, the honor of frequenting the palace of the temporary sovereign of the state, or that there is discovered to be identity of principle unthought of between them. Is it aristocratic or democratic sympathy? is it progress or reaction that brings together the prince and the politician?

Whether I should ever have answered to my own satisfaction these hasty questions, gracious knows; but questions and answers were suddenly scattered forever by a delicious thump I got from a lovely creature, with a fine round person and roguish eyes, who, whirling with steamboat rapidity in a waltz just began, came in the course of rotation plump against me, and nearly destroyed my perpendicular. Recovering my gravity and my hat, which I dropped in the shock, I got out of the line of dance, and pushed onward, without stopping to speak to the President, whom I thought it would be indecorous to approach, whilst in conversation with so distinguished a person. I got to nearly the other end of the

hall, when I had the good fortune to encounter our estimable minister, Mr. Rush, who was there, of course, in his official dress, with his amiable and much admired daughters. I paid them my respects, and was just thinking of a quadrille, when the minister asked if I had presented myself yet to my former friend, the President of the Republic?

"No," I answered, "and for this reason: I only met him this moment, and he was then engaged in conversation. Besides, I have just been thinking that it would be in better taste if I were to approach him under your honored auspices. I knew him, and intimately, as you are aware, in exile; but his is at present so different a position, that I feel that our former personal relations must be greatly modified. It is painful enough, this reflection, but am I not right?"

"Entirely so, my dear sir," said Mr. Rush; "and though it was not for any one to make you this suggestion, I am glad, indeed, that your own good sense has arrived at it of itself. The exiled and friendless prince, whose friendship you sought, when there were few to court it, and whose regard you merited by your efforts to serve him, is now at the head of one of the greatest nations of the world, and to say no more, his time is no longer at his disposal. Absorbed, as I know he is, by grave concerns of state, he must sacrifice all other considerations to high and responsible duties. But, still, he is not the man I take him for, if he does not show himself fully alive to the old ties that once connected you."

"Your remarks all strike me as exceedingly just," I replied; "but, to confess the truth, *ab imo pectore*, I fear that there are other reasons that would, were the private dispositions of the prince entirely unchanged, still prevent the resumption of our old acquaintance."

"Ah, indeed," said the minister, looking anxious; "and what are they?"

"Why, the great probability that our political views are no longer the same. The prince and I both agreed enthusiastically, I remember, in condemning the retrograde policy of Louis Philippe, and our ideas of the future, also, harmonized very nearly. But now he is in a position where the light falls on the same objects very differently; and even were his vision strong enough still to pierce through to the truth, yet he will have those about him that will persuade him that black is white, until he begins to doubt his own senses. I regard France from the same point I did when we were friends together, and of course my sentiments are the same. Whether I should be equally inflexible were similar temptations to assail me as now surround the President of the Republic, heaven only knows. I trust only, in such a case, that the love of my fellow-men would predominate over the love of myself—a very rare case indeed."

Whilst I was making these off-hand remarks, I could not help observing the singular play of the minister's countenance. He listened attentively, with his habitual courtesy, to every word I said; and he gave me, I saw it clearly, credit for my sincerity, and respect for my opinions. But his features kept working, and a smile I would give the world to describe, flickered over them the whole time. It was a smile such only as a diplomatist, a politician, and a man of the world could smile. It seemed to express pity for my enthusiasm, doubt of its object, distrust of its utility.

Without laying aside his smile, Mr. Rush, in his good-natured way, went on to reply. "Why, yes, there is something in what you say.

People in power are often obliged to take different conclusions to those formed out of it. The President may be obliged to act according to circumstances that you do not admit the force of. He is in a situation of great difficulty, that requires much caution, that demands exceeding care and moderation. If you or I were similarly placed, we might act in a similar way ——”

“Or we might not, Mr. Rush,” I insinuated. Again the minister smiled—it was the *same* smile.

“True, perfectly true,” he said; “there’s no denying that. We might act like him, or we might not. Nobody can tell how they will act, and people often act so differently from what they intended. But what do you say to going and paying your respects to your host, his Excellency, the President?”

“It would give me great pleasure to do so, and I shall only be too proud to approach him under your escort.”

“*Volontiers*,” said Mr. Rush, and we set off together. It was really no small task that we undertook to make our way to some indefinite point through the vast crowd that thronged the noble suite of saloons we severally traversed. The Palace of the Elysee is evidently too small to contain the “troops of friends” that now pressed forward to the side of the new-made President. If a republican sovereign is allowed to give balls at all, I really see no reason why he should not be furnished with the best accommodation at the service of the state for that purpose. Queen Victoria, at the beginning of her reign, if I recollect aright, used, though living in Buckingham Palace, to give her balls and levees in St. James’s Palace, simply because the size and arrangements of the latter were more convenient for these purposes. To digress for a moment. Speaking of balls and Queen Victoria put me in mind of a splendid fete given to her on the night she reached her majority, 1837, by King William, her uncle, then reigning. The circumstances were peculiar. It was on this night she became eligible to the throne; and, strange to say, but a day or two previous, the good old king fell seriously ill. The Princess Victoria insisted on postponing the ball; but no, the king decided it should go on. In the throne-room, where the Princess danced, were the two great chairs of state, hitherto occupied by the king and queen, but now, for the first time empty, in consequence of the illness of the sovereign. There was one thought only uppermost in the minds of all there—will the king recover? or is the young and beautiful princess, yonder, destined at the very moment the law allows, to mount yon throne, and fill that vacant chair of sovereignty? This natural reflection pre-occupied every one, and frequently was whispered one to another. It could not but have occurred to the Princess herself, for her cheek was flushed, and her manner full of suppressed emotion. I shall never forget the interest I regarded her with on this eventful night that she came of age. Before the flowers were faded which garnished this royal gala, and ere the sounds of graceful revelry had well died away, the poor king was in his grave, and the timid, blushing princess was summoned to imperial sway. But to return to the ball of Louis Napoleon. We had a good long *pull* of it, Mr. Rush and I; and no other word could better express the way we got along through the dense mass of embroidered coats and sparkling jewelry. We began to think, at last, of giving up our search, for we had with wonderful perseverance made good our way through two-thirds of the whole palace, and

I was just going to beg a halt, overcome with the heat and beautiful faces around me, when I heard the minister exclaim, "Ah, there he is—the President!" And there he was, sure enough, standing by a huge vase of porphyry, which served as a protection, a sort of abutment, against the pressure of the tremendous crowd that eddied and flowed back and forward around and about him. I saw at once that there was no chance of conversation; and another obstacle, had I had any such intention, still more formidable than the crowd, was a certain ambassador standing close alongside of him, ever and anon dropping a remark in his ear, and praising, of course, any word that was said to him. "Will you have the kindness," I said to the minister, "to ask the President's permission to present me?" "Certainly," he replied, "if you think that necessary." Mr. Rush advanced to the prince, who had not yet perceived me, and bowing, addressed him. I saw at once an expression of great surprise, and, I may venture to say, of pleasure, animated his features; and, looking up, he caught sight of me. I approached, and he advanced, extending his hand with the same frank cordiality that characterized him of old. He expressed naturally the greatest astonishment to see me in Paris; and I informed him of my recent arrival, and of the amiable interference of his cousin, which had procured me the pleasure of being one of his guests that night. He replied with great amiability, and remarked on my extraordinary flight across the Atlantic, that I treated it with less deference than most people did the English Channel. During our brief interview I observed a singular transition in the manner of the President, which struck me favorably. In the first moments of our meeting, taken unawares, he exhibited a warmth and familiarity which greatly flattered me, but excited the curiosity of those around. The ambassador at his side, aforesaid, looked a good deal puzzled to know who was the stranger, and the presence of the American minister only added to his perplexity. My own manner, though not restrained, was yet more reserved and formal than of old; for I no longer recognised the prisoner of Ham in the powerful President of the French Republic, decorated with his stars and grand cordon, and surrounded by his officers of ordinance. Of a sudden the prince seemed to recollect also his change of position, for he drew up, and put on a manner that was more official, and which, without being haughty, was less encouraging. Both ambassadors noticed this, and Lord Normanby, always at his elbow, for it was no other than the celebrated English envoy I have alluded to, seemed better satisfied; for he evidently thought it odd that anybody, however insignificant, under the escort of the *American* minister, should be received by Republican France with especial favor. It may seem unlikely and even absurd, to be accusing England of jealousy of American influence in small matters, as well as greater; and it may be further supposed, that to give myself a false importance, I am filling up my picture with details that I owe to my fancy. But it is strictly true, nevertheless, that the presence of Mr. Rush at this little scene, did attract attention; and I think abundant evidence, besides mine, might be furnished, that, not only in France but elsewhere, the English aristocracy are hostile to American pretensions, and seek to resist or undermine our influence, wherever it is likely to be established. All of which is very foolish and highly improper, and may, some day or other—who can tell how soon?—lead to serious trouble, when England will suffer more than we shall. On this point, an excellent saying of

Washington Irving's occurs to me. I remember, in the summer of 1845, meeting this distinguished man in Paris, *en congé* from his post at Madrid. The subject of Texas annexation was discussed with great warmth in the journals and saloons of Paris. All Americans, of course, took a lively interest in the topic; for the monarchical party of Europe, with France and Guizot, and with England and her oligarchy at the head, were resolved to oppose and prevent it. I conversed with Mr. Irving on this coalition against us, and I have not yet forgotten the eloquent terms in which he gave expression to his patriotic indignation thereat. I had heard that he was not a good talker, but on this occasion his language rushed out with the impetuosity of foaming lava. He related that he had lately exchanged opinions, on this Texas question, with Sir Henry Bulwer, then English minister, I think, in Spain, but also in Paris at that moment. England was, just then, doing her best, in an underhand way, to prevent, by every means, Texas falling into our hands; and the two rival ministers, English and American, had, therefore, plenty to say when they met, one night, at a French dinner party, by chance. What remark Mr. Bulwer made to provoke this reply, I don't know; but Mr. Irving answered him—"I will admit, Mr. Bulwer, that, in case of a war between us, England, from her better preparation, would, in the beginning, *break our head*; but you may depend on it, in the end, the United States would *break her back*." But I will never finish with the President's ball, if I go on digressing in this unconscionable way. On leaving the prince, Mr. Rush hastened back to join his family, and I set off "on my own hook," as the Bowery b'hoys say, to see what was to be seen. I had not gone twenty paces, before my glance lit upon one of the most interesting ladies in all France and Navarre, though belonging, by birth, to neither. She is well-known to all the reading world, by her romantic association with the most brilliant name in modern literature. Who has not heard of the celebrated Countess Guiccioli, the only woman that Byron ever passionately loved. The devotion of a man of his genius is alone a sufficient test of her merit. In one respect, but not the only one, she is undoubtedly the most remarkable woman in Europe. Her age—it is profanity, I know it, to apply this horrid standard to a lovely woman; but Moore, the biographer-poet, has been guilty of the most unpardonable indelicacy in this respect, as regards the Countess. Her age, therefore, everybody knows; but how much beyond forty she may be, I shall not endeavor to recollect: yet who, to look at her, could imagine it? Observe her, reader; there she stands by yon *buffet*, in lively conversation with the Prince de la Moskowa. Did you ever in your life, at any age, see finer hair? Neither the ravings of poets, nor the lustrous tints of Titian, could ever make me like what are commonly called "golden locks;" but the soft radiance of those charming curls, nestling, as it were, in the finest bust in Europe, convicted me some years ago, and would have transported even sterner stuff than I am made of. Remark her face—how young, and gay, and happy it looks; none of the seriousness of a woman who had once loved so deeply, and not a shadow from the footprint of time. Her features, how perfectly regular; and her teeth, could anything be whiter? and not one of them missing. Recollect she is forty, every day of it. Her figure—that is the only defective part;—it is rather undersized, and a *little* stout. But were it ten times shorter and stouter, it would be redeemed a thousand times by her magnificent shoulders, which

were never rounder, smoother, or more dazzling, than at the very moment I was regarding her. She is a marvel, the Countess of Guiccioli that was, the Marchioness De Boissy that is; for, a couple of years ago, she married the celebrated marquis of that name, one of the cleverest and richest noblemen of France.

But beside the *agremens* of her person, she has other charms still more valuable. Two prominent traits have always won me to her side—Great amiability, slightly tinged with pride, which is charming in a woman, as it is detestable in a man; and amazing force of intellect. In this respect she has astonished me over and over again. I have coped with her on all subjects—literature, politics, philosophy, poetry and the arts—in all she displayed, not merely erudition, but the nicest judgment and the most correct taste. She is a marvel, I repeat it; and Byron couldn't help it, I am sure, when he fell, head over heels, in love with her. And what a morsel of transcendent beauty she must have been at sixteen years of age, when first they met. I have a great notion to relate that *first meeting*. It has never been told, that I know of. I have it from the *best authority*. Here goes for another digression—a short one. The Countess of Guiccioli quit the convent where she was educated at “sweet fifteen,” and was bid to marry the old count of that name. She obeyed her parents—(what a cruel sacrifice!) married, and not long afterwards, came to Venice to pass a few months of gayety. At the elegant house of the celebrated Countess —, I forget her name—vide Moore—the young and timid countess met Lord Byron for the first time. He was pointed out to her as the great poetic wonder of the day, and she to him as the greatest beauty of Venice. They were presented—gazed at each other for a moment—exchanged a few indifferent words, then turned their respective heads in opposite directions, and took no further notice of each other, though they frequently met in many places after that. How strange this mutual indifference at first sight! But it was not intended they should dodge their destiny in that way; for, a year after that, the countess came again to Venice, from one of her country estates, where she preferred passing the greater part of the year. The night of her arrival she was excessively fatigued, and desired to go to bed immediately. But her obstinate old husband—it was his own fault—insisted that she should accompany him to the opera, if only for a few moments. She refused positively; but what can a poor wife do, when a crotchety husband *will* have his way? She went to the opera, not exactly in the humor for enjoying Rossini. At length it was over, and she was rejoicing to go home, when the Count Guiccioli—blind instrument of fate—begged her only to accompany him for a few minutes to the *conversazione* of the celebrated Countess —, I couldn't think of it before. The young bride again resisted and remonstrated, but in vain; she had to go to the *soirée*, after the opera in question; but it was solemnly compacted between the parties that their stay should not exceed half an hour, at farthest. Soon after they entered the room, she was remarked by Lord Byron, who was there again; and soon after he came up, with the lady of the house, and renewed his former acquaintance. The countess was a year older, and handsomer. Still the conversation flagged, till, by some chance—it was cupid's work—Byron let drop a remark about *Dante*. This drew a response from the imaginative girl, so full of passionate enthusiasm for her native bard, that Byron was startled. He began to talk of Italian poetry, and he soon

found that his every word touched a chord that vibrated to the inmost recesses of the fair creature's heart, who sat transfixed with rapture at his eloquent and inspired accents. The half hour agreed on soon passed, and several more fled after it. The old count now begged and entreated, in his turn; but his lovely wife seemed to have lost her senses. She paid him no heed, but sat there motionless, fascinated, and entranced. Who could have escaped? Think of it. The subject *Dante*, and the orator *Byron*. That night was the most eventful of her life. The shaft was flown, her heart was pierced through and through; and from that time forward, the enthusiastic countess never refused again to go to the *soirees* of the celebrated Countess of—what do you call it?

But to come back once more to the President's ball, that I shan't leave again till I go out of the front door. As I have been talking so much about this charming woman, suppose we go and talk a little to her. "*Bon soir, Madame la Marquise,*" I said, just as if I had left her the night before.

"*Mon dieu!*" she exclaimed, looking at me in great wonder, "is it you, or a ghost?"

"Only flesh and blood, I assure you, Marquise; so don't be alarmed."

"Yes, and rather more of it, for you have grown stouter, I see. But where in the world did you come from?"

"Pray give me your arm, as everybody is going to supper, and I will tell you."

"*Enchante,*" said the amiable Marquise, and very proud of my trophy, I marched off with her to the banqueting-hall. As we slowly floated along with the strong and steady tide now running supperwards, I explained to her my recent arrival, and the multifarious occupations that had prevented my calling. I congratulated her on her brilliant marriage, and she replied with great warmth on a theme that I saw was near her heart. She said she was "perfectly happy."

"Then, I will remind you that I was always a partizan for your second marriage, for the too vivid recollection of your first misfortune was the cause, I know it, of your repelling, I don't know how many tempting matches; and you see how groundless were all your apprehensions."

"Yes, I remember perfectly well all you used to say; but accustomed for a long while to perfect independence, I feared to put on trammels again. But the Marquis is a man of ten thousand."

Our conversation continued to run on in this easy, familiar way, till we reached the great stair-case leading to the supper-saloon above. The effect of this was so charming that I did nothing but express my admiration. Both sides of this splendid flight was lined with the richest and rarest flowers. Magnificent mirrors reflected in every direction the brilliant toilettes of the flittering throng that flowed incessantly along. Enlivening strains of the finest martial music from various military bands, filled the vaults above with stirring echoes. A Mahomedan might have thought himself on the road to paradise going up this luxurious ascent—for there was everything to pamper the sense and kindle the imagination. We landed in a noble vestibule, charmingly decorated for the occasion, from whence spacious doors opened to the right and left, and crossing which, we entered the first of these vast saloons, where was spread out a repast that, for delicacy, profusion and luxury, I have never seen anywhere surpassed. The novelty of the arrangement delighted

everybody. Instead of one great, interminable table, running with railroad stiffness through one room and round another, there was scattered about, with graceful regularity, numberless small, round tables, accommodating eight persons each, brilliantly lighted with gilt candelabra, and separately served by a distinct corps of waiters, in full dress. Taking my seat in front of a *pate de foie gras*, that was of itself a source of inspiration, and with my charming and distinguished companion on my right, with the buzz of animated conversation in my ears, mingling with the distant murmurs of music, lovely faces, and sparkling eyes all round, delicious toilettes, and gorgeous uniforms, great warriors, and statesmen everywhere in view, with all that was remarkable in rank and service, in art and science, from all parts of Europe. Yes, it was a *tableau vivant* enough to intoxicate the senses, and I gave myself up to one of those moments of supreme beatitude that come but rarely in life, and, happily, last but a moment, else the test of it would be entirely insupportable. I may be set down as sensual, and worldly, and gracious knows what else, for being thrown into an *extase* from so vulgar a source as an Arabian night supper; but whilst I am as easily kindled as another by an Italian or American sun-set, or so completely subdued as another by a soft scene of moonlight, bathing in its transparent beams some peaceful valley in the bosom of the Tyrol, or anywhere else, yet I never omit going off in a rapture whenever I get a fair chance; and it is open to discussion whether this was not as strong a temptation as could be set before a man rather poetically disposed. It was over, my supper and my trance, and I was just getting up to follow the *Marquise* back to the ball-room below, when we were both stopped by an old acquaintance we were mutually delighted to meet.

"*Corpo di Baccho*," said Count D'Orsay, who had his sister, the Duchess of Grammont, on his arm; "you are the last man I expected to see here to-night."

"Ditto, Count, to you; I had no idea of your being in Paris, though both of us have additional reasons for coming now."

"*N'est pas*. Well, I must do you justice; your predictions have been realized in the most astonishing way. Who could have expected it? No story of romance is half so strange as all that has happened since you left London last."

"It is marvellous, sure enough; and I am as much astonished as anybody at the rapid fulfilment of my own prophecies, which has happened ere this to greater prophets. We parted last, two years ago, do you remember, Count, at the Prince's table, in London, and here we meet again at the Prince's table, in Paris, he, meanwhile, transformed by some slight-of-hand of providence, from a poor exile into a powerful monarch, albeit for four years only. Let us drink a glass of champagne to his republican highness."

"With all my heart," responded the brilliant D'Orsay, who still looked the noblest cavalier of all the feast.

By this time the ladies had finished their short chat, and taking once more the arm of the *Marquise*, I escorted her down to the saloons below, and there left her, surrounded by a group of admirers.

I wandered off once more in a roving spirit of adventure, encountering friends and acquaintances, right and left, for all that Paris comprised of rank and distinction seemed to be there. The night wore gently

away, amid these endless enchantments ; but so gaily was I occupied, now with walking, then talking, some dancing, and a great deal of looking, that I forgot clocks, beds, fatigue and sleep, having made up my mind "not to go home till morning." I have not related one-half of the pleasant incidents of this delightful fete, but, likely, more than enough to have worn out the patience of the reader. But for this apprehension I should have something to say of really one of the greatest men in France, *De Tocqueville*, whom I chanced upon in this merry conclave. I entertain the profoundest respect for this remarkable thinker, who has produced by far the greatest book of the century. His work on the United States, on our political institutions, and their effects on our social state, is the ablest, truest, fairest disquisition ever written by philosopher or publicist, in any age of the world. Nothing that Plato, Cicero, Montesquieu, or Bentham, ever thought or said, approach it. To be sure, they for the most part dealt in idealities, whereas, De Tocqueville had a political *chef d'œuvre* to handle, such as could not fail to inspire genius like his. His vast, eternal merit is, that he was true to the great work he undertook, and he has written that which neither the follies of democracy, nor all the subtlety or force of monarchy, will ever falsify or overthrow. When my glimpse fell on him at the ball, he was engaged in conversation, and I had time to perceive that his person had grown thinner with labor, and his usually grave face seemed to wear a deeper shade of gloom, as if the times he was living in inspired doubt and dread. I approached and addressed him. He received me with habitual urbanity, asking the date of my arrival, and after the health of mutual friends in America.

"We read there with deep interest, Mons. de Tocqueville," I continued, "your remarkable speech, a little over a year ago, when you cried *gare aux revolutions*."

"Ah," he said, with a sigh, "you see my warning had no effect. The monarchy rushed headlong to perdition, and like a modern Cassandra, I could only moralize upon what I had in vain foretold."

I am reluctant to quote any further his remarks, for his position in the political world is too prominent, and the events of the day are too grave, to allow me to take liberties with his casual conversation. He was kind enough to press me to come and see him on parting, and I shall, therefore, have more to say about this eminent man.

It was near four o'clock, and yet the lights were dimless, the gayety undiminished, and the dancers and flutters as fresh and indefatigable as at the beginning. It cost me an effort ; but casting a long and lingering look behind, I turned my head, clapped on my hat, as I descended the carpeted stairs without, and drove home from the President's Ball ; and I can hardly help wishing, like John Gilpin of yore, that on another such occasion, "may I be there to see."

FLOGGING IN THE NAVY.

PART III.—SUBSTITUTES DISCUSSED.

It is now proper to reply to those bold, but doubtless sincere advocates of corporal punishment, who aver that flogging is the only way to enforce a wholesome discipline in the navy, and that no change in the present regulations and laws would be prudent, because of the peculiar condition of things on board ships of war at sea. In doing so, an outline of substitutes will be presented, together with some remarks thereupon, leaving for the next part, the minuter details of our views respecting the duty of government to the American seaman.

Should the object of inflicting torture upon sailors be to reform them, the first inquiry naturally suggested, is thus expressed by De Tocqueville: "If this pain be ignominious, does it not go directly against the end which we propose to obtain, viz., to awaken the morality of an individual fallen in his own opinion?" Our sentiments upon this point have already appeared; but if we thought that the prospect of reforming criminals by the lash was ever so promising, with Senator Benton we question if it is worth while to make officers of the navy the instruments or agents to correct the incorrigible part of mankind. But, in truth, the only proper or legitimate object of corporal punishment in the navy, is to exact obedience to lawful orders, that certain duties may be performed. Is this object best obtained by inflicting torture upon the body? Or, we may put the significant question of the Hon. Edward Livingston, "whether a man would relish labor better by being constrained by stripes?" The discussion of this abstraction would be unprofitable, for it is insisted that the lash is inflicted on few. Although this is not, and cannot be the case, as long as the present law remains unaltered, for reasons which have already been adverted to, yet it is true that those who, under a different system, would merit flogging, are comparatively few in number—and these few are usually worthless to the government, with or without the lash. It seems, therefore, that a relic of barbarity, liable to the grossest abuse under the existing laws, is adhered to, and a serious harm inflicted upon the character of the service in the eyes of the community, on account of a few worthless individuals, whom a ship's company had better spare. Their being worthless, however, is no reason that they should endure bodily anguish; for the guilty are almost always the first to suffer those hardships, which are afterwards used as precedents for oppressing the innocent.*

To decide, with a correct and unbiassed judgment, respecting the propriety and feasibility of a different policy for the disciplinary powers now arbitrarily exercised "according to law," the mind of the non-professional inquirer should be disabused of the idea of mystery connected

* Macauley.

with everything about ships and sailors. The public generally see little of ships; and what they know personally of sailors, is derived from observations of them in a crowded thoroughfare, or from the wharves of a commercial city. Their relations to officers are different; for few persons have opportunities of social intercourse more extensively or advantageously than navy officers. As regards the internal police and economy of a ship, the public ordinarily go no further than to hear the uncouth language used on board, in order to believe those who tell them that fundamental principles, which have a universal application to every variety of the human species on *terra firma*, will not answer for the peopled deck. The degraded seaman is hence looked upon as an exception to the rest of humanity, whose management is only understood by his officers. To the officers, in their turn, is accorded a prescriptive infallibility; judgment that never errs; passions which are never excited unduly; knowledge that is never at fault; fitting repositories of legislative, judicial, and executive functions, or rather of an unbridled despotism. These views are warranted by neither reasons nor facts. The ready tact and the confident bearing necessary to make a useful sailor, require time and practice; but the theory of the seaman's duty, and the daily routine of the officers, are of the simplest nature. Hence the propriety of a reform in marine police, so as to assimilate its principles to the civilization of the age, may be measured by the same rules of common sense, that are applicable to the control of masses of men in any employment on land. Judged by such a standard, it will be found that no more reason exists why the lash should be applied to the back of the American seaman, than to the back of any other American laborer. In doing so, we degrade him below other laborers, and inflict an injury upon the character of our republican institutions and the true interests of the country.

Our legislation, heretofore following blindfoldedly after the aristocratic precedents of the English, appears to have been conducted with the idea that the elevation of the seaman would induce him to forget the hardships of the sea for the superior advantages offered by employment on land; that, therefore, he should be flogged, plied with liquor, and kept in a state of degradation. This notion, which is known to have an actual existence in the minds of some, is as false as it is wicked. There can never be wanting those who will prefer a sea life to any other, if sailors are defended from injustice by the ægis of the laws. A popular writer (Dana) truly remarks, "that there is a witchery in the sea, its songs and stories, and in the mere sight of a ship, and the sailor's dress, especially to young minds, which has done more to man navies, and fill merchantmen, than all the press-gangs of Europe." What sailors require is to have public sympathy so manifested, that our laws relating to them may be *republicanized*. Those who look for the reformation of this important class, by the sole means of Bethels and Sailor's Homes, without a disposition to interfere with the laws which sanction his daily debasement, exhibit more faith than knowledge.

Such a plan as that which we shall proceed to indicate, it is confidently assumed, if fairly instituted, and afterwards carried out in good faith, will not only render the abolition of corporal punishment a perfectly safe measure, but greatly improve the discipline and efficiency of the service. Superiority is not arrogated for this plan over any other that may be pro-

posed, but only that it furnishes a better system than that of the act of 1800. One of the worst features of that act, as a code, is, that it furnishes no system at all. Everything is left to the customs of the sea service, or in other words, to the dictatorial authority of one man. As captains differ in their character and views, so ships differ in the nature and quality of their discipline. The necessary result is sure to follow,—that while some ships will honor, others will disgrace their country. If, with a defined system, one ship was in bad discipline and another in good, it would soon be traced to the true cause, viz., that the captain of the former was not “born to command.”* The qualifications for command are not such as are possessed indiscriminately by all; and it must happen, as officers are now appointed and promoted, that the register will contain the names of some who are not retained upon it either for any actual merit they now possess, or past service they may have rendered. A judiciously regulated system would discover who these were, and enable the government to do itself justice, and reward those who are best qualified to promote its interests, before the infirmities of age render them inefficient.

We have not deemed it compatible with the design of this paper, to enter upon certain subjects which are of no small importance in procuring and keeping in the navy a competent corps of seamen, and in advancing the character and respectability of American seamen generally. The first is, an apprentice system, on such a basis, that not only the future supply of seamen may be had from that source, to a great extent, but officers also. It would, however, be premature and injudicious to attempt it until the present demoralizing influences on board-ship are removed. The late abortive trial proved the pernicious effects and ruinous consequences of those influences. Another subject referred to, is the prospect of promotion to be held out for meritorious conduct, and professional improvement held out to young, intelligent and upright persons—whether sea-faring or landsmen, by going into the navy. The advantages in the power of government to offer her own employment to those who will devote their lives to the service, as privates, cannot be sufficient, in any plan of organization, to satisfy many young men whose predilections for sea-life will be gratified in some way. But if the situation of the private was such when on board ship, that a proud man could maintain his self-respect, and at the same time facilities were offered to all those who might choose to avail themselves of them, to improve their minds in such subjects as would fit them for command in merchantmen, the navy would be made the honorable avenue to official position in a kindred service. This would involve the necessity of having a competent instructor in every ship. A “naval fund,” on a footing that will hereafter appear, will pay all the expenses of such instructors. Thus the navy would be made the steady friend of the mercantile marine, and supply her with the best description of force, instead of standing in the way of her interests,

* On the importance of system, Capt Basil Hall remarks: “there is no man more docile than Jack, I might say no child; but then the hand that guides him must be tempered by discretion, by kindness, and above all, by uniformity, or as it is called afloat, by system. There may be bad systems as well as good ones, but I am half inclined to say that even the worst system, if strictly adhered to, is better than the wretched uncertainty of purpose which clings to ill regulated and vacillating discipline, though every single act may be dictated by good will, and the sincerest wish to do right.”

by reducing the supply in times of necessity. Omitting such points for the present, these remarks will be chiefly confined to a few heads of a plain, practical plan, to serve as a substitute for the existing system—rather to show the practicability of a substitute, than to insist upon the peculiar excellence of this, except over the present, or any other which degrades and demoralizes. The following propositions embrace the principal features. Details will follow in part fourth.

Proposition First.—The unqualified exclusion of all spirituous liquors from on board national vessels, except for medicinal purposes. The addition of the amount of commutation of the spirit part of the navy ration to the pay of privates.

Proposition Second.—The privilege of going on shore (on “liberty,” as it is termed by sailors) as often as is consistent with the duty upon which the ship is engaged, guaranteed to those who have not forfeited it. For bad conduct, this privilege to be withheld for a length of time proportionate to the degree of offence: for good conduct, to be extended.

Proposition Third.—The classification of privates into three grades, according to conduct, assigning to the first, or most meritorious grade, certain pecuniary advantages, and extra privileges. The lowest grade to be that of “prisoners at large,” imposed for disgraceful acts by sentence of a general court martial, in cases where dismissal is deemed inexpedient. The third class subject to the treatment of prisoners or convicts.

Proposition Fourth.—A conduct roll to be kept for the purpose of recording delinquencies which do not call for severe punishment, by marks of demerit, graded according to a numerical scale. The conduct roll to serve as a basis of classification.

Proposition Fifth.—The institution of ship courts, to be termed Courts of Inquest, corresponding to the regimental courts of the army, to serve as a court of appeal from the decision of the commander in the award of punishment, and to have intermediate jurisdiction over offences punishable by the commander, and over offences justifiable by a court martial.

Proposition Sixth.—Punishments assigned for offences to be—admonition, reprimand, simple arrest, close arrest, fines, reduction, imprisonment, dismissal, cashiering, death.

Minor punishments inflicted by the commander, or court of inquest, and right of appeal in all cases guaranteed.

Proposition Seventh.—The publication of a “Seaman’s Register,” annually, to contain the names of the privates of the navy, who will be regarded as attached permanently to the navy, and receive a leave of absence pay, if reported on favorably by the commander, on returning from a cruise.

Proposition Eighth.—At all events, repeal the “Act for the better government of the Navy of the United States,” approved April 23d, 1800, and institute for the American navy an American law; discard these arbitrary and irresponsible powers, which are the characteristics of an age of aristocratic oppression and tyranny, and adopt a law founded upon the more enlightened spirit of these times, which shall protect all classes in the enjoyment of their rights.

It will be necessary to follow up each of these propositions with a few explanatory remarks:—

1st. *The Spirit Ration.*—It is important, if not indispensable to the perfect success of the reformed system, that the spirit part of the ration be abolished, and that alcoholic drinks be forbidden to go on board national vessels, except for medicinal purposes. This would be an acceptable measure to a large, and increasing class of officers, under the existing regulations; and, were flogging abolished, the desire would be general.

No one will deny, that drunkenness is not the immediate cause of much of the flogging in the navy. Members of Congress can understand this, but they do not appear to appreciate all the disadvantages and remote evils of the spirit ration. The daily, or rather, thrice daily appearance of the "grog-tub" before the young, has a very pernicious effect. A formal call to grog is made before each meal. All who are entitled to it, proceed to the gangway, where it is "served out," and as their names are called, receive a "tot," as it is termed, (a small cup filled with the spirit) which they drink off with manifest gusto. The boys not being permitted to draw this part of the ration, but being the constant witnesses of this serving out process, acquire a longing desire to participate in what appears to be so highly relished by their seniors. They are thus made drunkards by example. The withdrawal of ardent spirits from the older sailors, would certainly promote temperance among them, for it is evident that three drinks daily must stimulate the desire for freer indulgence when opportunities present themselves.

The fairness or policy of allowing officers to bring liquors on board, and not permit the sailors to drink at all, may well be questioned. Government would pursue the wisest course, and consult its own interests, by keeping so fruitful a source of flogging among sailors, and court martial among officers, out of our national vessels altogether. If the ration was not morally objectionable, the gain of room in the hold of the ship, at present occupied by whiskey-casks, and the greater danger of fire from the exposure of so inflammable a substance, would justify the abolition of a useless luxury.

For eighteen years, persons in the navy have had presented them the option of drawing the spirit part of their ration, or receiving in lieu thereof a certain sum of money. Judge Woodbury deserves the credit of having first authorized this commutation. By his circular of 15th of June, 1831, all who voluntarily relinquished that part of the ration composed of spirits were paid at the rate of six cents per ration. The amount of commutation has since varied considerably. From June, 1831, to August 29th, 1842, it continued at what Judge Woodbury's circular established it, when it was regulated by an act of Congress, which provided, that to every person "who may relinquish the spirit part of the ration, there shall be paid in lieu thereof, the value of the same in money, according to the prices which are or may be established for the same." As the same act reduced the quantity from half a pint to one gill, the value was fixed at only about two cents. The effect of this upon the temperance cause in the navy was reactionary, as might have been expected. This was the amount allowed, until an act approved March 3d, 1847, provided that there shall be allowed three cents per day; and in the naval appropriation bill of August 3d, 1848, it was enacted, "that hereafter the amount of commutation money, allowed by law in lieu of the spirit ration, shall be increased to four cents." At four cents per day, or one dollar and twenty cents per month, it now remains.

The last clause of the first proposition is to add the amount of the commutation of the spirit part of the ration to the pay of privates. Should the commutation be established at six and a half cents per day, this would amount to about two dollars monthly. A seaman would then receive fourteen dollars with a ration of the best description, and a prospect of higher pay as petty officer, instead of his present pay of twelve dollars and a ration, the spirit part of which he may, if he pleases, commute at one dollar and twenty cents. The amount of this commutation is not likely to enter into his calculations, however, when he balances in his mind the pecuniary advantages of the service. With a specific increase, this would be otherwise. The pay of the private in the navy would then compare favorably with that given in the merchant service; while the inducements to enter the former under the improved treatment bestowed upon them, would weigh the balance decidedly in its favor, and render the service so eagerly sought after, that selections might be made of the best descriptions of sea-faring men.

The law respecting the pay of privates in the navy presents a curious anomaly in our legislation. By act of Congress, approved April 14th, 1814, it is provided, that the pay to be allowed the petty officers and midshipmen, and the pay and bounty upon the enlistment of seamen, ordinary seamen and marines, shall be *fixed by the President of the United States*: provided that the whole sum to be given shall not exceed for any one year the amount which may in such year be appropriated for these purposes respectively." Here the law has remained for thirty-five years, except as regards midshipmen. Inasmuch as the aggregate pay of the various classes of privates exceeds considerably one million of dollars annually, it might be deemed of sufficient importance to merit the especial attention of Congress. We are aware that the objection will be raised, that the wages of seamen vary from month to month according to the demands of business. This may be true to some extent; but there has been no alteration made in the pay of seamen for the navy during this generation, and but slight changes in the pay of any class of privates. It is remarkable, that these changes were mostly confined to those not mentioned in the bill, viz., boys and landsmen. Had the changes in the pay of those grades been required, Congress could as easily have made them as the President of the United States, or rather the Bureau office, who, for the time being, may have had the ear of the Secretary of the Navy.

2d.—*Privilege of going ashore.* This is a more important point than may at first appear. When a sailor signs his name to the shipping articles and goes on board a cruising vessel of war, he has no more right to emerge from those wooden walls for three years, than if, after signing Wm. B. Astor's name to a negotiable note, and being legally sentenced to Sing-Sing for an equal length of time, he would have to step abroad on *liberty*. The principle is not affected by the practice being in most cases different, although in point of fact the restraints imposed upon some crews going on shore amount to a virtual imprisonment for years. Of this difference, the well disposed and decently behaved seaman is aware, and certainly it must go far towards inducing him to prefer a service where he is permitted to take recreation on shore after the labors of the day are ended.

"Liberty," or leave to go on shore, is withheld, chiefly because of the

fear of desertion. It would be difficult to prove, from the testimony of officers, or otherwise, that more desertions have occurred where this freedom is most freely extended. On this point, Captain Griffiths, R. N., observes: "I have but little doubt but the records of the Navy Office would at once bear out the personal experience, that those ships wherein the greatest portion of leave on shore was given, ever present the smallest list of deserters, perhaps the larger portion of volunteers, reduced punishments, and less sickness." After relating various instances of numerous desertions from ships which could not trust a boat on shore, in contrast with others where no desertions occurred, with frequent temptations in their way, he adds, "the great boon which made this difference was comprised in the talismanic word—Liberty!"

This privilege greatly extended, exerts a happy influence upon the moral conduct of seamen when on shore. Recognizing themselves as worthy of trust by their officers, they will be far less liable to abuse the confidence thus bestowed. In making the continuance and extension of the privilege to depend upon the good conduct when absent, "liberty" would actually promote the cause of temperance, particularly where the habit for indulgence in spirituous liquors was not kept up by the daily ration. To this end the crew should be classified, the best being put upon a footing as regards privilege of leave, with warrant officers, who are permitted to go on shore whenever their duties do not require them to stay aboard.

Nothing indicates more clearly a high capacity for command in an officer than to have a crew to whom he allows constant liberty, in such a state that removes from his mind any apprehension of desertion and disorderly conduct on shore. When a crew is refused liberty month after month for these reasons, it may be safely assumed that a screw is loose somewhere. The apologists for such treatment refer the difficulty to the excessive depravity of the men. But it happens, that while these troubles occur to some every cruise they take, the universal practice of other commanders is to allow their crews the freest scope. Depraved as the crews of the men-of-war are said to be, precedents are to be found of some (recently shipped and in debt for their advance,) being allowed to go on shore every night in quarter watches, and returning in time for their duties the next morning, as respectable mechanics would return to an unfinished job—day after day, no cause of complaint arising.

The expense of a cruise ashore is urged as an objection against allowing men to go too often. This difficulty proceeds from the practice, which has obtained, of so seldom giving liberty. Confined to the artificial existence and annoying discipline of a ship for a year or more, men forget how to exercise any restraint upon their own conduct, when told that for twenty-four hours they are free to do as they please. It becomes the fashion then to make the day so passed one of unrestrained license; and if officers encourage the practice as a good old custom, sailors seem to regard it as scarcely creditable for one of themselves not to take a "regular blow out" on such occasions. Two, three, five, and sometimes as high as ten dollars are given to each "liberty man," but even the largest of these sums is often insufficient to satisfy many of them. Articles of clothing are sold at a great sacrifice to the first sharper in whose hands they may chance to fall; and on returning aboard, they have parted with their jackets and shoes to procure the means of beastly gratifications. Would it be worse to act upon the opposite extreme—to permit men to

go as often as they could be spared, and to take with them as much money as they called for, if due them? As in every other situation of life, there would be some who would never accumulate a dollar, all their wages being expended as they became due; but, on the contrary, it would promote thrift in others, who might find that the recreation of body and mind, attending a change from ship to shore, could be enjoyed in short visits, which would obviate the necessity of drawing upon the purser for the savings of the proceeds of their industry. Nor would it exercise a less happy influence upon the conduct of sailors when discharged on a ship's return from a cruise. The extravagant and dissipated would then be without the means of vicious indulgence, while the prudent, having acquired a habit of self-restraint, could apply their increased accumulations in a way that might contribute to their future welfare and success in life.

3d.—*Classification.* According to the proposed classification, the crew may be arranged in three portions. The first class, under the designation of "picked men," (or some better name,) will be included, by the court of inquest, on the commander's nomination for deserving conduct. They will be entitled to an honorary badge or distinguishing dress: have the same privilege of liberty as the warrant officers, and when not on duty (returning from a cruise) will receive leave of absence pay.

The second class will consist of the remainder of the crew, generally those whose good conduct may not have entitled them to the honors and advantages of picked men, nor whose bad conduct have brought them to the misfortunes of the next class. They wear the ordinary naval dress, have the privilege of liberty guaranteed to them a certain number of times annually, and when not on duty receive half leave pay, provided they are recommended by their commanders to be retained upon the seaman's register.

The third class are those under temporary sentence of imprisonment for disgraceful conduct, by award of a general court-martial. They wear a perfectly plain dress, without any naval insignia, are forbidden liberty, kept aloof from the crew as far as practicable, and assigned duty under the immediate inspection of the officers. In fine, they are considered, and to be treated as *convicts* in a prison, who have been guilty of crimes demanding for the safety of society a curtailment of their freedom and privileges. *For the more perfect security of good order, moderate corporal chastisement may be inflicted on such convicts, by sentence of a court of inquest, under the same regulations as provided for minor punishments to other classes,* to whom the privilege of appeal is secured, and ample reports required to be made to superior authorities.

After our previous expressions respecting corporal punishment, it may appear incompatible with such views, to present a system which embraces this method of correction. But the cases are not parallel. At present, the law authorizes the flogging of all privates for offences of such general character as to relieve the commander of all responsibility, and take from the sufferer all security. One whose efforts to do right are unceasing, may, by an accident of his own, or by a transient error of another, or even without either, have inflicted on him a punishment the most revolting to a man possessed of due self-respect. But, by the terms of the third proposition, those only who have committed disgraceful acts can be placed in a grade to be subjected to a disgraceful punishment, if the preservation of order demands it. To get into this grade he must be legally

condemned to it by a grave tribunal, whose forms are too cumbersome to be used for trivialnesses; and when there, it will be his own fault if he is ever flogged, for he is amply protected from its capricious employment. By this plan, then, we feel justified in asserting that it may be adopted with safety. Although the arbitrary exercise of the power to flog sailors is generally reprobated, yet many judicious persons, whose character entitles their opinions to respect, are reluctant to dispense with it altogether, and at once. The compromise we submit removes entirely one grand objection to flogging, viz., its liability to abuse, by which wild and thoughtless men, not disposed to be absolutely vicious, are made so, by being demoralized and brutalized. If a man disgraces himself, and merits disgraceful punishment by the commission of crime, it would be better never to retain him in service after being thus debased. But the condition of things in the navy may sometimes forbid this severance. Policy or necessity may confine to the service men who have lost all title to respect. Let them remain in the capacity of convicts, and treated by the same coercive means as we employ in our penitentiaries, to restrain the unruly and punish the vicious. On conviction, the court-martial may sentence them to the class of prisoners—but even in that class they have their rights. It requires in the state of imprisonment the commission of another crime, and a conviction thereof, on due investigation by a legal tribunal, before the offending convict can be exposed to the ignominy of stripes. That justice shall not be withheld him, not only the report of his punishment but the record of his trial is to be sent to the Navy Department, subject to the call of Congress and the scrutiny of the press.

Corporal punishment under these restrictions would rarely be employed, if authorized. The minor punishments we shall submit would be found sufficient in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred; and in many cases of trials for disgraceful acts, it would be expedient to dismiss the culprit. Especially would this be the case, if the navy were rendered so desirable as to be sought by well-disposed seamen. But, under sentence of imprisonment, it is manifest, that with the checks imposed, the culprit would be far more amply protected from the arbitrary infliction of stripes, than those now in the service with an irreproachable character. If we thought otherwise, the recommendation would not be submitted. The friends of reform should remember, that in abolishing the lash, they are, in a measure, responsible for the discipline of the service, under any substitutes that may be adopted. Let us not push matters to an extreme that hereafter may favor a reaction, for

“ We may outrun
By violent swiftness, that which we run at,
And lose by over-running.”

By the *compromise* the convict even is exposed to no unnecessary hardships. If his conduct afterwards brings upon him a merited punishment, we have no mawkish sentimentalism for the felon rushing upon his own destruction, and carrying with him the destruction of all order. Hereafter, it will be seen, that inducements to reform are held out to the prisoner, which might exercise a salutary effect. Make dismissal the only severe punishment to be inflicted, and the discontented would be tempted to misbehave in order to procure their discharge.

4th.—*Conduct Roll.* Demerit marks and conduct rolls will be derided by those who view the sailor's pride and character so contemptuously as to suppose that nothing but the fear of the *cat* will exact his compliance with wholesome regulations. This sentiment is the offspring of the same mistrust that has withheld its confidence from all efforts to elevate the masses in the scale of human civilization, and now beholds with alarm the consequences of universal suffrage amongst us. We entertain different views. The effect of the conduct roll *per se* posted up conspicuously, so as to be accessible to all, would operate beneficially upon a ship's company, as experience proves it to have done at the West Point Military Academy, and at other places. Unite it with the system of classification, and let the absence of demerit marks confer a title to a position claiming privileges and increased emoluments, it could not but exercise a most happy influence. The imposition of demerit marks might with propriety be delegated to the watch officers, in the actual discharge of their duties, but open to the revision of the commander on appeal. Greater personal authority to punish, than he can now *lawfully* exercise, might thus with propriety be given the officer of the deck.

5th.—*Ship Courts, or Courts of Inquest.* A legal tribunal, inferior to courts-martial, would be a novel feature in our naval police, never having existed in that of our model—the English—because the jealousy of power inherent to irresponsible authority, prefers the off-hand decision of one man, which happily avoids all the trouble of codes and statutes, commentaries and precedents. Armies recognise them as necessary, and under any just plan of navy organization, they will be found as essential to its success. Three purposes are answered by the proposed courts of inquest:—firstly, the cognizance of such offences as the commander may see proper to refer to them, the nature or degree of which are beneath the jurisdiction of courts-martial:—secondly, as a court of appeal for any offender dissatisfied with the commander's award of punishment:—thirdly, as a board or council, to classify the crew, or rather to select from the crew those who shall occupy the first class, and for other objects hereafter to be mentioned. Faults of discipline, and slight offences, the commander may at his option adjudicate himself, in conformity with a defined penal system, or refer to a court of inquest. An accused person may appeal from the commander's decision to a court of inquest, and from the latter to a court-martial, being held responsible for making good such an appeal, and subject to additional punishment for a vexatious and improper one.

The necessity for an inferior court on board ship has not failed to attract the attention of writers on naval discipline. Respecting them, a distinguished officer of the British service, Captain Sir George Rose Sartorius, in a magazine article designed to point out the best means of making the national service a popular one, in order to promote a quick and efficient manning of the navy, remarks: "With these opinions it may be easily seen, that I am an advocate for inferior courts-martial, composed of the officers of the ship, acting under oath, where all crimes supposed to merit corporal punishment to the extent now permitted to be inflicted by commanders, should be tried; the captain or commander to have the power of mitigating the punishment. It is certain, with such improvements, the navy would become a popular service, and their prison-

like confinement on board of their ships, and flogging, would become totally unnecessary."

Properly constituted, these courts would not detract an iota from the necessary authority of the captain. No judicious friend of naval reform wishes to derogate from the high standing he should occupy; and it is not doubted that a careful study of the subject will show that a reformed code, founded on principles of right and justice, will greatly strengthen the hands of the commanding officer who respected it.

The ends of justice are supposed to be best guarded when the legislative, executive, and judicial powers are kept as distinct as practicable. But, as the navy is now governed, the commander of a vessel issues his own regulations, (limited by but little than the indefinite articles of war, which can scarcely be called the law,) judges of their application, and directs the punishment of their infraction. This might not work so well if pecuniary mulcts, &c., under a system which protected the one from the illegal and improper use of the other's power, were substituted for the present plan of flogging, which, when a man has once received, he wishes to conceal from all the world.

Nor would a division of justice impair discipline and good order. It is a trite observation, that the certainty rather than the severity of punishment, deters from the commission of crime. The arbitrary power now held by the captain, cannot guarantee the same certainty of justice that would result from a system assimilated to our civil tribunals, unless we accord to him qualities of head and heart that never have been known to exist in individuals on land. He must be removed beyond prejudice or predilection, with passions so nicely balanced, that while on the one hand anger and revenge can never enter into the infliction of punishment, on the other the ends of justice were not to be hazarded by his inclining too far towards the dictates of humanity.

Let a supposed example illustrate the greater certainty of justice being awarded by a ship's court, having rules and regulations, grading officers, and punishments, not according to the customs of the sea service, but as far as practicable, with the same precision as provided by a civil statute. A sailor appears late at muster without a cause, or falls asleep upon his look-out. The penalty for either offence is indicated. The delinquency being reported, the penalty affixed by the law is awarded by the captain; or, if the offender appeals, or the captain prefers it, the name of the offender is recorded for trial. In due season, the case is legally investigated, and the penalty is imposed, if the charge is substantial. How is a case of this kind managed under the present law? Where the colt is used by order of the lieutenant, he directs the punishment, and dismisses the case without much ceremony. Otherwise, where an offender of this description is brought to the captain's attention, he may, if of an easy and irresolute disposition, find a dozen reasons for not flogging him, (particularly now that the subject is so much agitated) so that the offence goes unpunished, to the injury of the discipline of the ship. On the other hand, if the captain should be stern and unbending, scarcely any excuse may be taken or listened to. Substitute other means for stripes, if the arbitrary disposition of the case rested with one man, and the same diversity of action might occur. What one officer would take for an excuse would not be listened to by another. This diversity of action could not prevail, if an organized body investigated the matter deliberately, and dispassion-

ately decided it according to established laws, and kept a record of its proceedings for future reference.

Some will object to the whole plan of this proposed court—that the preservation of correct discipline will not admit of the delay here required; that on board ship (as if humanity displayed a different *phasis* there) punishment must follow close on the heels of the offence. To prove this, examples will be drawn from imaginary cases, as of a sailor being ordered aloft, and refusing to go from any wilfulness; or even still more extreme examples will be imagined, (which, from the nature of things, will never happen) as of a sailor refusing to obey an officer's orders, to let go a sheet when the ship is struck by a squall, or to regulate the helm according to orders when on a lee shore, or in other extreme peril.

To all this, it may be replied, that under existing circumstances, punishments are often deferred, and more frequently for grave, than for trivial offences. The present regulations of the British navy (admiralty instructions) require that twelve hours shall elapse between the inquiry and the punishment. Upon this point, the opinions of the ablest and most experienced of their officers are believed to coincide. Captain Basil Hall, who will not be accused of radicalism, proposes to make it imperative on officers in command, to defer specifying what the amount of any punishment is, until twenty-four hours have elapsed after the offence has been inquired into. He also considers that "great practical advantages would arise from investigating all offences between nine in the morning and noon; the most salutary check upon intemperance of any kind is a night's rest. I could relate," observes Capt. Hall, "many instances of injustice arising from precipitancy in awarding punishments, and of the beneficial effects of systematically deferring to pronounce sentence till the heat of the moment had passed."

If the above considerations be not sufficient, it may be added, that under the contemplated reform, a great improvement in the *personnel* of the navy may reasonably be anticipated. The objections to changes, having for their object an improvement in the treatment of seamen, arise mostly from considerations based upon their present debased state. But even as they are, we find sailors, as a class, cheerful, docile and obedient—disposed to do their duty well, when well treated—being the more attentive to their duties the more humane and rational the treatment they receive. Those forming exceptions to this class, getting into the service, would soon be ascertained and discharged. It may be further responded, that the captain's authority would still be ample to maintain discipline, by summary means, in an emergency; for in the most extravagant of the instances referred to, the offender would be liable to the charge of mutiny, and instantly confined. Or, even in an overt act of rebellion, the law of self-defence is paramount to all others, and any commander would be justified in using it, when other means are inadequate, for the safety of those under his command and protection.

But when a crew is well treated a mutiny is out of the question. Duke de Sully's maxim, that there are no unprovoked revolts, applies more forcibly to mutinies. The existence of a mutinous spirit in a ship (except under certain extraordinary circumstances, such as has recently occurred in California,) generally reflects more upon the conduct of the

officers than upon the character of the crew.* The United States Navy is believed never yet to have been disgraced by a mutiny, for, even the affair of the *Constitution*, in 1800, can scarcely be considered one. Doubtless, there have been repeated instances of mutinous conduct on the part of an individual or individuals, such as mutinous words and practices, which would render them obnoxious to the penalties imposed by the 13th Article, and these will be found to have happened most often where there was the best ground for complaint. But the crew of an American man-of-war has never conspired to dispossess the officers of their command, and retain it themselves.

When mutinies have occurred in the British Navy, it has been on account of injuries to which it was too grievous for humanity to succumb. Witness the most celebrated in naval annals, the mutinies of the Channel Fleet, and the *Nore*, events which occasioned a greater depression of the funds than the threatened invasion of Napoleon. The injustice done the native African, when torn from his family, and transported as a slave, with all the horrors of the middle passage, is not more atrocious than was the practice of impressment, and the treatment of sailors, in English men-of-war, at the close of the 18th century. Yet all experience derived from these occurrences prove how difficult a thing it is for a mutiny to mature, even under circumstances of the most outrageous provocation. Men appreciate the force of a mutineer's (Taylor, executed in 1801,) dying speech. "It is impossible," says he, "for seamen to succeed in any attempt to mutiny. Sailors never did, nor ever would stick to each

* When complaints were made to Admiral Collingwood of conduct which was designated as mutinous, he would exclaim, "Mutiny, sir; mutiny in my ship! If it can have arrived at that, it must be my fault, and the fault of every one of the officers." Those whose opinions of the propriety of continuing corporal punishment in the navy are derived from the reported experience of officers, would do well to study the practices and sentiments of this eminent commander. Uniting to superior natural capacities, and extensive information, a lengthened service, and the most eminent success in every grade of his profession, he is justly regarded as a *model navy officer*. As a disciplinarian, he was in his day unrivalled. Captain of the *Excellent*, one of the ships of Earl St. Vincent's fleet, during the prevalence of the mutinies referred to in the text, his happy talents for command was such, that it was the frequent practice of the Admiral to draft to him the most ungovernable spirits. "Send them to Collingwood," he would say, "and he will bring them to order." Notwithstanding this, while capital punishments were frequently taking place in other ships, Captain Collingwood, by the kind and firm conduct which he adopted towards his crew, was enabled to maintain discipline, not only without being driven to the dreadful necessity of bringing men to trial for their lives, but almost without the infliction of any corporal punishment whatever. Contrary to the custom of his day, Collingwood was always present when a man was punished, and on those occasions he was for many hours afterwards melancholy and silent. He was the first (long before the admiralty directed it) to keep a record of all the punishments he inflicted, to refer to as a matter of comparison and meditation. As his experience in command and his knowledge of the dispositions of men increased, his abhorrence of corporal punishment grew daily stronger; and in the latter part of his life, more than a year has often passed away without his having resorted to it even once. This antipathy he carried out in all the fleet, when he became an Admiral. His correspondence exhibits evidence of his strong disapprobation of the conduct of some of the younger captains, who, he said, endeavoring to conceal by great severity their own unskillfulness and want of attention, beat the men into a state of insubordination; and that such vessels increased the number, but diminished the strength of his fleet. In Lord Nelson's ship, flogging was almost equally rare; and how well the men under both these commanders conducted themselves in the time of trial, it is unnecessary to remark. Both their systems of discipline possessed one quality that cannot be too much commended—its consistent application to officers as well as to sailors.—See *Correspondence and Memoir of Lord Collingwood, Vol I.*

other on such an occasion." In truth, men become perfectly reckless of life when they begin to harbor the thought.

The tragical mutiny of the *Hermione*, teaches the instructive lesson, that corporal punishment may cause mutiny, and cannot quell it. Captain Brenton thus relates it in his *Naval History*:—"Excessive zeal often ends in tyranny, and tyranny is the parent of rebellion. Captain Piggott, of the *Hermione*, had unfortunately assumed the character of a martinet; a minute was thought by him sufficient to reef a top-sail, and those men that lingered on the yard-arm after the expiration of a certain number of seconds, were sure of immediate and severe punishment. This had been long borne by the crew of the frigate with that apathy, resulting from the discipline of the navy during the peace. On the evening of the 21st September, 1798, while the ship was cruising off the west end of Porto Rico, and, according to the usual custom in ships of war at sea, the people were reefing the topsails, Captain Piggott called aloud, and declared he would flog the last man off the mizzen topsail yard. The men naturally eager to escape the certain punishment, crowded over each other, to gain the topmast rigging. In the struggle, two of them missed their hold, fell on the quarter-deck, and were killed: their remains were by the men committed to the deep, with silent and sullen feelings of anger, and a fatal determination to seek revenge. In little more than twenty-four hours after this the mutiny broke out." Captain Brenton does not here inform us what we learn from another authority, that the words attributed to Captain Piggott, when his topmen fell crushed on deck, "*throw the lubbers overboard,*" are supposed to have filled to overflowing the cup of wrath his tyranny had prepared for him.

Against courts on board ship, then, will be urged the inconvenience of such a plan, the want of time, and objections of a similar nature. Whatever difficulties are suggested beforehand, or encountered on trial, may afterwards be smoothed down, or obviated altogether; but they can never weigh a feather in the balance against the advantages to be gained by the removal of the arbitrary and irresponsible power, which heretofore has degraded the private, and oppressed the officer of subordinate rank. If inferior courts will not greatly increase the actual efficiency of the navy, (although they may fail to perpetuate the present false notions of discipline,) it will be contrary to all the lessons of experience, and all the deductions of reason.

6th.—*Punishments.* The details respecting the nature of the punishments proposed to take the place of those now practised, will be better understood when the basis of an act is submitted. At present, a few remarks respecting some of them will be made.

It is reasonable to hope that demerit marks on the conduct-roll, when they are rendered so important as to determine the class to which the private shall belong, will be sufficient in the great majority of cases to punish ordinary faults against discipline, &c. When it is necessary to resort to other modes, the lightest punishments contained in the proposition, are *admonition* and *reprimand*. The first is done privately; the latter is rendered more severe by the publicity given to it, and having it inserted in orders—thereby becoming a part of the ship's record to be transmitted to the Department. The next grade of punishments are arrests—the first being *simple arrest*, which excuses from no duty on board ship, but confines the culprit on board, and of course interrupts

for the time the privilege of liberty, answering to the punishment known at present as "quarantining." *Close arrest* confines to a specified locality, and may be used for the safe keeping of an accused person, under certain circumstances, or as means of punishment in others, but with restrictions, to prevent abuse. Next comes fines.

As regards the efficacy of pecuniary penalties to check misconduct, a doubt need not be entertained. We associate with the character of a sailor the idea of a spendthrift, and his conduct on shore after a long cruise frequently justifies such an impression; but he is a very different sort of person during the cruise. Although generous at all times to a shipmate in need, he is then most careful of every penny of his hard earnings. No shopkeeper on shore has his accounts more rigidly scrutinized than the purser's charges for small stores. Jack will not brook the suspicion of an erroneous entry; he must be satisfied to the very penny that there is no mistake in summing up. He takes a particular pleasure in noting the amount due him at the end of the month, or quarter; and frequently calculates with much satisfaction the sum he expects to receive when paid off. The objections to pecuniary mulcts, therefore, is not that they would prove no terror to evil doers, but that sailors might entertain a suspicion, lest, by the system of fines, they would lose a portion of their honestly-earned wages, and be deterred from the navy in consequence. This difficulty is obviated by imposing them only for specific offences, and by a legal tribunal.

Reduction differs as applied to different classes. Officers are lowered on the list of promotion by seniority. Petty officers and picked men are reduced to the grade and privileges of a common sailor. Other privates are lowered in grade for incompetency. Reductions can only be awarded by sentence of a legal tribunal.

Imprisonment occupies a conspicuous place in most plans of rational discipline for military bodies on land. Prison-houses and prison-ships are unsuited for the service, however, unless there could be one to accompany every vessel upon the ocean, which is clearly impracticable. The navy itself has been looked upon too long as a penitentiary, and House of Refuge;* and as this must cease under any attempt at improvement, a method should be adopted to relieve the mass from the injury and wrong they may suffer from the presence of an evil few, who, being among them, expediency may render it necessary to retain. This we think will be arrived at by the plan of imprisonment shadowed forth in the remarks on classification. The prisoners constituting the lowest class, would, by the character of their dress, the nature of their duties, the absence of privileges, and the liability to unusual punishments for misconduct, be as distinctly marked, as if they were immured within stone walls. *Imprisonment* can be awarded by the sentence of a general court-martial, only; but it is proposed to make it competent for a court of inquest to remove the sentence of a court-martial, after a certain period, if the conduct of the condemned has been commendable—provided the captain recommends the same to be done. Such an inducement to reform would often exercise a salutary influence.

* The Baltimore Sun, a few months ago, contained the following notice:—

"Howard District Court adjourned last Friday till April 13th. There was an instance of the wrong which degrades the United States Navy, and furnishes a pretext for flogging. Henry Logue, indicted for stealing money, was discharged on condition that he be apprenticed in the navy."

Dismissal and Cashiering. In every community, it happens, unfortunately, that individuals are found who will not do their duty to society, or themselves, by the hope of any reward, or the fear of any punishment. So on board ship, under any system which may be adopted, there will probably be some, who, agreeably to the present ideas of discipline, will deserve to be flogged every morning for missing their muster, every day for being dirty, and every night for skulking. The lash never reforms such characters; and it is to be feared, that, in some instances, not much better success would follow any other mode of discipline. What is to be done? Shall we proceed on for a whole cruise with reprimands, and arrests, and fines, and imprisonment? By no means. Where practicable, let such worthless drones be driven from the service, and cease to be a burthen to the government, and an annoyance to the ship's company. Numerically, the crew might be reduced one or two per cent., but its efficiency would in reality be improved. In the great majority of instances, sailors are not sent to sea until after they have shipped for weeks or months—being attached to receiving vessels, in the first instance, for a longer or shorter period, and from thence transferred to a ship fitting out, there, perhaps, to remain for weeks before getting to sea. During this interval, it could readily be ascertained who among the number were worthless. These could be discharged, their places be filled with better men, and the ship might proceed on her cruise fully manned. Or, if it were desirable to send dismissed men home from foreign ports, (in the store ships,) it is well known that sailors can be had most readily in the ports our cruisers frequent. Rio de Janeiro, the first harbor made by perhaps a moiety of our national ships, being one of the most important commercial marts on the continent, can generally furnish unemployed seamen sufficient to replenish a crew. But if the discharge of recently shipped men be objected to, for the reason that they may be in debt to government for an advance of wages; it is answered, that to retain them is still worse. Under any organization they do not earn their pay, but, on the contrary, exert a pernicious influence over others, so that it is better to discharge them in debt to government, than to retain them at the cost of their daily rations. We may add, that under the proposed reform, sailors never need be in debt to the government. It is a fair and reasonable presumption, that there would soon be created a naval corps of seamen, and other privates, who, coming from a ship on leave of absence, would receive pay for such time, and not require an advance. Nor is it too much to expect, that the naval service would be sought after so eagerly by those not in it, and clung to by those who were, that no advance need be made to any recruit, until after satisfactory testimony had been produced of his character, or security given for his good behaviour.

An objection of more weight will be started against the operation of dismissals, as a means of ridding the navy of improper persons, that those who should be dismissed from one station will reappear elsewhere under another name, and fasten themselves upon the service. Appreciating the full force of this difficulty, we feel assured that unless means are taken to accomplish effectually the permanent severance of the irreclaimably dissolute, the moral improvement of seamen in the navy will be greatly interfered with. The publicity of their personal appearance would answer in the majority of cases, but it might be attended with the inconvenience of subjecting others who resembled them to unjust suspicions. The

readiest and most unerring means consist in affixing marks in indelible ink upon the hip, which we believe is in accordance with the practice of the French army, from which a man is severed forever by the infliction of an infamous punishment. The world at large would be ignorant of the existence of these marks, unless on any attempt to re-enter the service. Indelible marks may be stigmatised as branding, and be exposed to the prejudices due to other antiquated barbarities now so justly reprobated. As our plan will suggest them, they do not merit such odium: for, in the first place, they are placed on a part of the body the least liable to be detected, except on a close examination made for the purpose; and secondly, they are not resorted to for motives of revenge, but for the protection of society. Such a culprit would be made more of an outcast if his name and personal appearance were published abroad as a condemned felon, to be shunned by all good men. The pain inflicted is next to nothing, and is so little regarded, that a sailor can scarcely be found anywhere, whose person does not contain numerous figures or words made indelible by these means.

The appropriate distinction between "dismissal" and "cashiering," might with propriety be applied to privates, and be indicated by distinguishing marks:—dismissal admitting of a return to the service, after a definite season of probation, while to be cashiered, severs for life the culprit from the navy. It may be asked, why sailors and not officers should be subjected to these marks. The reason is obvious. Placed there not as a means of punishment, but to prevent the return of vicious persons into the service, it is unnecessary to apply them to officers, who, being once cashiered, could never assume a fictitious name among their old associates without immediate detection.

7th.—*Seaman's Register and Leave of Absence Pay.* The proposition is to publish, periodically, a register of seamen, containing the names of all privates serving on board ship, as well as those who may not be in actual service, but recommended to be retained. These latter to receive a reduced pay, graded according to the class to which they may belong.

"Picked men" to be entitled to double the pay of others—to receive one half at the end of each month, and the balance when reporting for duty; others to receive none till their leave has expired, and they report for duty. The object of the proposition is to retain within the navy good men; to create a corps of naval seamen, as there is already one of officers.

The moral effect of a leave pay could not be otherwise than favorable. With means accruing when off duty to meet his current expenses, the first effort of a sailor when he returned from a cruise with two or three hundred dollars due him, would be to invest it in some safe way, for which seamen's saving banks offer sufficient facilities. He would thus become interested in "saving," whereas now the accumulations of one cruise are squandered before entering upon another. Upon this much abused quality of *saving* may be said to repose the very superstructure of civilization. Nations advancing in wealth, advance also in refinement. In the United States, where the profits of labor are so amply secured, its effects are too obvious to require comment. In a few days of national existence, a vast extent of wilderness has been reclaimed, and adapted to the most delicate wants of society. The principle applies in like manner to the individual. Instil into the sailor notions of prospective comforts,

elevate economy into a professional virtue, and he will no longer throw away his money on immoral pleasures.

The pay of privates on leave of absence would entail a considerable expenditure, but this might all be saved by retrenching the expenses of receiving ships and rendezvous, for which there would be but little necessity, as privates would report as officers now do to the commandant of the station. At present the receiving ships at the various stations contain hundreds of recently shipped privates kept in readiness for sea service, on full pay and rations. Double the number on leave would cost less, as not only the ration would be saved, but the expense of maintaining the receiving ships and rendezvous might be curtailed, if not in a great measure abandoned.

The average of privates likely to be kept unemployed and on reduced pay, would not perhaps exceed five hundred under the present establishment. This number would be nearly seven per cent. of the whole complement; but it would scarcely happen on the return of a ship, that the entire crew again would report for duty. The pay of five hundred men on leave of absence (averaging one grade with another, say ten dollars a month, which is a large estimate, eight dollars a month would be nearer the mark,) would entail an annual charge upon government of sixty thousand dollars; or if the number unemployed should be greater than has been assumed by an equal part, the cost would be \$120,000 every year. Now we contend, that this amount would not be an increment to the present charge of maintaining the navy, but simply the direction of a present expenditure would be changed;—that is, the same money would go to pay privates on a reduced scale in their own homes, who, under the existing plan, are maintained at a much greater expense in receiving ships. It might perhaps be shown, that the reduced expenses following the alteration in the character of rendezvous and receiving ships, which would be admissible if privates reported for duty as officers now do, would meet not only the pay of privates on leave, but the charge that would attend their proposed increased pay, by the amount of difference between four cents daily (the present amount of the grog ration when commuted,) and six and a half cents daily, which it has been recommended to add to the pay of privates, the aggregate of which would be about the same as the leave of absence pay of five hundred privates, at ten dollars monthly.

But should there be a doubt of the adequacy of this retrenchment to the expenditure, there exist various other sources of navy retrenchment, which would not escape the vigilance of a committee of Congress, disposed to ascertain them, if a leave pay is only withheld from seamen on account of motives of economy.

Although the amount named may appear large to add to the pay of privates, much of which is to go to those who are unemployed, let it be recollected, that about half a million of dollars annually pass from the treasury of the nation, to pay officers of the navy not on duty; one-fifth of which sum, or enough, probably, for the expenses proposed to be incurred, goes to the leave of absence or off-duty pay, of forty persons belonging to one grade, whose whole number is sixty-eight. Let it be borne in mind that the proposed leave-pay of more than twenty privates, only amounts to what one captain now receives, when off duty; that the proposed leave-pay of fifteen privates is no more than what one commander, one surgeon, or one purser now get when doing nothing; that all these grades of officers are often years off duty, where the private is likely to be

months. Reference is made to the off-duty pay of these classes, not to find fault with their magnitude, or to express any opinion concerning them, but to anticipate objections that may be raised by those "blind guides, who strain at a gnat and swallow a camel."

8th.—*Reorganization.* A few of the imperfections of the present naval organization have been pointed out, and its system of discipline reprobated. Enough it is hoped has been said to stagger the confidence of the open advocates of flogging, to convince the wavering of the propriety of its abolition, and to confirm the convictions of those who have inclined to the cause of humanity and justice.

Our hints, to serve as a basis for a plan of organization, will be better understood, by carefully perusing the part which is to follow in conclusion. An objection may be raised to it on the ground of complicateness; or rather, superiority will be claimed for the present system, or no system—that it has not the intricacy which will be said to involve any other. As a despotic power, containing no checks or guarantees, is necessarily more simple than a constitutional one, which embraces the means of holding one party responsible, and affords due protection to another, this objection will apply as well to laws for civil government as to military; but the project of abandoning all guarantees on that account is not likely to be entertained. The argument, at best, is that of the outlaw; and it is well expressed in the oft-quoted lines of Wordsworth, which he adopts as the sentiments of a robber chief:—

"Said generous Rob, 'What need of books?

Burn all the statutes and their shelves!

They stir us up against our kind,

And worse against ourselves.

"We have a passion—make a law,

Too false to guide us or control;

And for the law itself we fight

In bitterness of soul.

"And puzzled, blinded, then we lose

Distinctions that are plain and few;

These find I graven on my heart,

That tells me what to do.

"The creatures see of flood and field,

And those that travel on the wind

With thee no strife can last; they live

In peace, and peace of mind.

"For why? Because the good old rule

Sufficeth them; the simple plan,

That they should take who have the power,

And they should keep who can."

Whether a plan similar to the one we have delineated is adapted to present circumstances, others will decide; but it should be insisted by the friends of civilization and morality, that all existing laws which tend to degrade seamen be repealed, and that legislation respecting them hereafter be conducted upon republican principles. A free and enlightened government, like that of the United States, ought no longer to look upon so large and important a portion of its citizens as, what Clarendon terms them, "a nation by themselves."

The subject of naval reform addresses itself with peculiar force to every philanthropist. Sailors, as a class, have too long been degraded

and overlooked. They are men superior to the mass of laborers in docility and intelligence, from the circumstance that the nature of their duties allows them time for intellectual cultivation. They accompany our flag over the whole globe, and exert an influence for good or for ill, according to the developement of their characters. Therefore, while admitting readily of moral improvement, the objects to be obtained are not confined solely to the benefit conferred upon themselves. Sailors' Homes and Bethels, and Sailors' Saving-Banks have done much towards the accomplishment of these objects. There is certainly an improved morality among merchant seamen due to these influences. But the short period of time which sailors can be subject to such influences, causes the good impressions they may leave to be often effaced when associated afloat, with the depraved and dissolute. The efforts of philanthropy are thus liable to disappointment. "Ah! there is a lion in the path." The character of the American seaman can never be elevated while the law for the government of the navy exists, which sanctions his degradation, by authorizing an offender to be flogged at the discretion of the captain, or to be punished according to the usages of the sea service. Under such a law, the presence of one man-of-war's-man would contaminate a whole fore-castle of merchantmen, if there was a bethel for every ship, and a home for every sailor.

The propriety of repealing these laws has been warmly advocated in Congress, but so vigorously resisted as to render success doubtful, unless the public mind is convinced of the necessity of its repeal, and the public voice addresses itself to their representatives in tones not to be misunderstood.

Upon whom devolves the obligation of awakening the public attention to this subject? The politician who undertakes to befriend this down-trodden class is assailed with the vile charge of demagogism. One connected with the navy taking part in such a work would be stormed by the tyranny of opinion in that service, regarded (certainly most unjustly,) as having attacked the vested rights of officers, and proved recreant to the interests of his station.

Fortunately there exists a powerful body whose philanthropy need not be restrained by these or similar difficulties:—The class of Gospel ministers, and their active coadjutors in the promotion of all Christian benevolences,—those who are influential in sending the missionary of the cross in obedience to the command of their divine master, to the remotest regions of the earth:—those who keep in motion the machinery that gives activity to the various societies for administering to the moral and religious necessities of our race—let these speak the word, and the work is accomplished. Humanity, justice, and every other precept of the religion which they profess, call upon them to agitate freely the subject, and to arouse the passive sympathy of the public into an active and energetic movement. From the pulpit and the press, in collected assemblies and in private circles, let their statements be expressed. Let them call upon the people of their congressional districts to memorialize Congress for the immediate abolition of corporal punishment in the navy, and the spirit part of the ration. Let them ask for the navy an organization on a republican basis, wherein a seaman may be defended in his rights; and the first session of the thirty-first Congress will not pass by without an affirmative response to their petitions.

ALICE:

A STORY OF COTTON MATHER'S TIME.

(CONCLUDED.)

FAINT and sick, Alice hurried home; and why could she not die, as she crossed the threshold, and thought of Mrs. Coleman and of Robert? Mr. Coleman met her there, and wanted tea. Statue-like she did the honors of the table, and then threw herself into Mrs. Coleman's large chair to wait for Robert. Night came, but not with it Robert. Ah, then the sacrifice need not be made—need it, *must* it ever be done? Lamps were lit, and Mr. Coleman went to bed, and left Alice to her own heart, where storm and fierce tempest raged. The hours went by; it was late, when she heard Robert's voice singing a well-known air. This was the first time since Mrs. Coleman's death that he had come to the door with song.

With a burst of joy and sunshine in her heart, that should have taught her that to make up conscience the affections must have their part in the debate, she went to undo the latch; but the sight of his happy face reminded her of all, and the faint feeling again came over her. "Why, what ails you, Alice dear? You are as white, as white,—let me see—as white, as white as you are yourself," said he, laughing. "Come, Alice, these white cheeks must be tinged with the rose—I *must* have them changed. The Manchester is just in, and brought letters to me, which summon me over the broad seas to dear old England, and it is commanded that I take you with me; we will come back with father and mother, and then your white cheeks will be red again, and I shall have my old Alice again. Come, love, say yes, that you will go with me; say yes, and don't weary me any more with—no, no." Poor Alice sank in her chair and buried her face in her hands. Robert, thinking she suffered from too vivid a recollection of Mrs. Coleman, and feeling the want of her at such a crisis in life as marriage, put his arm caressingly about her. At last she looked up, and he read wretchedness unutterable written on her face;—"Robert, Robert," she gasped, "I fear I cannot marry you;" then followed explanation upon explanation, entreaty upon entreaty, which, after an explicit detailed declaration of his faith, she could not consider as aught but the wiles of Satan. With inward prayer and agony she saw she must tear him from her life, and told him so, in so determined a manner, that Robert became angry, and more than suspected her quietness, instead of covering a warm heart, had but concealed a cold one. "No, Alice," he said, "I am *not* willing to be damned eternally for God's sake, nor do I believe He would love me were I willing; neither do I believe in a God who can elect this or that one to happiness, and doom this or that one to unutterable misery. Your God is no God of mine; and if you will not believe that I can be a good and kind husband, even if my faith is, and must be different from yours, why then we had better separate, as you seem determined to do; and the sooner we do it the happier for us both." He moved to the door, but paused there. "Alice!" he exclaimed, in an agony of reproach—"Alice!" She moved

not, stirred not; her face was turned from him, it looked to heaven—he was gone.

When it was over, she moaned the night long in bitterness of desolation. She was sustained by a sense of right doing, which wavered, however, and flickered, and at times almost went out; but with the next day came Cotton Mather, and the firmness of his faith in the truth of his advice and his eloquence, led her in her misery to God's throne; and whoever truly went there, no matter what cloak of faith they threw about them, but gained consolation and exaltation. When he had gone, a note from Robert was given her, saying he had been angry the night before, and now deeply repented it, and besought her to see him again. She replied kindly but briefly, that she could not see him again but as a stranger, and then with calmness attempted to set the house of her future life in order, and as a house dedicated to God alone. But order could not be there, for all of the officers and counsellors of conscience had not been treated with proper dignity, and of course the sure consequences came.

When Robert had really gone to England, and without her having seen him since that eventful evening, indolence, inertness and pettishness had crept upon her. Her black garb was a palliation of the two first in the world's eye; but some went nearer the cause, and suspected some quarrel between herself and Robert, and so did not jest her about his absence. This made her trial more tolerable; but her conduct assumed a new aspect when Robert came back, and she did not seem to dislike society. Still this was bearable, because it was there she only heard of him. Her time of wearing mourning was not over, and how very long she prolonged it! Then the indisposition for company, because of her now habitual absence from it was an excuse—then this thing or that thing was reason enough—and so two years went by, and people talked of Anna Higginson and Robert Mason, and one day unobserved by them she saw them together, and knew how happy they were. Alice looked to heaven for consolation, though not with the full firm eye of one who has fought a good fight, for she had not been wholly patient under the dispensation, and had wished secretly at times that Robert might come back, heretic as he was; so true it is conscience's counsellors will be heard some time or other. But for returning Robert *showed* no inclination; he had been as angry as his affection had been strong, and he determined to throw off a woman, whom, as he told his mother, wanted him to be willing to be damned, and his anger weakened his love; and one day when Anna Higginson accidentally acknowledged her unbelief in some cherished dogma of the strict ones, he looked at her earnestly, thought her pretty, and sighed, as he asked himself, why Alice did not think as Anna did. Not by word or sign did he ask Alice to change her former decision;—why should he? All whom he heard speak of her repeated some fine exalted saying, and her devotion to meeting and disinclination for society proved to him that she was not at all like one who wavered. He began to find Anna pleasanter than the other girls, and at last loved her, not with his first love, but certainly with a wiser and therefore a happier one.

Alice's secret was her own—none but Mr. Coleman and Robert's parents knew of it, for to Cotton Mather she had not mentioned any name. His parents of course felt aggrieved because of her distrust in one they *knew* so worthy, although they mourned that he was not more of the faith; but comforted themselves that life was before him, and their love

and hope made them sure he would be saved. As Alice did not go into society she rarely encountered Robert, and then his words were few, as if from a stranger to a stranger, and his bow was formal. This was what she had expected; but she submitted to it, thought he had forgotten his love for her, as at last he did;—no, not forgot, but looked upon it as a thing of the past.

People rarely jested her about him, for it was the opinion of many that Robert had become wearied of her. This fortunately no one told Alice, for it would have humbled her pride too much, though she would have borne it silently; this she was spared, and she was spared a constant fear of meeting him, as he was of the flock of Mr. Brottle, and not of Cotton Mather.

Three years after her engagement to Robert, he married Anna. Her heart rebelled and ached, but she rarely saw Anna in her bridal happiness. A new society had crept into the city—new comers took up their abode there, and brought fresh fashions and gaieties;—to these the newly married couple clung, and from them Alice fled. Robert had told Anna of his love history, and Anna waited in delicacy for Alice to renew the acquaintance if she wished it; for Anna, finding Alice but a dull companion after Mrs. Coleman's death, and believing she preferred her solemn friends, of course sought for brighter companions, and no tie of love had ever bound the two girls together. Alice had no wish to renew the acquaintance; so time passed on, until she married. Robert grew rich, and seemed happy, while in Alice's home all was outwardly almost stationary—the mahogany took to itself a darker hue, and the window-curtains were replaced—that seemed all. Mr. Coleman, however, grew more and more austere, missing as he did his good wife's cheerfulness, and not finding at home the old survivors. Alice had lovers, but some she frightened away by her stiffness, to others she said nay, and so her heart being torn from its proper life-course, grew hard and stern in its loneliness. Mr. Mather was by to check or divert her, and many an act and expression which once she looked upon as at least excusable, she now shrunk from with horror; then Mr. Mather had so insisted upon her expressing her religious opinions fearlessly and upon all occasions, that she even learned to use a reproving tone of manner and speech, and condemned, not as once, silently and humbly, though firmly, but loudly and sternly. What all this would have led her to be it would be hard to tell, had not circumstances occurred which made her respect for the wisdom of her teachers in the Lord tremble and fall down;—the scales fell from her eyes—they were no longer beings almost infallible, but weak and misguided.

This change in her opinion was caused by their proceedings against those people called witches; the witches which Cotton Mather had prayed to be spared from, the evening of our first acquaintance with Alice. Now Alice did not believe in these witches; that they did exist she did not doubt, but not one of the nineteen executed as such, in the region round about her, did she believe were real ones. The evidence brought against them she could account for in many ways other than of witchcraft, and it was horrible to hear the detailed accounts of the sufferings of those who were under sentence or suspicion of participating in this, the devil's frolic. These she heard from those who assembled at Mr. Coleman's house, for

he and Mr. Mather were the prime movers in this most strange infatuation. All this, as I said, shook her faith in her spiritual helps, but not in her religious creed itself; that she carefully tested in this hour of new desolation, and found it a faithful friend; but as to the manner in which she was called to prove her faith, she no longer trusted to their guidance—her confidence in their wisdom was gone—of course she became more gentle and happier.

All the ministers did not agree with Cotton Mather in this affair. Increase Mather, his father, protested against these proceedings; so did many an honorable, upright man also. Many and most, however, were silent through doubt or fear, for the multitude was mad in its ultra belief; and Alice's heart swelled with pride and joy when she heard that the most determined outcrier against the trials and punishments was Robert Mason. In the bitterest hour of the fanaticism he printed a pamphlet to subdue it, telling many truths, and accompanying truth and reason with caustic satire, which made Cotton Mather hate and fear him the remainder of his life. And ah! how often Alice pondered over his writings, upon what she heard he said, and felt that possibly, probably she was wrong, very wrong when she refused so bold and noble a man.

That Cotton Mather was sincere, no one can doubt; his private journal testifies to the truth, as well as his words and acts. In his hard, stern way he does not express the least regret that innocent blood had been shed; he only thinks that "they had been a going too far in that affair." But so far from taking any responsibility upon himself or his coadjutors, he charges their excesses upon the powers of darkness, which, he said, had circumvented them, and made them proceed against persons who were not guilty. That they had gone too far, he says, using the words of another, appears from the number of the accused: "it was not to be conceived that in so small a compass of land so many should so abominably leap into the devil's lap all at once." Cotton Mather suffered in after life from odium attached to his name for his participation in the trials and accusations, but he suffered as one who considers himself a martyr. He was a strange man, with much learning and less judgment, with a thousand good qualities and many weaknesses.

Soon after Mr. Mason's pamphlet was printed, and had excited a great deal of remark, popular fury against the witches having received an impetus not immediately to be checked, sped on to its height, and one day some visitor told Alice that Martha Pearson had been bewitched for ten days, and that she complained that it was Mrs. Mason who so vilely tormented her. Alice's heart died away as she thought of her once friend and present rival being forced to suffer the horrors of a trial, and possibly condemnation, or even of suspicion; and so soon as her visitor had left her, she tied on a large hood, wrapped a shawl about her, and hurried to Martha Pearson's. Martha Pearson was a woman of high, revengeful temper; this Alice knew well, and therefore divined rightly it was some wicked hate which caused this bewitchment. She had lived at Mrs. Coleman's house, as a servant, for years before she died, and Mrs. Coleman had had great influence over her. Alice prayed that with her might appear to Martha the remembrance of her former mistress, and that the mantle of her influence might fall upon her, and so she might be able to avert the dreadful evil from the home of those she loved. But when she entered Martha's room, she was so interested in what she saw

there, that she left without scarcely speaking to her. Martha Pearson lived in a small house of her own, and had taken home a young girl, a niece, as her adopted child, after she left Mrs. Coleman's. Being skilled in the ways of the kitchen, she bethought herself to take up the trade of a professed cook. In this she succeeded admirably; and many of those old-fashioned, heavy dinners of the olden times, and much of the wedding-cake, can be ascribed only to her guidance and consummate skill. Power did not improve her temper—she was the terror of all who dealt with her, but by her labor she had amassed already quite a sum of money.

When Alice went into the room where Martha lay, she found that several were there, some were praying, some looking on aghast, and one of the men present was taking notes of all the bewitched said or did. She, the wicked one, lay on a bed in the corner, and for a few moments after Alice entered, seemed quiet; these moments were for Alice engrossed by a woman who intercepted her passage from the door to the bed, by sundry oh's and ah's, and accounts of what she had been saying, and with information that a deputation of people, Cotton Mather at the head, were to go and question the accused, this very afternoon, and probably were there already; furthermore, the woman accompanied her news with a declaration that Satan had now begun to choose to go into high places, and people perhaps would now realise that fine houses and dresses could not awe *him*. Looking at her with disgust, Alice made no reply to all this; and as she approached the bed she saw the bewitched one close her eyes and begin to groan, then she screamed out that her eyes were shut so tightly she could not open them, that they were pouring hot lead on them to close them forever.—“Anna Mason! Anna Mason!” she shrieked, “don't pour it over my mouth and stifle me—don't, don't, don't.” Her shriek died away into a moan, and she remained quiet a moment, then she repeated strange words, which she said the devil made her say. Meanwhile, her body seemed cramped in every limb, then she threw her arms about her wildly, and after tossing on the bed a few moments, she screamed one horrible, long, wild scream;—as it died away, pale with horror and disgust, Alice, who had until then been content to watch her, put her hand on her arm firmly, and said, in a tone of severe reproof, “Martha Pearson!” but the woman shook her off, and again, and again, and still again came that same enduring, awful scream. Wearied at last, the bewitched leaned back on the bed, and said, in a husky tone of voice, “she's coming—she's coming—she's coming’”—“She is here,” answered a firm voice, and making way through those present, who had gathered themselves about the bed, Mrs. Mason, for it was she, stood beside Martha Pearson, still, and steadily looking at her. Mrs. Mason was intensely pale, almost as pale as those about her, while a bright red spot burnt in either cheek. Martha really for the moment forgot her part at the appearance of Mrs. Mason, and as her voice was heard many shrieked, believing the devil himself had come, and one woman fainted. Martha covered her face, being unable to meet the gaze of the one she meant to injure so deeply; and Mrs. Mason's eye presently flashed, and, placing her hands on her shoulders, she raised her in bed, and shook her very severely, then said, in an authoritative tone, “No more of this—no more of this, Martha, on your peril. You know that I am no witch—you know that this is all a farce;—you know

that you have fancied some wrong, and have vowed revenge—take care; there were those present when you vowed vengeance against me, whom you cannot dupe, who heard your uncalled for deep vows and menaces, and they shall be witnesses against you. You shall be sued for libel, for slander, and you will suffer severely for this, unless you this instant desist; and remember that a prison for years for your abode will be dear pay for a day's revenge. Now confess this instant that this accusation of yours is all false, utterly false—call God to witness that you know I am no witch, or I leave this house directly—Mr. Mason shall this very day see you lodged in the jail, for it is for you to fear me, and not I you.” And leaning over the woman she whispered some secret. Cowed before the whisper was heard, Martha was utterly subdued by it. It was evident to all that Mrs. Mason knew of some misdemeanor or crime, the knowledge of which Martha had thought safe in her own keeping, for she ejaculated, “anything! I will! I will!” Mrs. Mason called for a Bible, and upon it, before the many witnesses, she made the wretch swear to the falsity of all her accusations; then speaking a few sensible words to those present, upon the delusion of the day, she turned to go, when Robert Mason himself came in. He had heard that the deputation was to wait upon his wife, and immediately had flown to his house; there he learned from his frightened servants that the deputation had been and gone, that Mrs. Mason had left the house, and that was all they knew. Not finding her at his mother's, he had come to Martha's to confront the accusing one, never dreaming to see his loved wife in the lion's den. One glance sufficed to show that there had been some great excitement, and that Anna was triumphant—how, or why, he could not divine. Folding her in his arms, he said, with deep emotion, “You are safe, my dear wife. Oh, God!” he murmured, “I bless Thee that Thou hast delivered us from this distress. Known unto Thee is my unutterable gratitude and trust. Thou hast seen fit to give unto me, for my life discipline, as yet, scarcely aught but joy, and in this my great gladness, let me pray that I may always recognise as I do now, and have as yet done, Thy wisdom, Thy perfect love; if Thou shouldst send sorrow, let me then feel this same trust in Thee—this same love.” Tears choked his utterance, and he wept and sobbed like a child. Anna wept, and Alice wept, but her tears were of mingled joy and sorrow. Half concealed by the curtains of the bed and her hood, she was conscious she had not been observed by either, and so she could glide from the room unnoticed, weeping tears of joy at Anna's escape, and with a bitter reflection that she had thrown away this noble soul, and taken unto herself desolation and sternness instead. Robert's manly trust in God's love seemed like a new revelation; fear he did not seem to think of, his only thought was that he might lose his appreciation of God's dear love. For the time her soul recognized the truth of God being only a Father of love, and that comforted her; and wiping away her tears, she communed many hours with her soul, and came from her thoughts a wiser, though a sad woman. Not that her old belief did not cling to her, the fear still dwelt within her, but it was tempered, it was modified.

Anna Mason, from gratitude, sought Alice's acquaintance again, and the once girl-friend renewed their intimacy. It seems that “Martha Pearson” was terrified at her own daring, and had then vowed to carry

on the falsity but a few hours more. Anna frankly told Alice, during her first visit to her, that she knew that Robert had been refused by her, and afterwards finding Alice did not care to meet him, offered to do most of the visiting. This she agreed to willingly, only desiring the word only should be changed to *all*, and that was, after much demurring, determined on; and Alice's countenance assumed a more pleasing expression, for her heart had lost its contraction. Anna was as an angel from heaven to the lonely one, and now daily Anna either saw Alice or some token of love was passed between them. Alice learned to love Robert's children, and she used to wile them into talking of their father. Anna spoke often and freely of him, and a new world seem to have taken the place of the old and cold one, which Alice had created for herself; besides, Anna softened many of Alice's bigoted ideas, made her more womanly, more genial in her faith and character; yet still the austerity and stiffness had entered into her soul, and although she was softened, still she was a far different being from Anna, whose whole life and education had been kindly, and that, combined with a naturally warm-heartedness, gladsome nature, exquisite taste and enthusiasm, made her a glorious being.

The sorrow which Robert prayed God he might have strength to bear came at last, and assumed a shape that for the time made his faith and trust bend like a reed—the darling of his soul, Anna, died. During the hour of her consciousness of approaching death, she prayed him to marry again and give a good mother to her children, and said, though he was the best judge, she thought Alice was one well fitted for the task, and told him she believed that she still loved him. Robert would only promise that the children should find some kind guardian; his heart shrunk from giving Anna's place to any one else. But as years went by, he found it difficult to get or keep one for his children, and he saw with pain that a mother was very sadly needed by them; he obeyed Anna, again sought Mr. Coleman's house, and Alice was called Mrs. Mason. Alice never made good the loss of his dearest love, Anna—he missed her as long as life lasted.—Alice was dear to him, a good mother to his children, a good and a happy wife; but when the door opened, he sometimes started, as if eagerly hoping to hear Anna's ringing laugh and meet her loving eye; and when he was an old man he would let his book fall, and sit and muse about—"dear Anna."

EARNING A LIVING;
A COMEDY IN FIVE ACTS.

ACT III.

SCENE I.—GLUMLY at a table, with books and papers in his own room.

(Enter BARBOW.)

B. Good morning, Glumly.

G. (*looking around without rising.*) Ah! Barbow—sit down.

B. (*sitting opposite to him, and looking him in the face, speaking slowly and distinctly.*) How does the magazine come on now?

G. Very well. I think your honor asked me that question before.

B. I am obliged to ask it once a month.

G. There is a damnable significance in your tone. Here, Barbow—here is twenty dollars. I can't get on without your articles; and it is another question whether I can with them.

B. Has not the last number sold?

G. Yes—pretty well. There was the portrait of General Taylor, you know, and your sketch of his life; and what do you think besides? Twelve articles of my own, under different signatures.

B. Yes; there was quite a variety.

G. Don't sneer, you rascal. Why, what the devil could I do? I can't afford to pay all through; and as for these volunteer correspondents, (*holding up a bunch of papers.*) confound them! their brains would'nt make *soupe maigre*.

B. No; but then you know they are ambitious of print.

G. It's a small honor; but it does seem to inspire those who are beneath it. I wish I could only get clear of it.

B. There is a way, you know.

G. What way?

B. Wedlock.

G. With the girl I love? Bright eyes—a romantic heart, and nothing to boil the pot with.

B. Not exactly; but with a rich widow, or old maid just turning sour—a swarthy complexion, green eyes, and, if possible, a Quaker.

G. Why a Quaker?

B. She will have more money than another, *cæteris paribus*.

G. What does that scrap of Latin signify?

B. Other things being equal.

G. Right; it does so. Your Latin and your impudence are both unexceptionable. Why, you malignant brute, must I sell myself to an ogre? Am I devil all over?

B. Turn you inside out, and you would be.

G. There is something in that. But everybody can't see in, as you pretend to.

B. Black eyes see something.

G. Miss Hollybush, to wit. Well, Barbow, I have a great mind to try a *coup de main* in that quarter, notwithstanding.

B. You have strong rivals, if rumor says true.

G. Hay and Hartington. But I shall only compete with one of them.

B. Of course, but which one?

G. Hartington. Charlotte is softer—more impressible. I am afraid of the other.

B. Very well. (*Arranging the table.*) Here is pen, ink and paper. Now proceed.

G. Curse me, Barbow, you come in here and sit down among my thoughts like a juggler amongst his tools. I have been hesitating all day about this very thing. (*Taking the pen.*)

“Thou marshall'st me the way that I was going,
And such an instrument I was to use.”

B. Yes, it saves a deal of stammering in such cases. Now, let's see it walk. Dear Lady—

G. (*writing, then reads.*) “Dear Lady, it is not without a consciousness of extreme presumption that I venture to offer to one, placed as you are”—(*hesitates.*)

B. Very good, so far.

G. Placed as you are, the homage of new admiration—

B. New?

G. That is, additional. One more in her train.

B. Say so, then. Your admiration is not new, you know. You have been contending with it, stifling it—

G. Repressing it.

B. Ever since you knew she was rich—

G. Ah, Mephistophiles, (*writes,*) the homage of another adorer.

B. Very well.

G. (*writes, then reads.*) “I have hoped, indeed, and feared by turns, that through the cold forms of society, your quick eye may have divined the deep feelings those forms restrained.”

B. Very well.

G. (*writes, then reads.*) “But I cannot leave this any longer in doubt. I am urged by an impulse too strong for forms, to send you this brief declaration, that I may know positively that you know that my life is in your hands, and may receive from your smiles or frowns, when we next meet, the unequivocal oracle of my destiny.”

B. You don't receive oracles. You consult oracles and receive responses.

G. (*correcting.*) “Find in your smiles, &c., the oracle”—

B. That's better. Now sign and seal and send off. Just do this deed before your purpose cools. (*G. copying out the letter on a fair sheet.*)

G. (*folding the letter.*) It is better so. (*Puts it in an envelope, and puts the direction on it.*) I will send it over immediately.

(*Knock. Enter VANSITTART.*)

G. Ah, Vansittart, good morning.

V. How are you? here is your Retsch. Much obliged to you.

G. Very welcome; anything new?

V. Not much. Your new picture is quite ornamental here.

G. Yes, some pictures are ornamental, certainly. But I have no enthusiasm about the arts.

V. Nor I. I have a natural faculty, too—a certain skill or connoisseurship. I can recognize genuine pieces of painters, whose style I know, and detect counterfeits. But I hardly ever see a picture that gives me pleasure.

G. One picture in a million is well executed. And out of twenty good ones, nineteen represent crucifixions, murders—

V. Martyrdoms, saints boiled in oil—

G. Or tame madonnas, with which we have been sickened by infinite repetitions. That gives you one in twenty millions by close calculation, that really should give one pleasure.

V. That's a little extravagant. But Hay goes beyond you, he says the whole art of painting is a failure.

G. Yes, and then he writes me that critique in my December number on the Art Union exhibition, full of artistic cant and entusymuzy.

V. Just like him; and we all do so more or less. By the way, have you heard what has happened to him?

G. No!

V. Mr. Hollybush has politely requested him to discontinue visiting at his house—him and Hartington.

G. By Jove! is that possible?

V. Yes, and without any reason assigned. The old man draws it cool and strong, but he is too late.

G. How—too late!

V. Yes, they have been positively engaged now over a month.

G. Who? Hay and Mary Hollybush?

V. Yes, and Hartington and Charlotte. That has been a secret till now; but to-day Hartington has a note from Charlotte, speaking for herself and her sister.

G. Confirming the engagements?

V. Yes, and adding that they deem those ties paramount to the duty of filial obedience; that they were contracted, as it were, under their father's eye, with his tacit sanction, and cannot be set aside without grave and irresistible reasons.

G. Which reasons cannot well exist in this case.

V. No, but there do exist reasons, which in due time will convert the old gentleman.

G. Do you think so?

V. Yes, but that remains a secret. Miss Hollybush adds, that she and her sister are desirous now that their engagement should be publicly avowed. That I suppose is intended to force out their father's reasons, if he has any. Good morning. [*Exit.*]

B. Where is your valentine?

G. Here—under the inkstand. Throw it in the stove.

B. Not I, thou man of rash and desperate words. It is a good letter, and must be made to do good service.

G. Why, you would not have me send it now?

B. (*tearing off the envelope.*) Not to Charlotte Hollybush? The devil, I know the temper of that family too well. Hartington is sure of her.

G. To whom, then?

B. Why, indeed, to whom then? Come, come, you are well launched in society; you have talent, reputation, and a profession.

G. Such as it is.

B. Such as it is, and you want a rich wife. You may meet with some refusals, but a refusal breaks no bones; and if it did, first or last, you will get salve for them.

G. You are desperately anxious to succeed to the magazine.

B. It is true, I have need of the succession. Come, whom do you know?

G. Minetta Campion.

B. Very good; four thousand a year, and possibilities.

G. Certainties.

B. So much the better. (*Reading over the letter.*) It will suit her just as well. I believe Jacob Hollybush is in your way; but I fancy you are too many for him.

G. I hope so, although he is rich, and I fear Minetta is not romantic. Still I know her much better; I am on terms there a good deal more intimate—and it would be a pity too, to lose all that.

B. Bah! Don't be afraid. Take this envelope, (*hands him one*) and put the address on your letter. There is no girl of twenty-five in New-York that will like you the less for writing her such a letter, even if it fails of its object.

G. Something in that, perhaps. (*Directs and seals the letter.*)

(*Knock. Enter JACOB HOLLYBUSH.*)

J. H. Good morning, Mr. Glumly. I stopped in passing, at the request of Mrs. Campion. There will be a few people at her house this evening, at a reading and talking party—will you come?

G. With great pleasure. Who will be there? do you know?

J. H. Oh, just a few people. The Dubarres, Hay and Hartington, and perhaps a dozen more.

G. And your nieces?

J. H. Very likely. Well, as I am here, I think I may as well tell you a bit of news.

G. I suspect I have heard it.

J. H. I suspect not. From whom?

G. Vansittart.

J. H. News from Vansittart!—what was it? does it concern me?

G. It concerned your nieces.

J. H. Oh, that is not it. I have nothing to say to that either way. My news concerns myself.

G. Indeed! if it is good, let me congratulate you.

J. H. Yes, it is good. Mrs. Campion insisted on secrecy at first, but that was to have the first telling herself I find. So now it's out. I'm engaged to be married.

G. To Miss Campion?

J. H. Yes, and the official promulgation is to take place at this little evening party.

Barbov, (taking the letter out of the envelope, secretes the letter and holds up the envelope to Glumly.) Glumly, I can't stay. I'll burn this paper by your leave. (*Puts the empty envelope in the stove and exit.*)

J. H. Well, we shall see you there.

G. Certainly. [*Exit J. H. (G. sits down and rests his head on his hand.)*]
[Scene closes.]

SCENE II.—MRS. CAMPION'S. MR. and MRS. C., MINETTA and RUPERT HAY.

Minetta. Nobody comes—it is getting late.

Hay. Please to count me for one.

Minetta. No, only half of one. But we expect the other half.

Hay. You speak from the heart. You apply to me the sense of incompleteness you feel in yourself.

Minetta. Possibly. Who will come do you think, Mamma?

Mrs. C. Jacob Hollybush.

Minetta. Ah, don't tease me. Will the Dubarres be here?

Mrs. C. Yes, Mrs. Dubarre and Nancy. Dubarre not.

Hay. Do those two ladies get on together as usual?

Mrs. C. I believe so.

(*Enter JACOB H., CHARLOTTE and MARY. Salutations exchanged.*)

Mrs. C. (*to Jacob.*) We were speaking of Jane Dubarre and her sister-in-law.

J. H. Ah, Miss Nancy? she won't disappoint us, will she?

Mrs. C. Oh no, she goes everywhere. She did not feel the loss of her lover much.

J. H. She could not much regret him personally, he was and is such a brute. But she could not but feel the manner of the thing. It was atrocious.

Minetta. She ought not to have made such a mercenary engagement.

J. H. Yes, Milbury is very rich—five times her fortune. He has now married a poor girl, but a very pretty one.

C. How can she endure him?

M. Such gross, vulgar, ignoble ugliness. A great puffy colossus—the very sight of him makes me sick.

J. H. Nancy Dubarre is no beauty.

Hay. She's as ugly as Satan.

Campion. And as cross as a milldam.

Hay. Impedimentary—obstructive.

Minetta. Dissatisfied—complaining.

Hay. Empty and talkative.

J. H. Come, these be epigrams. She has fifty thousand dollars—she is not an ogress, and I don't believe she has any fault that can't be cured. But she is determined to be married.

(Enter *Mrs. and Miss DUBARRE, and HARTINGTON. Salutations.*)

Mrs. D. Are we late?

Minetta. No, our principal performer has not come yet.

Mrs. D. Who is that?

Minetta. Mr. Glumly. He is to read us something out of Shakspeare and something of his own.

Campion. A streak of fat and a streak of lean.

Minetta. Oh, Papa! that is not fair.

Hay. Which is fat? and which is lean?

Campion. I can tell you which is rich and which is poor?

Hay. Ah! that is more intelligible.

Mrs. C. Glumly writes very well sometimes.

H'n. Some men do. But none read well.

Hay. Yes. Vindoboni.

H'n. True, Vindoboni reads French, so that it is a pleasure to hear him—a very great pleasure. He chooses his readings well, too. They *have* those things in French.

Hay. Vindoboni is the sort of man we want here—an element our society is deficient in. He is full of accomplishment and knowledge, and he has the art of making current coin of what he knows, and giving other people some pleasure from it.

H'n. Dr. Sloper knows ten times as much.

Mrs. D. He's a pedant and a bore.

Hay. Well, what I have to say is, that I hear a good deal of talk about foreigners coming out here to pick up heiresses, and all that. But when the foreigner is such a man as Vindoboni, the heiress gets a good husband, and our society a great accession, and a model.

Mrs. D. Pretty high praise that—very liberal indeed as from one gentleman to another.

H'n. It don't apply, you understand, to all foreigners indiscriminately.

Hay. Certainly not. Foreign society, taken as a mass, is no better than our own, in many places not so good. But Europe does produce this specific thing, the elegant man of society, in greater perfection than we have it.

(Enter *GLUMLY. Bows to Mrs. and Miss C., and shakes hands with Mr. C.*)

Mr. C. You come last, Mr. Glumly, like the king.

G. Truly sir, I have no such pretension; and besides, there are half a dozen guests or more still in the dressing-room.

Mrs. C. Well, we won't wait for them. Mr. Glumly, you are expected to furnish forth this evening's entertainment.

G. Madam, my humble powers are all at your disposal.

Mrs. C. Gallantly said. Now, sir, I call upon you first to recite, or read us something of your own. Afterwards you shall read us the last act of the Merchant of Venice.

G. After which, I suppose I shall be allowed to take supper with the company ?
(Several other guests enter and bow to Mrs. C., and take off her attention for the moment.)

J. H. (aside to H'n.) That's an unlucky hit ; there is to be no supper.

H'n. Tea and soft waffles, eh ?

J. H. I believe so.

G. Well, when shall I begin ?

Mrs. C. Immediately. This is recitation room, and then we'll pass into the reading room, where all is prepared.

G. Very well. I will give you some verses I wrote yesterday, on a chance meeting which saddened me. You know, Mrs. Campion, I have often been crossed in love.

Mrs. C. Certainly. Am I not your confidante ?

G. Well, this was one of those obdurate ladies that used to reject me—the best beloved of at least a dozen. Can you give me a miniature or something of the sort ? I must act a little—very little indeed.

Minetta. Here is a daguerreotype.

G. It will do. Only you are all to fancy it is a beautiful miniature of the lady in question. (Places himself in a pensive attitude in a chair ; lays the miniature on the table near him. Miss Dubarre comes and places herself so as to front him as near as she can.)

Glumly.—

The rose's sweetest glow has not
Departed from her cheek ;
Nor have those glorious eyes forgot
The tongues they used to speak ;
Yet certain changes time has wrought,
And on her lofty brow,
Are traces of maturer thought—
I think—she'd take me now.

(Takes up the miniature, opens and looks at it.)

Years have not touched her loveliness,
Nor dim'd its gentle ray,
Nor made one grace or charm the less,
Since that all nameless day.
All that she was is there—yet there
Is not the thing I loved,—
My own high dream of what, with care
And toil, she might have proved.

(Lays the miniature down.)

What canvass hope had there to fill—
What schemes my fancy drew,
When those rich energies were still
Elastic, pliant, new.
To concentrate, to guide, advance,
Impel their glittering train,
Presumptuous was the wish, perchance—
At all events 'twas vain.

Miss D. That's beautiful.

Mrs. C. Be-a-u-ti-ful ! (G. bows and goes on.)

She deemed herself a pearl, more worth
Than all the sons of men,
And might have been—oh Heaven and earth !
What might she not have been !
But cheated of its food, her mind
Hath nearly fared like him,
The self adoring youth, who pined
Upon the fountain's brim.

J. H. Narcissus.

H'n. Rupert Hay.

Miss D. Oh, gentlemen, how can you?

G.—

She trusted all too much to Heaven,
Nor deemed she'd ought to do—
But nature who had promise given
Would give performance too.
As if our minds grew rife and rich,
Even like the unweeting grain,
Pour'd from the summer clouds, to which
Comes eke the latter rain.

Miss D. Is not that admirable?

Mary H. It is very good, certainly.

G.—

Her soul, that might have risen to seek
The founts Minerva used,
Lull'd by the praises of a clique,
Deluded, mock'd, amused—
Idle, with undeveloped powers
And unexpanded wings,
Flung all to waste those precious hours,
And missed those holy springs.
She sought her Phœnix mate in vain,
And now that chase is over,
I think she haply might be fain
To take a mortal lover.
I will not have her now—I'll try
My skill some fair to reach,
That's young enough to learn when I
Am old enough to teach.

Miss D. Oh, that is excellent! But there's a deal of spite in that last stanza, that must have come from old wounds. I'm afraid there's truth under all this, Mr. Glumly.

All. Excellent!—very good!—admirably delivered! (*G. bowing.*)

Mrs. C. Well, ladies and gentlemen, we'll retire now to the next room and take a cup of tea, after which we will put those fine tones in further requisition. (*Takes Hn's arm and threads the way, and all follow.*)

SCENE III.—*The same.* (*Re-enter HARTINGTON, and soon after MINETTA.*)

Hn. Did you speak to her, Miss Minetta?

Min. Yes, she'll be here directly. [*Exit.*]

(*Hn. walks up and down looking anxiously at the door.*)

(*Enter CHARLOTTE.*)

Hn. (*taking her hand.*) Dear Charlotte—did you get our notes this afternoon?

C. Yes.

Hn. Well, and what have you resolved on?

C. Oh, Hartington, I hardly dare speak the words. We have resolved to do all you ask.

Hn. Bravely resolved! Now, we must not talk long here—all the arrangements are made. Minetta will tell you, and she goes with us.

C. She goes with us!

Hn. Yes—it is the oddest thing in the world. She and you, with Jacob. She will explain. You must hasten back before your absence and mine are much observed. I'll go round and come in by a different door.

[*Exit Charlotte. Exit Hn.*]

SCENE IV.—GLUMLY'S room. GLUMLY in morning gown and slippers. (Enter BARBOW.)

G. Ah, Barbow! how are you this morning?

B. Very well; how goes it with you, after your dissipation?

G. Very dissipated, indeed. You mean the reading party?

B. Yes.

G. We assembled between eight and nine, had tea and soft waffles, and I read myself hollow with the Merchant of Venice, and they sent us home supperless at eleven.

B. Lenten entertainment. But perhaps you got some indemnity otherwise. Were the ladies very kind to you?

G. Some of them were. I thought the Hollybushes were rather silent and distant. Hartington does not like me, and I suppose they catch feelings from him now.

B. How did Miss Dubarre treat you?

G. Oh, she was all smiles and compliments. I never liked her so well. I recited something of my own, and she admired it, to my full satisfaction.

B. Smiled upon you, too?

G. Yes, she was as gay and pleasant as possible.

B. Ah, ah! Well, (*rising and walking up and down, and examining Glumly as he speaks.*) well, there is a good deal about you to smile upon. And if Miss Dubarre chooses to do so, there is every reason in the world why you should reciprocate.

G. So I should think. Don't you want me to try another experiment!—write another letter this morning, eh?

B. No, I don't.

G. And before the ink is dry, have Vansittart perhaps drop in and tell us he is engaged to Miss Nancy Dubarre, eh?

B. No, no, I tell you. Allow me to pursue the train of my own reflections. Your fate is in my hands.

G. Is it so?

B. Yes, and Miss Nancy Dubarre's.

G. (*ironically.*) Powerful magician!

B. Yes, powerful magician. "For such there be, but unbelief is blind,"—(*taking a paper from his pocket.*) Here is a talisman which shall exercise an influence upon both of you all your lives. And before I quit you, you will appreciate its powers as I do.

G. You are a man of strange words. Have you had your breakfast?

B. Yes.

G. Ambrosia, I suppose.

B. No, sausages. But to resume. This talisman—

G. (*snatching at it but missing.*) Damn your talisman! Come, come, Barbaw, you are contriving to get me into some new folly. Out with it, speak plain and I will answer you.

B. Glumly, are you tired of this magazine?

G. You know very well I am.

B. You would assuredly throw it up if you were otherwise provided for.

G. Most assuredly.

B. Very well, I want it. Now, draw me up an assignment, and I will bestow on you, by unfolding this paper, the hand and fortune of Miss Nancy Dubarre.

G. Bah! Haven't you done with that nonsense yet?

B. Yes, and I will begin with the sense. You are engaged to be married to Miss Dubarre.

G. I am not.

B. You are, and do not know it. You have proposed, and she has consented, but the matter hangs there, an unsolved mystery, till I speak. Do you know this letter?—(*Hands him the paper.*)

G. It is a copy of my unfortunate composition of yesterday, apparently.— Did you make it out from memory?

B. No, I copied it, with the original under my eye.

G. I saw you put the original in the fire before you left me.

B. You saw me burn the envelope. But the letter I kept, and I sent it to Miss Dubarre; your own hand-writing, signed with your name. Now read it, and you will perceive that the thing is growing serious.

G. (*rising, and seizing his arm.*) Barbow, is this thing true?

B. As true as fate.

G. You sent her that letter! But did she receive it? Are you sure she received it?

B. I took good care of that. I had it put into her own hands. Now read it out to me.

G. (*sitting down—agitated.*) Read it to me.

B. "Dear lady—It is not without a consciousness of extreme presumption, that I venture to offer to one, placed as you are, the homage of another adorer. I have hoped, indeed, and feared by turns, that through the cold forms of society, your quick eye may have divined the deep feelings those forms restrained; but I cannot leave this any longer in doubt. I am urged by an impulse too strong for forms, to send you this brief declaration, that I may know positively that you know that my life is in your hands, and may find in your smiles or frowns, when we next meet, the unequivocal oracle of my destiny. Yours devotedly, Robert A. Glumly."

G. "Placed as you are." I wonder what she thought I meant by that.

B. I don't very well know what it meant when you wrote it.

G. I alluded to Miss Hollybush's high position in society. But that don't apply so well to Miss Dubarre; and besides, the affair with Milbury is fresh—she may think that I meant that.

B. The devil!—no. She would interpret all for the best. You see she did, indeed, by her conduct.

G. Yes, the unequivocal oracle was favorable enough.

B. I would have paid well to see the scene. You calm, collected, unconscious, reciting and reading, and taking her compliments, and fifty others, with equal indifference. She all in a flutter, full of significant smiling and nods, and becks all lost, or only to thaw out upon your unapprehensive brain, after ten hours time, in the genial warmth of my presence—

G. (*not attending to him.*) It is a very strange position.

B. Yes, to have the ice all broken for you, and the chill taken off the water. No fears of a cold reception now.

G. No possibility of getting into hot water, think you?

B. Bah! not the least. Get your breakfast, man—put your coat on—and go and make assurance sure: after that we'll talk about the magazine.

Go where glory waits thee,
But when success elates thee,
Oh, then, remember me!

[*Exeunt.*]

SCENE V.—HAY'S room. HAY alone. *Enter* HARTINGTON.

Hay. Oh! I've been expecting you are home.

H'n. All's right! carriage engaged; church and clergyman bespoken; we shall be fairly wedded this evening.

Hay. I'm glad to hear it.

H'n. The girls are to stroll into Thompson and Weller's at four o'clock. We shall be waiting there, with two coaches ready in Washington Place; we shall pass out, merely bowing to them, and get into one; and they will follow, and take the other.

Hay. By themselves?

H'n. No; Minetta Campion goes with them.

Hay. Minetta Campion!

H'n. Yes; and Jacob Hollybush with us. They are to be married also.

Hay. What an astonishing arrangement! What need have Jacob Hollybush and Minetta Campion to elope?

H'n. Only the frolic, I suppose; or to matronize Charlotte and Mary.

Hay. It's very kind. Whose whim is it? Minetta's?

H'n. Yes; when she heard of Mr. Hollybush's proceedings, she broke out violently upon Jacob, and wanted him to interfere. He would'n't; and she vowed that the hour of our marriage should be that of hers.

Hay. And he agreed to that?

H'n. Yes; he did not care. He is perfectly indifferent about such matters. If the thing he does is right, he neither cares what the form is, nor what anybody says or thinks. He goes for the substantial.

Hay. Yankee all over. But I should have thought he would have tried to mollify Robert.

H'n. No; he has explained himself about that. Many years ago he gave Robert some advice in an important matter; and one where a lady was concerned. He gave information, too, that showed his advice was sound, and Robert took it; but Jacob says he never forgave him.

Hay. Never?

H'n. No; there was a perceptible coolness for some years; and Jacob says he knows the traces of the feeling exist in the old man's mind yet.

Hay. That seems like insanity.

H'n. Probably Jacob's discoveries were mortifying to his pride. Probably he was going to commit some egregious folly.

Hay. He has a very strange temper—so courteous, so mild, in general, and then such devilish caprices.

H'n. Jacob says now, he will not meddle in this affair of ours, for good nor evil. He is to see us elope; go with us, and be married himself at the same time; but he shuts his eyes at our doings, or, at least, what suits us as well, he shuts his mouth.

Hay. Very well. It's odd; but I don't think it's disagreeable. By the way, I must go down and engage a parlour, and our rooms at the Astor.

H'n. I'll go along.

[*Exeunt.*]

SCENE VI.—MRS. DUBARRE'S parlour. Miss D. alone. Servant brings in a card.

Miss D. Mr. Glumly, ah! Show the gentleman up.

Servt. Yes, madam. (*Exit; after a moment enter Glumly.*)

G. Good morning, Miss Dubarre. I hope I am not deranging your morning occupations.

Miss D. (*embarrassed.*) No sir; not particularly, sir.

G. Miss Dubarre, I took a liberty yesterday—I took a step—(*Hesitates.*)

Miss D. Sir!

G. I took a step yesterday, with much apprehension of the result; a step which I feared my footing here would not justify—

Miss D. Oh, sir!

G. But the rarity of opportunities like the present—the impossibility of preventing interruptions.

Miss D. Oh! no more apologies—

G. The written thought cools, Miss Dubarre. I had a brain of fire yesterday when I penned those lines. I could have spoken movingly; but I wrote—I know not how. Say you have forgiven me.

Miss D. There was nothing to forgive.

G. There is everything to hope then, (*seizing her hand.*) Your smiles last night, and your kind words this morning, have made me the happiest of men.

Miss D. Indeed, Mr. Glumly, (*disengaging her hand.*) indeed you are wrong to remind me of that. I certainly did smile last night, but you—you did not seem to understand me.

G. Dearest lady, how can you start such an idea? Amid all that gossip,

and recitation, and reading, where half the time all eyes were on me as a performer, could I presume to show any thankfulness for your kindness there? It would have seemed like an attempt to publish it.

Miss D. But I grew tired of being kind to no purpose; and the latter part of the evening I was cross—you might at least have discovered that.

G. Dear lady, so I did; but I thought your altered demeanor was a hint to me to keep my distance. I took your first smiles for smiles of promise; and then your frowns seemed to say, keep dark.

Miss D. You have your answers ready. It is impossible to quarrel with you. (*Gives him her hand.*) Are you sincere and constant.

G. Sincere I am, and constant I will be. My constancy in love is hitherto untried.

Miss D. Oh, that is impossible!

G. No; I have a calm spirit, that can bide its time; but a strong one, that can use the time when it comes. Why should that be impossible?

Miss D. But you have wandered through the world so much—through so many societies—all full of beauty and attraction.

G. True, lady; but always with a model in my heart of something I sought, and did not find. I have found it now. Do you think I would offer you a rejected hand—a soiled and cast-off heart.

Miss D. It might have been cast off, and yet not soiled. The heart makes mistakes sometimes, and corrects them, and is itself again.

G. (*Aside.*) Oh, Milbury, what a devil of a blunder! (*To her.*) True, Miss Dubarre, the heart may be misled, and right itself, and be the purer. But man's heart is the leader; he should go always right; and when he fixes, fix forever.

Miss D. I hear my sister's voice—leave me now, Mr. Glumly. I shall go over to Minetta's bye-and bye. Adieu.

G. Adieu. (*Kisses her hand, and exit.*)

SCENE VII.—*The street before Mrs. DUBARRE'S house. BARBOW waiting. Enter GLUMLY from the house.*

B. (*Coming to meet him.*) At last. Well, is all settled?

G. All is settled, I think, definitively.

B. Did you get on smoothly?

G. Tolerably; but I had not had time to study my ground; and I got into one or two hobbles.

B. And out again?

G. Yes; thanks to nonsense, which I talked abundantly. I wonder where it all comes from.

B. I don't know. But I know where a good deal of it goes.

G. Where?

B. Into the magazine. And I have been waiting here to talk to you about that.

G. By heaven, Barbow, you are intolerable. Are you beginning already to dun me for the assignment?

B. I am entitled to it now.

G. Not at all. I will give it you when I have made sure of something else. But I can't throw away my crutch, because I have bespoken a carriage.

B. Well, then, when your carriage comes home?

G. Yes, then I will redeem my promise.

B. See that you do. I might make you do it sooner, but I forbear.

G. Make me do it sooner?

B. Certainly; here is my talisman. (*Shows the copy of the letter.*)

G. Ah, that is your talisman. And you have thus a certain power over me, eh?

B. Precisely.

G. And you can make me do things, eh?

- B. Perhaps so.
- G. And having made proof of your power by making me do one thing, in process of time you may perhaps ask for another?
- B. No, that I shall not.
- G. And you will hold your talisman over my head all the rest of my days—harrassing, threatening, tyrannizing?—
- B. No, no, no.
- G. Levying black-mail?—
- B. No, no, in the devil's name.
- G. Yes, Mr. Barbow, yes, in the devil's name. But I won't stand it, and we'll settle this thing now. Give me that paper.
- B. Excuse me.
- G. Give it to me, or by heaven, before this sun sets, I'll put the magazine beyond your power and mine. Give it to me. (*Hesitates, then gives it up.*)
- G. *tears it to bits.*) Bah, if you make such a point of it.
- B. So far, so good. But you could write out another from memory, could'nt you?
- G. I suppose I could.
- B. Do it if you dare. Go to Miss Dubarre, tell her the whole story about that letter—she won't believe it all, but you will make me some trouble—you will make rather more for yourself. Be calm, Mr. Glumly—there is no need of all this heat.
- G. Calm, sir—damnation! If you utter a word to me, or give me a hint about that consignment before I'm ready to give it to you—before I volunteer to offer it—I swear to you, you never shall have it at all. And if you threaten me again, I'll break all your bones into dice.
- B. Very well, sir.
- G. I believe I understand such matters. I have not edited a two-penny paper for nothing. I know the ways of the town, and especially how to stave off black-mail. (*Shakes his stick at B. and exit.*)
- B. It seems he does. (*Exit.*)

SCENE VIII.—MRS. CAMPION'S house. MINETTA and MISS DUBARRE.

Minetta. But, dear Nancy, is not all this very sudden?

Miss D. Sudden, dear—oh, not at all. I was very much taken with Mr. Glumly the first time I ever saw him, and I do believe I made an impression at the same time on him.

Minetta. That's happy.

Miss D. Yes, he always showed a preference for me when he had an opportunity. His approaches were so quiet, and so gradual; he is a person of great delicacy of sentiment.

Minetta. No doubt of it. Did you expect a declaration when it came?

Miss D. Not at that moment. But you know, dear Minetta, when we have a prisoner, we can always see pretty nearly what he is thinking about; he can't take us much by surprise.

Minetta. No—they have very transparent heads, these lovers.

Miss D. And when the crisis approaches—when we've played off all our coy airs, and got quite ready to surrender, then we make them believe the very contrary.

Minetta. When we work them up into heroics.

Miss D. Yes, or tragics, or romantics, just any shape of passionate demonstration we prefer. Then comes the declaration which they think *they* make, poor fellows. Why, it is nothing but a tune we play upon them.

Minetta. Did you manage Mr. Glumly so?

Miss D. Certainly. I put reason, hope, fear and jealousy by turns into his behavior, just as systematically as a cook would put salt and pepper into soup. Did you not do so with Mr. Hollybush?

Minetta. Of course I did; and I spiced the soup pretty freely sometimes.

Miss D. Bless the men, they know but very little who gives them their ideas. I mean to keep the spice-box after marriage. *Minetta.*

Minetta. So do I. We are to be endowed with their worldly goods, you know, but not with their heavy wits.

Miss D. Heaven forbid!

Minetta. But now, dear, I have something very particular to tell you. I am to be married this evening.

Miss D. This evening!

Minetta. Yes, this very evening. And so must you.

Miss D. Impossible! Oh, *Minetta*—

Minetta. Yes, you must. Here's company coming—come up to my room, and I'll tell you. There's a party of us—

(*Enter JOHN.*)

John. Mr. Glumly.

Minetta. Show him up. There's a party of us going to elope.

Miss D. Elope!

Minetta. Yes, yes—but I can't tell you now. (*Enter Glumly.*) Mr. Glumly, excuse us a few moments. I'll send word to mamma you are here. I've something to say to Nancy, and all for your interest, I assure you.

[*G. bows. Exit M. and Miss. D.*

(*G. walks up and down. After a few moments, Enter MRS. C.*)

Mrs. C. Good morning, Mr. Glumly. Much obliged to you for our pleasant entertainment last evening. I hope you did not over-exert your voice.

G. No, madam, thank you; but if I had, I received a tribute of sweet voices that would have restored it.

Mrs. C. Very pretty. Have you been down Broadway, to-day?

G. Yes, as far as the New-York Club.

Mrs. C. Ah, you go to the Young Men's Club. What did you find there.

G. Oh, some boys—regular New-York boys. Their hats and coats were most of them unexceptionable.

Mrs. C. Why, you did not converse with hats and coats, did you?

G. Not directly. But the hats and coats did furnish most of the conversation, Horses, to be sure, and billiards.

Mrs. C. And a little about parties and balls.

G. Yes, and about young girls, and their respective attractions and fortunes. I wish the young girls would hear—

Mrs. C. Mr. Glumly, shall we never have any intellectual men in our society?

G. Yes, madam, when New-York is as large as Paris.

Mrs. C. Not till then?

G. Oh, that's not so very long. But the intellectual and *educated* man is a rare combination. You only get one out of a great many thousands.

Mrs. C. So I have discovered.

G. Well, but we shall get enough bye-and-bye to form a circle, notwithstanding; and when we do, that circle will exercise a mighty influence.

Mrs. C. Will it displease those young men you spoke of, or improve their talk?

G. Yes; knowledge, education, taste and refinement even, are penetrating the whole mass of our population. Set up a good nucleus, and young men will come forth from every class of our society, and take their places with the best.

Mrs. C. Will the ladies consent to that?

G. Yes; they will appreciate strong understandings and trained minds, and they will be the first to prefer them to a pack of idle blockheads, whose educations have been done by contract, by fashionable school-masters.

Mrs. C. Well, it may be so.

(*Enter MINETTA and MISS D. Miss D. bows to G. and exit. Minetta detains him.*

Minetta. Mr. Glumly, Miss Dubarre desires you to remain here a moment. Mamma, I'm going out shopping, and I will take Mr. Glumly along, with your permission. I have something special to arrange with him.

Mrs. C. Very well, dear. [*Exit G. and Minetta. Scene closes.*

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IPHIGENEIA IN TAURIS.

A DRAMA OF GOETHE.

ACT III.

IPHIGENEIA AND ORESTES.

Iphig. (*unbinding him.*) Unhappy man, I only loose thy bonds
 In sign of harder fate: the freedom granted
 Here in the holy grove to both of you,
 Is, like the last bright gleam of animation
 Upon the sick man's face, death's harbinger.
 I dare not yet acknowledge to myself
 That you are lost; for how could I uplift
 A murderous hand 'gainst your devoted lives?
 And no one dares presume, while I am priestess,
 To touch your consecrated heads. But, ah!
 Should I refuse obedience to the king,
 In anger he will choose among my train
 Some other virgin to discharge the office,
 And I shall have but wishes to bestow.
 Much-valued countryman! The very slave
 Who but approach'd our patril household gods,
 Is richly welcome in a foreign land—
 How can I pour enough of joy and blessing
 On you, who bear the image of the heroes
 Whom from my infancy I've learn'd to honor,
 And in my inmost heart light up anew
 The faded flattering pictures of my youth.

Orest. Dost thou from prudent choice conceal thy name
 And thy descent, or may I hope to know
 Whose heavenly goodness warbles comfort to me?

Iphig. Yes, thou shalt know me; but inform me first
 (For from thy brother I have learned but half)
 Of those, who coming back from fallen Troy
 Found on the threshold of a long-wish'd home
 An unexpected, hard, and cruel doom.
 Tho' I was early banish'd to this shore,
 I recollect the shy and hasty glance.
 I cast with wonder on the train of heroes.
 'Twas as Olympus from its top had pour'd
 The awful shadows of the illustrious dead
 To stalk in terror to the walls of Troy:
 And Agamemnon was of all the greatest.
 Tell me—he fell, the day he saw his home,
 By Clytemnestra and Ægisthus slain?

Orest. He did.

Iphig. Ah, sad Mycene! On thy site
 The sons of Tantalus, with lavish hand,
 Are stowing curse on curse: like baneful-weeds
 They teem with ever multiplying crimes,
 And to their children's children still transmit
 Murder on murder for inheritance.
 Disclose the rest thy brother left untold,
 When horror's gloom suspended my attention—
 How was the remnant of this mighty race,
 Hereafter the avenger of his father,
 The last born child, the only son, Orestes,
 Preserved from slaughter on that day of blood?
 The net of black Avernus round his head
 Has a like fortune drawn, or spared in mercy?
 Say, was he saved? Lives he? and lives Electra?

Orest. They live.

Iphig. They live? Lend me, thou golden sun,
 Thy fairest beams to lay in gratitude
 Before Jove's throne! for I am poor and mute—

Orest. If the heir'd ties of hospitality
 Or nearer bonds connect thee with this house,
 As by thy joy would seem, O curb thy heart:
 For to re-plunge into a sea of sorrow
 Is to be happy doubly horrible.

Thou only knowst of Agamemnon's death
 I find—

Iphig. And is not this enough to know?

Orest. Thou yet hast heard but half the horrid tale.

Iphig. What more!—Orestes and Electra live?—

Orest. Hast thou no fears for Clytemnestra's fate?

Iphig. My fears or hopes are impotent to save her.

Orest. She is departed from the land of hope.

Iphig. Did her repenting hand in expiation
 Shed her own blood?

Orest. Not so; yet her own blood
 Consign'd her to the shades.

Iphig. Give clearer answer.
 Uncertainty with many-folded wing
 Hides in ill-boding gloom my anxious head.

Orest. And have the gods reserv'd me to relate
 A deed, which gladly in the silent realms
 Of night and hell I would forever hide—
 Thy gentle tongue against my will compels it.
 Expect and have a tale to shudder at.
 The day that royal Agamemnon fell,
 Electra's prudent hand conceal'd her brother
 Beneath the roof of Strophius, a kinsman.
 He willingly received, and educated
 With his own Pylades, the fugitive,
 And both the youths grew up in tenderest friendship.
 Their bosoms early felt a burning wish
 To 'avenge the monarch's death: in strange attire

They sought Mycene, and announc'd themselves
 As messengers of young Orestes' death,
 And bearers of his ashes. Thus they gain'd
 A glad admittance from the credulous queen.
 Orestes to Electra then disclos'd
 His name and purpose. She with ardent lip
 Rekindled soon the embers of revenge
 That in the sacred presence of a mother
 Had faded in his breast; in silence led him
 To where his father fell, and pointed out
 A wither'd blood-mark on the guilty floor
 That linger'd still for vengeance; there describ'd
 With tongue of fire each murky circumstance
 That dy'd the crime still deeper, wail'd her own
 Hard slavish treatment and the haughty carriage
 Of the successful traitors, show'd the dangers
 That lowered over Agamemnon's children
 From their unfeeling step-mother (for such
 To them she was become) and to Orestes
 Consign'd the old and oft-incrimson'd poignard
 So wont to murders in the house of Pelops—
 And Clytemnestra by her son was slaughter'd.

Iphig. Immortals, who on ever-golden clouds
 Spend your clear days in joy—was it for this
 Ye tore me from my country, from the world—
 For this that ye approach'd me to your shrines—
 For this intrusted to my patient hand
 To feed the holy flame, taught my calm'd soul
 Like it to lift a clear and equal look
 Of pious hope to your unruffled dwellings—
 That I might later learn and deeper feel
 The dire misfortunes of a race we frown on?
 Talk to me of the wretched—of Orestes.

Orest. Would I could tell thee also of his death!
 How from his mother's gaping wounds arose
 Her haughty spirit, and with angry yell
 Shriek'd to the daughters of the ancient night—
 'Seize on this parricide, this son of guilt,
 And with implacable revenge pursue him.'
 They heard her voice: they roll'd their hollow eyes,
 Like famish'd eagles on their desjin'd prey;
 In their dark dens they stirr'd: their sad companions
 Doubt and Remorse from silent corners stole
 With knitted hands to earth, from their loose locks
 Dispersing pitchy damps of Acheron.
 Now ceaseless contemplation of the past
 Rolls in black gyres around his haunted brow.
 The fiends long-banish'd from the beauteous earth
 Renew their all-deforming range with him,
 Pursue his rovings, hang upon his step,
 And only stop to add redoubled horror
 To the black hour they overtake his flight.

Iphig. Unhappy man! Thy much resembling fate
Makes thee more deeply sympathize with his.

Orest. How cam'st thou to suspect my fate like his?

Iphig. Thy younger brother has intrusted to me
That thou hast also slain thy nearest kinsman.

Orest. I cannot bear that thy pure spotless soul
Should be misled by falsehood. Let the stranger
Weave his deceitful and ensnaring wiles
For them he fears; but between us, be truth.
I am Orestes: and this guilty head

Is stooping to the tomb, is seeking death—
In any form his coming shall be welcome.

Whoe'er thou be, to thee and to my friend
I wish deliverance, to myself destruction.
Thou seemst to be detain'd against thy will;
Contrive to fly with him, and leave me here,
That headlong hurl'd from these impending rocks
My gushing blood may to the sea extend,
And roll wide curses o'er this savage shore.

Go ye together back to lovely Greece,
There may new life and happier days await you. [*Retires into the wood.*]

Iphig. Fulfilment, daughter of the almighty sire,
At length the hour of thy descent is come,

And thy vast image stands unroll'd before me!
My aching sight scarce reaches to thy hands,
Which, with the treasures of Olympus fill'd
Shower wreaths of benediction!—As a king
Is known by the profusion of his bounty,
(For that to him is nothing, which to crowds
Is riches) also ye are known, Celestials,
By long reserv'd and wisely granted gifts:
For ye alone distinguish what behooves us,
And oversee futurity's wide realms,
While mists conceal from us the wondrous prospect
And dim the twinkling star-beams to our gaze.
Calmly we hear our restless childish prayers
To hasten your decrees; but your wise hands
Cull not the heavenly fruit, while unmatu'r'd
And woe is him, who with impatient lip
Would seize the good in store!—he swallows death.
Let not this long-awaited joy forsake me,
And, like the visions of departed friends,
Abandon to reality of woe.

IPHIGENEIA AND ORESTES.

Orest. (*returning.*) If thou be praying to the gods above,
Speak not my name with thine and Pylades',
My name draws vengeance down on its associates,
And prayers are impotent to soothe this torment.

Iphig. My fate is knit with thine.

Orest. Not so: alone
And unattended would I sink to Hades.

Were thy own veil inwraught around my head
 It could not hide me from the dragon-eyed,
 The ever-watchful followers of my step.
 Nay, e'en thy very presence, heavenly woman,
 May turn their looks askance, but can't avert them.
 What though their impious brazen thread may not
 O'erstep the limits of the holy grove,
 I hear them yonder grinning horrid laughter,
 Like wolves around the tree upon whose top
 The traveller climb'd in safety. There they lie,
 And at my coming from the earth shall start,
 Lift the big cloud of dust with busy feet,
 Give to the hissing winds their snaky locks,
 And dog my flight with never-ending chase.

Iphig. Orestes, listen to a friendly word.

Orest. No: keep it for a friend of the celestials.

Iphig. They give thee earnest of reviving hopes.

Orest. I see the pale gleam of the flood of death—
 'T will guide me through this mist of woe to hell.

Iphig. Hast thou no other sister but Electra?

Orest. I new but one; yet the all ruling hand
 Of fate remov'd an elder, who beheld not
 The miserable doom of all her kindred.
 Cease, cease thy questions, do not join the band
 Of my tormentresses, who blow away
 With wicked joy the ashes of oblivion,
 Lest the warm embers of remorse should fade
 And cease to scorch my soul. Will they forever
 Cast scalding sulphur on the glowing brand
 Which crime has given to the sons of Pelops
 For a perpetual heirdom—ever sear
 My soul with coals of hell.

Iphig. Be 't mine to fling
 Some fragrant incense on the flame. Allow
 Affection's gentle breath to cool thy bosom.
 Orestes, my belov'd, wilt thou not hear me?
 Has the terrific band of thy pursuers
 Drain'd all the blood of nature from the veins,
 And have their Gorgon-eyeballs petrified
 Thy feeling heart?—O, if a mother's curse
 Call thee with hollow accent to the shades,
 May not the purer blessing of a sister
 Draw from Olympus ease and comfort to thee?

Orest. She calls—and thou combin'st to rend my bosom.
 Have gods of vengeance borrow'd e'en thy form?
 Who art thou, that with searching tongue disturbest
 The very bottom of my billowing soul?

Iphig. Does not thy heart inform thee? I am she—
 Iphigeneia—and am here—alive.

Orest. Who, thou?

Iphig. My brother!

Orest. Hence! nor touch these locks:

As from Creusa's wedding garment, thence
 Contagious flows a fire unquenchable.
 Away—like Hercules, I would exhale
 My worthless hated life in wilds and deserts.

Iphig. Thou shalt not perish. O that I could hear
 One calm reply to banish every doubt
 And make me sure I have the bliss I've pray'd for.
 A wheel of joy and sorrow hurries round
 My agitated soul. Upon the stranger
 I look with apprehension; but my heart
 Resistless throws me on a darling brother.

Orest. Is this Lyæus' temple, that the priestess
 Thus with unbridled holy fury glows?

Iphig. O hear me, look upon me, how my heart
 Expands to compass all the happiness
 Of seeing thee (the dearest whom the world
 Has left me still) of folding in these arms,
 That long have open'd on the vacant wind,
 Thee, my Orestes. Let me, let me clasp thee.
 As down Parnassus flows the eternal fountain
 From rock to rock along the golden vale
 Clear and abundant, so a flood of joy
 Streams from my heart in copious waves, and spreads
 An ample sea of happiness around me.

Orestes, O my brother!
Orest. Lovely nymph,
 I neither trust thee nor thy soothing speeches.
 Diana asks severer votaries,
 Nor will she see her sanctuary profan'd.
 A truce to thy embraces! Wouldst thou give
 Thy fond affections to a worthy youth,
 With love and safety crown my friend. He roves
 Among yon rocks: seek him; abandon me.

(TO BE CONTINUED.)

POPULAR PORTRAITS WITH PEN AND PENCIL.

GENERAL JOSEPH WALKER, OF LOUISIANA.

IN the history of men and of nations, it is not unfrequently our part to follow from remote and humble obscurity, to high and distinguished place and honors, the personages who stand out in relief, and, by the splendor of their genius, illustrate, elevate, and render distinguished, as it were, the very epochs in which they have lived. In no country, and least of all in a republican one, can the mere fetters and restraints imposed by the circumstances of birth, poverty, and even want, exercise in every instance a controlling influence, repressing the ardour of genius, and effectually cramping or crushing its resources.

In a republic only, however, can the citizen of blameless reputation, integrity and modest worth, performing through the course of a long life with diffidence and fidelity the duties of his position, whatever it may be, in relation to his fellow-men, with scrupulousness, exactness, and an humble purpose, and without any of the advantages of family or fortune, learning or genius, rise to the first place among his compeers by their hearty suffrages and support. If it be true, that such men and such instances are rare, it is not the less honorable to human nature that they do sometimes exist, and that their influence is never otherwise than of the most benignant character. These men move not in a pathway blazing with lustre at each advance, but it is a less tortuous one; and, although not leading in the end to the magnificence of state or empire, it has never, and can never lead to their degradation or ruin. The nations of the world have not seldom in sackcloth and in ashes mourned over the birth and career of the dazzling and brilliant spirits, who have, meteor-like, shot athwart their times, exciting the admiration and huzzahs of wondering crowds. Aristides the Just was more honorable to Athens, and excited a more salutary influence than Pericles: the magnificent and honest old Phocion, who scorned, from the bottom of his heart, the popular arts of demagogues, whilst manfully performing his duty, might have saved the state, while all the phillipic thunderbolts of Demosthenes were being dealt out in vain. It was this feeling which made Cicero, upon one occasion, when extolling ambition to the skies, and declaring that there was really "nothing worthy of being ardently desired but praise and glory, and that in their pursuit all pains of body and perils of death and exile were to be utterly despised," add, immediately afterwards, "Indeed I may go further, and say, that *nature without learning is better calculated to inspire the love and admiration of our fellow men than learning without virtue.*"*

Among the most widely esteemed and respected citizens of Louisiana, with all classes and with all parties, is the subject of this memoir. Gen. Joseph Walker's whole early history, public career, and services, it is our desire in some manner, however inadequate, to pourtray, that modest merit may have an appropriate tribute, and another instance be furnished for the emulation of a rising generation, of eminent virtue acknowledged and rewarded.

Gen. Walker may be regarded as one of the oldest *native born* citizens of Louisiana, of a mixed Anglo Saxon and French Creole extraction. He was born in New-Orleans, in the year 1784, when the Spanish rule was paramount, and when the old "father of waters" traced his way through a wilderness, making no obeisance to the scattering village on his banks, where now has reared itself a magnificent and densely populous emporium. His father, Peter Walker, emigrated at an early age to the United States from England, landing at Philadelphia, a short time before the revolution, where he pursued his occupation as a watchmaker, until, perhaps, the spirit of western enterprise, then dawning upon the country, and a faint glimmering of what the future promised, proving too much to be resisted, he removed his permanent residence to New-Orleans, after a short absence in Jamaica. In that city he soon married a Creole lady of French extraction, the daughter of Pierre Revoile and Marie Catherine

* Oration in defence of Archias.

Laroche, identifying himself thus and thenceforward with the destinies of the rising province, until the period of his decease, which occurred in 1804, by accidentally drowning in the Mississippi, in company with Mr. St. James Beauvais of Point Coupeé.

Young Walker, the subject of our memoir, now found himself, as we have heard him express it, just entering upon manhood—poor, comparatively friendless, and imperatively urged to daily and unremitting toil at farming, earning a meagre support, and with his small savings, expended in books, adding to his stock of limited education, which was but a common possession at that early period of our history, even with those more favored than himself.

That he performed his part well in the circumstances of his position, may be inferred conclusively from the fact, that we find him as far back as 1820, returned by a very strong vote of his fellow-citizens of Rapides, a member to the State Legislature. To this post he has been frequently re-elected since, to the great satisfaction of his constituents and of the state at large. In 1840, he took a seat in the Senate of Louisiana, filling the vacancy occasioned by the resignation of Mr. Wuinns, then a candidate for Congress.

In 1844, when the state was agitated from one extreme to the other, in regard to the revisions of the old constitution of 1812, and perhaps the establishment of a new one, Gen. Walker was nominated by his fellow-citizens of Rapides, Catahoula and Avoyelles, for a seat in the convention, then about to assemble, and was elected by a very large majority over his opponent, O. N. Ogden, Esq., the whig champion, supported with all the strength of that party, upon the ground of his opposition to an elective judiciary, which Gen. Walker was known strenuously to advocate. The whigs, in this instance, relied very much and confidently upon the admitted opposition of many democrats to this principle, and the supposed hostility of the Creoles to it in any of its forms. So mistaken, however, were they in the result, that their candidate was beaten with even a larger majority in Avoyelles than in Catahoula or Rapides.

No other proof need be exacted or given of the commanding position ever occupied by General Walker in all of the public bodies in which he has served than this, that he was elected to the speaker's chair of the House, in 1837, succeeding Mr. Labranche, sent as chargé to Texas, by Mr. Van Buren, and also to the presidency of the State Convention, in 1844, receiving in both instances *unanimous* votes of thanks for his faithful, honorable and assiduous performance of duties, *offered by Whig members*, and in the last instance by the Hon. Mr. Conrad.

An election to the presidency of the Convention of 1844, was the highest possible tribute that could have been paid by the representatives of the people of Louisiana to the merits, integrity and abilities of any citizen, the more especially when it is considered that the opponent in this instance was the Hon. John R. Grymes, of New-Orleans, one of the most distinguished barristers of his age, and identified with Louisiana from his earliest professional life; and that this Convention contemplated radical changes in the whole structure and organization of the state government. In all the able, protracted and deeply exciting debates of this distinguished body for nearly three-fourths of a year, all the rivalries of contending interests, the hostilities of parties and of sections, to have preserved a spirit of moderation, of judgment, equity and firmness, wisely

determining the multitude of points which were arising, and to have commanded at last an *unanimous* tribute of approval, was in the power of but few men, and is one of the crowning honors of General Walker's public life.

At the first election under the new constitution adopted by the Convention, Gen. Walker almost equally divided with the Hon. Isaac Johnson the suffrages of the democratic party, for the gubernatorial chair. His high claims were, however, by an amicable adjustment, postponed, in the full understanding that they would be recognized and met in the next ensuing term. So fully was this understood, and with such wide favor was it received throughout all the state, that, when the Democratic Convention assembled in May last, at Baton Rouge, and the name of Gen. Walker was announced as a candidate, the whole body rose from their seats with one accord, and with loud and continuous cheering, ratified *unanimously* the nomination. The committee, in notifying him of the result, use the following language :

New-Orleans, May 8, 1849.

HON. JOSEPH WALKER :

Sir,—The pleasing duty has been assigned to us of informing you of your nomination by the Democratic Convention, held at Baton Rouge, on Monday, the 7th of May, as the candidate of the democracy of Louisiana for Governor in the election of November next. The confidence thus manifested by the representatives of the democratic party, in your patriotism, capacity and sound principles, must be the more gratifying to your feelings, as it was the unanimous and spontaneous expression of the preference of one of the most numerous attended conventions ever held in this state, and was accompanied by circumstances indicative of a deep and warm enthusiasm and harmony, which give us the strongest assurance of your success in the contest in which we are embarked.

As the standard-bearer of the great principles of progress in our young and growing state, the democracy will follow you with their warmest hopes and their best exertions for your glorious triumph. Confiding in your devotion to the principles embodied in the resolutions adopted by the Convention, and in your ability to carry them into effective operation, your fellow-citizens hope to see your election to, and administration of the Executive trusts, conducive to the honor and welfare of the state, and to the integrity and advancement of the democratic party. With the assurances of their high regard, we have the honor to be your obedient servants,

ALEXANDER WALKER,
CASSIMER LACOSTE,

CHARLES DUTILLET,
OSCAR ARROYO,

JOHN M. BELL.

To which the General very promptly responded :

New-Orleans, 9th May, 1849.

GENTLEMEN,—I have the honor of acknowledging the receipt of your letter of this date, informing me that I have been nominated by the Convention of the democratic party of the state, for the office of Governor, at the election in November next.

Whilst I accept with great diffidence this token of partiality on the part of my fellow-citizens, I cannot but express my conviction, that I owe my present nomination more to the kind feelings of my political friends, than to any merit I possess. I had hoped that some one else of our political friends, more com-

petent and more deserving, would have been selected as the standard-bearer of the democratic party in the approaching canvass ; but since it appears to be their will and pleasure that I shall be their candidate, I cheerfully acquiesce, and pledge myself to use my best efforts to secure my election. And should a majority of the voters of the state of Louisiana manifest their confidence in me, by casting their votes in my favor on the day of election, I shall not fail to appreciate this mark of their confidence, and will endeavor, according to the best of my abilities, to discharge the high and responsible duties of chief magistrate of the state, as to meet the just expectations of my fellow-citizens.

The honor of being thus selected by the representatives of the democratic party of my native state, for the highest office in the gift of the people of any state, an honor, too, unsolicited by me—could not fail to awaken in the bosom of so humble an individual as I must acknowledge to be, emotions, the character of which I have no language adequate to express.

I deem it, gentlemen, unnecessary to trouble you at this time with my opinions upon the important political questions that divide the two great political parties of our country, because I have so often expressed them, that I must presume they are sufficiently known throughout the state. I am a democrat from principle, not from interest ; I have been one ever since I became old enough to judge of such matters for myself, and my experience goes far to confirm me in my early impressions.

In conclusion, allow me, gentlemen, to express my gratitude to you, for the flattering manner in which you have been pleased to communicate the decision of the Convention, and I pray you to accept the assurance of my high regard and esteem.

JOSEPH WALKER.

To Messrs. Alex. Walker, Casimer, Lacoste. }
Chas. Dutillet, O. Arroyo, and J. M. Bell, }

General Walker has ever been a staunch Jeffersonian of the highest republican school ; and in an unpublished letter which we have seen, declares, "I have been, ever since I was old enough to form an opinion, a follower of Mr. Jefferson, and in favor of the true democratic principles, when democrats were few and far between in this state. My confidence in the capacity of the people to govern themselves has never been shaken, and more especially in their capacity of selecting their own officers without recourse to executive power. I have feared the growth of *patronage* as a great evil under our system," &c.*

General Walker has been for the last four years State Treasurer, having been elected to two terms, in the first instance over the Hon. Wm. Debuys, and in the last, the Hon. G. W. McWhorter, supported by the whigs, who had upon joint ballot a majority of two or three votes in the Legislature !

He has been through life a warm friend, at times seriously embarrassing himself for the accommodation of others, as a father, tender and affectionate, and discharging with fidelity the duties of that relationship. Although in but moderate circumstances, his widowed daughters, with their large families, have ever found a refuge within his homestead, and a kind protector and friend in their deprivation. His cotton plantation is situated in the parish of Rapides, a few miles distant from Alexandria.

In stature, Gen. Walker is tall and dignified ; in address, easy and affable ; in manner, courteous, coming up in every particular in his intercourse with his fellows to the true standard of an amiable gentleman, respecting the rights and feelings of every one, and serving with kindly offices whenever an occasion offers. It may be doubted, upon the whole,

whether any man in Louisiana has more warm friends and supporters, or could carry with equal strength a seat in the gubernatorial chair of the state, which there is little doubt of his occupying for the four years that are to come.

* In reply to an accusation in one of the partisan presses, Gen. Walker answered a short time ago, "I never said to any man living I was not a democrat in 1824. I was originally a Crawford man, but when he was dropped, and I was compelled to choose between Mr. Clay and Mr. Adams, I felt rather inclined to support the latter, but I had no opportunity of doing so, as I was not in the Legislature at the time. Why upbraid me with being an Adams man 25 years ago, when even Mr. Jefferson preferred him to every other candidate? Did not Mr. Jefferson first take him into his confidence when he gave in his adhesion to the republican party during his administration? Did not Mr. Madison retain him in his confidence? Did not Mr. Monroe make him Secretary of State? Did not all this afford good reason to believe that Mr. Adams was attached to the republican party?"

CALIFORNIAN GOLD.

A SONG FOR THE OCCASION.

It long has been a fashion, when the sun goes down to rest,
To stand and gaze with rapture upon the golden west;
But now the admiration surpasses that of old,
The yellow hue is taken for the gleam of real gold.

Where, from the Rocky mountains, bright streams like silver bands
Toward the broad Pacific glide over golden sands,
Is found that El Dorado, so vainly sought of old;
Is found the land of Ophir, the precious land of gold.

And then the yellow tinting, upon the sunset sky,
Is but a bright reflection from where the "placers" lie,
No wonder that the cry is, from the timid and the bold,
Away to San Francisco! Ho, for the land of gold!

In the vale of Sacramento soft the robes of verdure lie,
And the brightest flowers are blooming to please the stranger's eye;
But the stranger's eye is dazzled, he cares not to behold
The smile that nature weareth—his only cry is "gold!"

Gold! gold! it was the watchword, when the Spaniard first unfurled
The flag of conquest over the new-found western world;
When a Cortez or Pizarro, red-handed, wily, bold,
Seized Montezuma's treasures—pounced on Peruvian gold.

'Twas a golden dream that westward turned many a venturesome prow;
'Tis with golden dreams that westward are thousands thronging now;
And though pure hearts were gathered, and strong hands brought of old
To build our western empire, it's corner-stone was gold.

Thus to California's vallies, gold, with its phantom glare,
Lures thousands but to show what their real treasures are.
The soil, the streams and harbors, whose wealth remains untold,
Together with the climate, will eclipse the yellow gold.

Albany, June 1st, 1849.

FINANCIAL AND COMMERCIAL REVIEW.

IN New-York, money has remained exceedingly plenty during the month, under the influx of mercantile deposits swelling at the banks, through the prompt payments of the country dealers. The passing away of the cholera was marked by the revival of great activity in the fall business. The number of dealers in the city became very large, and their purchases so active as to produce a rise in the prices of the considerable importations which have taken place for the fall trade. The importations of dry goods at the port of New-York, since July, have been as follows, comparing the aggregate with the corresponding season of last year :

IMPORTS OF DRY GOODS, PORT OF NEW-YORK :

	Wool.	Cotton.	Silk.	Flax.	Mis.	Total.
Aug. 10,.....	255,423	164,440	562,823	77,909	49,315	1,108,910
" 17,.....	1,020,645	311,555	1,087,371	265,764	127,442	2,822,307
" 24,.....	765,487	297,548	555,368	178,565	80,538	1,877,472
" 31,.....	748,803	263,229	513,756	156,277	73,376	1,755,443
Sept. 7,.....	457,360	207,954	445,464	89,088	67,446	1,267,322
" 14,.....	389,626	137,497	259,103	164,391	56,827	1,002,444
Total,.....	3,637,314	1,377,233	3,423,885	931,994	453,944	9,834,399
" 1848,.....	1,615,345	1,647,086	2,535,509	502,823	360,349	6,661,112
Increase,...	2,021,069	—	888,376	429,171	93,595	3,173,287
Decrease,...	—	269,853	—	—	—	—

There has been an increase in most articles, with the exception of cottons, reaching in the aggregate 33½ per cent., and these have found prompt sale at improving prices, under the effective demand from the interior, and cannot now be replaced at the same prices from abroad, by reason of the generally increased consumption which has taken place, as well in India as in Western Europe and England. The subsiding of political disquiet, although at the expense of popular rights, has been attended by that renewed activity of European business, which abundant food and cheap money generally ensures; and while very considerable exportations of farm produce have taken place, cotton has continued to advance in price in the face of a most prolific crop, in regard to quantity, although inferior in many respects in quality. This prosperous condition of the export trade has enabled the importers to pay for their large importations of goods without raising the prices of bills to *par*; sterling sells 8½ a 9¼ per cent., according to quality. It is most remarkable, that under larger importations than have taken place since 1836, bringing into the custom-house of New-York over \$3,600,000 duties for the month of August, that the prices rise, are promptly paid for, and money continues cheaper than usual in the city; being loaned " at call at 3 a 4 per cent. per annum; while so far from exporting specie bills are declining in the face of a cessation of the export of bills. Every department of business is active, and prices advancing, particularly for the raw materials, cotton and wool, under the purchases of manufacturers. It is very evident that a continued relaxation of commercial restrictions, in western Europe, operating through improved facilities of communication, causes so great an increase in the consumption of raw materials, as in usual years to exceed the supply. The enlarged consumption of food causes many farmers, in countries favorable to its growth, to give less attention to the culture of raw materials, and cotton rapidly supplants flax and even wool. The cotton year having reached a close, it appears the crop results as follows :

UNITED STATES COTTON CROP.

	1845.	1846.	1847.	1848.	1849.
New-Orleans,.....	929,126	1,037,144	705,979	1,190,733	1,093,797
Mobile,.....	517,196	421,966	323,462	436,336	518,706
Florida,.....	188,893	241,184	127,852	153,776	200,186
Texas,.....	—	27,008	8,317	39,612	88,827
Georgia,.....	295,440	194,811	242,789	254,825	891,372
S. Carolina,.....	428,361	251,405	350,300	261,752	458,117
N. Carolina,.....	12,487	10,637	6,061	1,518	10,041
Virginia,.....	25,200	16,282	18,991	8,952	17,550
Total,.....	2,394,503	2,100,537	1,773,651	2,347,634	2,728,606

The disposition of the crop has been as follows :

EXPORTS, UNITED STATES CONSUMPTION, AND STOCKS REMAINING ON HAND.

	Ex. to G't Britain.	France.	North of Europe.	Other ports.	Total export.	U. S. Cons.	St'k onh'd Aug. 31.
1843,.....	1,409,711	346,179	117,224	76,493	2,010,137	825,129	94,486
1844,.....	1,202,498	282,685	62,053	75,254	1,629,490	346,744	159,772
1845,.....	1,489,806	359,357	134,501	150,592	2,083,756	337,006	94,126
1846,.....	1,102,399	359,703	86,692	118,028	1,666,792	422,597	107,122
1847,.....	830,909	241,486	75,692	97,133	1,241,222	427,967	214,837
1848,.....	1,324,265	279,172	120,348	184,476	1,858,261	531,772	171,468
1849,.....	1,537,901	868,259	165,458	156,226	2,227,844	518,039	154,753

After a crop of 332,000 bales larger than ever before, the stock in all the ports has diminished 17,000 bales. The quantity consumed at the South, taken to mills directly from the plantation, and therefore not included in the receipts, is put down at 110,000 bales against 75,000 last year. That is to say, southern manufactures have taken 35,000 bales more than last year, and northerners 13,000 bales less; making 22,000 bales more consumed in the Union. This western and southern consumption is computed as follows :

CONSUMPTION OF COTTON SOUTH AND WEST OF VIRGINIA.

	1849.	1848.
North Carolina.....	bales, 20,000	15,000
South Carolina.....	15,000	6,000
Georgia.....	20,500	6,000
Alabama.....	7,700	5,000
Tennessee.....	12,000	5,000
Kentucky.....	5,000	5,000
Ohio.....	9,000	12,500
Pittsburgh, Wheeling, &c.....	12,500	12,500
Missouri, Indiana, Illinois, &c.....	9,000	7,000

Total, to September 1..... bales, 110,000..... 74,000

Four circumstances have conspired to improve the prices of domestic manufactures—viz : a rise in the raw material; the long summer drought; the influence of cholera among operatives; and, lastly, an active and healthy demand, based upon the healthy export trade of the Union. That the interests of the vast mass of consumers lies exclusively in the profitable sale of their produce, is well known. When to the large home market an important foreign demand is added, the value of the aggregate sales is enhanced, and the prosperity of the producers becomes manifest in an active demand for wrought fabrics. This affects those few articles which, being better manufactured abroad through natural and artificial advantages, return home as the proceeds of produce sold, as well as the immense body of home-made goods, and both the importing and manufacturing interest are now participating in the prosperity created mainly by the favorable export trade. Many manufacturers are taking advantage of the abundance of money to hold stocks for a rise—an operation which will be ascribed to

want of a high tariff when inevitable disaster overtakes such folly, notwithstanding the present disposition of cotton and woollen fabrics to advance. The generally prosperous condition of the foreign markets, resulting from the pacific aspect of affairs politically, abundant harvest, and cheap money, has produced on the continent, as well as in England, a rise of wages as well as raw material, and induced caution among holders of goods here in regard to foreign sales.

The prosperity of the great valley of the Mississippi, as manifest in the receipts of produce at New-Orleans, *via* the western waters, and the exports thence, is in some degree indicated in the following table :

RECEIPTS AND VALUE OF CERTAIN ARTICLES OF PRODUCE AT NEW-ORLEANS,
YEAR ENDING AUGUST 31.

	1847.		1848.		1849.	
	Packages.	Value.	Packages.	Value.	Packages.	Value.
Bacon.....	476,613	\$2,935,349	444,798	\$2,098,788	301,043	\$2,989,385
Bagging.....	60,982	640,311	77,682	1,009,866	72,941	1,167,056
Bale rope.....	56,202	337,206	74,325	743,150	93,322	1,119,864
Butter.....	54,348	256,920	45,213	226,065	57,972	289,860
Beef.....	102,968	667,049	106,360	493,418	100,890	1,050,437
Corn.....	3,006,086	5,454,653	1,593,048	1,497,758	2,000,849	1,923,464
Flour.....	1,617,675	8,897,213	706,953	3,534,790	1,018,177	4,559,296
Lard.....	392,153	3,793,075	519,692	4,583,510	489,747	4,922,713
Lead.....	650,129	1,787,854	606,966	1,699,504	508,557	1,525,671
Potatoes.....	142,888	285,776	151,861	303,782	146,116	365,290
Pork.....	311,622	4,004,120	376,681	4,598,815	587,321	6,336,748
" lbs.....	8,450,700	507,042	13,564,430	406,932	10,273,630	285,263
Tallow.....	6,658	133,160	4,357	78,426	10,622	223,062
Whiskey.....	126,553	1,265,530	135,333	947,331	125,029	875,203
Wheat.....	833,649	1,917,392	149,181	269,659	238,911	477,822
Total Western..		\$33,082,550		\$24,321,794		\$28,111,149
Cotton.....	740,669	32,589,436	1,213,805	35,200,345	1,142,332	30,844,314
Molasses.....	6,000,000	1,440,000	12,000,000	1,920,000	14,300,000	2,288,000
Sugar.....	140,000	9,800,000	240,000	9,600,000	220,000	8,800,000
Tobacco.....	60,519	3,694,468	62,390	3,430,544	54,633	3,938,230
Other articles,..	—	9,516,802	—	5,306,468	—	8,007,949
Total.....		\$90,033,256		\$79,779,151		\$81,989,692

Although the receipts of western produce from the Mississippi and its tributaries have been less than in the year 1847, when the famine prices for food in England stimulated the business of the remotest sections, the value of that produce has this year exceeded that of the last by \$4,000,000. This sum represents so much additional purchasing power on the part of those who produce for the New-Orleans market. The low estimate of the cotton average this year, arising from the fact that the *quality* was much below that of last year, gives a lower cash figure; but it is to be considered that the deliveries of cotton at New-Orleans are only 40 per cent. of the crop this year, while last year they were 50 per cent. There has been a less crop of sugar, but tobacco, molasses, and miscellaneous articles exceed, by more than \$4,000,000, the value of last year. The aggregate value arrived at New-Orleans is larger than in any previous year, with the exception of the famine year. The aggregate official exports from New-Orleans for the fiscal years, ending June 30, were as follows :

EXPORTS, PORT OF NEW-ORLEANS.

	Foreign.			Coastwise.	Total.
	In American vessels.	Foreign vessels.	Total foreign.		
1848.....	\$27,641,569	\$11,707,153	\$39,348,722	\$27,833,601	\$67,182,323
1849.....	22,489,521	14,600,297	37,089,818	28,383,773	65,393,571

This decline in exports in American vessels occurred in the September quarter last year, during the disturbances of Europe. In the June quarter they had increased \$2,600,000 over the corresponding quarter last year. Under a restored consumption of cotton in India, Europe, and England, stimulated and promoted by the free-trade policy of England, well-grounded suspicions arise that the production is now far less than the effective demand. In proof of this, a computation of the growth and consumption of United States cottons for the last fifteen years, including the present, results as follows:

Fifteen crops United States cotton, 1834 to 1848, bales	28,422,000
Consumption Europe and America, bales	28,279,000
Excess production	143,000

The excess for fifteen years is less than *three weeks'* consumption at the average of 1848! For the last four years in which the Zoll-Verein customs have been modified, the English duties on cotton removed and on food modified, and the reduction on the United States duties, the production of cotton has been 8,929,000 bales, and the consumption 9,680,000. Excess consumption 751,000 bales, or 25 per cent. of the crop of 1848. That the crop of next year will be several hundred thousand bales less than last, under the combined influence of early frosts, summer rains, Red river flood, and ball-worm ravages, is highly probable. But all estimate at this early season is hazardous. If the progress of consumption has been such in a year of political difficulties like the last, that the manufacturers have taken more than the largest crop ever before known, what must be the effect of diminished supply when the elements of that large consumption become more active, in face of political quiet for the coming year? The favorable accounts of the harvests abroad are such as to diminish the prospects of considerable exports; but the trade having been once opened, must continue to increase, and become an important element in farming prosperity.

POLITICAL MISCELLANY.

SYRACUSE CONVENTION.

It is well known that the "crooked and indirect ways" by which Mr. Van Buren arrived at power, failed him in the attempted retention of it, and made his name abhorrent to the mass of the northern democracy which rejected him in 1840. His malice operating through a reckless and unscrupulous son, succeeded in placing in power the present government, which is, seemingly, in alliance with foreign despots against every thing democratic. The democratic officers and policy have been swept from power in city, state, and federal government. From the massacre of 25 citizens in New-York, at the order of a whig mayor, to the political immolation of every democrat in the country, we see the results of Mr. Van Buren's treason. It is worthy of remark, that the pretext for this treason was, the exclusion of slavery from territories by authority of Congress. The Democratic principle is, that Congress has *no power* in the matter. Mr. Van Buren, who a few years since was the slaveholder's organ, deserted that interest and defeated the democratic party, in order to establish the whig principle that Congress has power to prevent slavery in the territories, and therefore *to establish it there* if a slaveholding majority is obtained. If Mr. Van Buren had succeeded in engrafting this principle upon the democratic party, what would have prevented him from returning to his first love, and contending that Congress should use its power for the establishment of slavery in the territories, a power now denied to it by the democratic party?

In order to redeem the country from such treacherous thralldom, the democracy of New-York, knowing that the scales were falling from the eyes of the deluded followers of the Kinderhook dynasty, held at Rome a convention, in order to afford an opportunity to real democrats to throw off the Van Buren badge of free-soilism, and return to patriotism and honor. The younger Van Buren succeeded, after repeated insults offered amid ribald abuse to the long-honored and estimable men who composed that convention, in defeating their views of union.

The strongest disgust of this conduct was manifested by many present, particularly by that able democrat, Mr. Brown, of Orange, who denounced the insolent tergiversations of Mr. Van Buren in just terms, and abandoned the assembly.

On their adjournment the democrats addressed the state democracy, giving a clear history of the federal trick by which the Van Burens defeated the party in 1848. We make room for the following portion of the address:

We aimed not to depart from this great and liberal rule of action. We have presented it to the other organization, not only as the basis of all the past action of the democratic party, but in the terms and the forms adopted heretofore by that organization. It has been rejected by them. They demanded, as the condition of union, the distinct adoption of an extreme abstract position, unknown in the past action of the democratic party, unnecessary in any view of its future action, not demanded by any great public exigency, not required even if not objected to, to prevent the extension of slavery, but widely objected to at the north and at the south, as productive only of intestine evil and sectional agitation, and pernicious in its fruits upon the unity of the democracy and the integrity of the Union—and yet insisted upon as a test of democracy—as the touchstone of faith—as an “uncompromising” avowal, which all must make or subscribe to, whatever may be their convictions of its necessity, its propriety, or its constitutionality, or of the rights of the people of the territories, or the powers of Congress. A more illiberal or despotic dictum could not well be proclaimed. It is in the very spirit of despotism. It insists, not only that the democratic party shall present this new, and until two years since, unknown test, but that all, whatever they may think or believe, shall avow it; and that if all this be not conceded—if the test be not accepted—alienation from the democratic party, hostility to its candidates and organization, and combinations with whigs and abolitionists to defeat its tickets and subvert its landmarks and organization, will ensue.

Since the foundations of the democratic party were laid by Mr. Jefferson, the slavery question has never been regarded, in any form, as a part of its creed, or as a test of its faith. * * * * *

Although started at an earlier period in our history by the eastern federalists, the slavery agitation, as a party movement, may be said to have had its origin in the Hartford Convention. One of the avowed objects of that treasonable assemblage was to effect “a more radical reform in the national compact, to secure the attachment and support of all the people, by placing all on the basis of fair representation.” The slave population, and the fact of its forming in part the basis of federal representation, was the principal ground on which the structure of sectional prejudices was attempted to be erected. The first amendment proposed by that assemblage to the Constitution of the United States, was for the apportionment of representatives in the several states, according to their respective numbers of free persons, excluding slaves; and, in order to check the advancing population and rising power of the west, (chiefly carved out of the original territory of the south,) they proposed a second amendment, “that no new state should be admitted into the Union by Congress, without the concurrence of two-thirds.” The movement at Hartford was sectional and geographical—addressed to the eastern and northern states—and designed, by appeals to local and sectional interests and prejudices, to control the government, or to sever the Union. The south was democratic—Mr. Madison was democratic—the administration, from the accession of Mr. Jefferson to that moment, had been in democratic hands. Hatred of the democracy, and the desire of power, stimulated the federalists to constant efforts to recover it. A sectional issue, under the plea of unfair representation, and a natural repugnance to slavery, was regarded by the Essex junto and the assailants of the war and of the democratic party, as the most cunning and the most effective form of embarrassment to the one and of resistance to the other. Pre-eminent were the democracy of New-York, under the leadership of the patriot Tompkins, in sustaining the national democratic party and its administration, and in crushing this the germ of a sectional organization and of disunion.

In the history of the country, the next effort in a like spirit was a more distinct agitation of the Missouri question. Six years had not changed the nature of federalism, its aims, its means, or the political aspects of the country. The national democratic party was still in the ascendant. A southern democrat still occupied the executive chair. The desire of power was not less an absorbing stimulant with the federal party. Again, the slavery question and a sectional issue seemed to offer, at whatever hazard to the tranquillity of the country and the integrity of the Union, the readiest mode of attaining its object. So long as the democratic party, standing upon its broad principles, under the ægis of the constitution, maintained its national cohesion, they had nothing to hope. To separate it into fragments, by geographical lines, and by a contest between sections, was again the labor of the eastern and northern federalists. They were smitten, in the spirit of the more modern Buffalo creed, with a sudden and remarkably earnest desire to "restrict and localize slavery." In perfect accordance, in sentiment, declaration and effort, with the northern abolitionists, they revived the agitation, began at Hartford, and destined to continue a party adjunct in the undying desire to overthrow the democratic party. Every reader of American history is familiar with the progress and result of that embittered sectional war. The democracy of New-York, constant, as amidst the perils of the war and the treason of the Hartford Convention, to the principles and organization of the national democratic party, successfully maintained both, and triumphed over this second labor of the federal politicians.

The great name of Jefferson has been invoked, recently, by those who seek to renew the agitation of the slavery question. How that illustrious patriot and statesman regarded it, is well known, and to none better than to the democracy of this state.

"This momentous question," (the Missouri agitation,) said he, "like a fire-bell in the night, has awakened and filled me with terror. I considered it at once the knell of the Union. It is hushed, indeed, for the moment. But this is a reprieve only, not a final sentence. A geographical line, coinciding with a marked principle, moral and political, once conceived, and held up to the angry passions of men, will never be obliterated; and every new irritation will mark it deeper and deeper. Of one thing I am certain, that as the passage of slaves from one state to another, would not make a slave of a single human being, who would not be so without it, so their diffusion over a greater surface would make them individually happier, and proportionally facilitate the accomplishment of their emancipation, by dividing the burthen of a great number of coadjutors. An abstinence too, from this act of power, would remove the jealousy excited by the undertaking of Congress to regulate the condition of the different descriptions of men composing a state. This certainly is the exclusive right of every state, which nothing in the Constitution has taken from them, and given to the general government. Could Congress, for example, say that the non-freemen of Connecticut shall be freemen, or that they shall not emigrate into another state?" And again—"The Hartford Convention, the victory of Orleans, the peace of Ghent, prostrated the name of federalism. Its votaries abandoned it through shame and mortification; and now call themselves republicans. But the name alone is changed, the principles are the same: for, in truth, the parties of whig and tory, are those of nature." "On the eclipse of federalism with us, although not its extinction, its leaders got up the Missouri question, under the false front of lessening the measure of slavery, but with the real view of producing a geographical division of parties which might ensure them the next President. The people of the north went blindfold into the snare, followed their leaders for awhile with a zeal truly moral and laudable, until they became sensible that they had been used merely as tools for electioneering purposes; and that trick of hypocrisy then fell as quickly as it had been got up."

Another sexennial period elapsed, and the same geographical and sectional war was renewed, by the same party, and for the same object. The democratic party was still in the ascendant; and under the last of the southern democratic presidents, the hero and sage of the Hermitage, the whole brood of federal measures—the bank, a protective tariff, and a gigantic scheme of government internal improvements—had been swept away. But the restless desire of power remained; and as the fortresses of federalism fell, one after another, they again entrenched themselves behind their favorite geographical issue. They resorted, once more, to the old means, which at Hartford and in the Missouri agitation had proved impotent to divide, dissever and defeat the democratic party. Suddenly, again, slavery was the great moral and social evil that must be expelled from the country. The labor of suppression began with the District of Columbia, and the country was fiercely agitated, and Congress inundated with appeals for its suppression there. The federal party, which had resolved henceforth to call themselves whigs, with the abolitionists of both sexes, were furious to suppress slavery in the District of Columbia. Never, in the history of this republic, has this baneful

question assumed an aspect of fiercer desperation. It was met and resisted in the most unqualified terms of reprobation by the united democracy of the Union. Mr. Van Buren and Mr. Wright at once declared the most unhesitating hostility to the abolition of slavery in the district. Mr. Van Buren, as President of the Senate, gave his casting vote in favor of the bill, authorizing the southern postmasters to open the mail-bags, and suppress the incendiary abolition publications. At the Democratic National Convention, in 1835, by which Mr. Van Buren was nominated, in an address prepared by a committee, of which Mr. Wright was one, and which Mr. Van Buren approved, the whole scheme of slavery agitation was condemned, in terms the strongest and most forcible of which our language is capable. It spoke of the attempt to create sectional parties, as "the most mischievous and wicked that has ever been made against the peace and happiness of the country." It said, "true republicans could never lend their aid in creating geographical parties in the east, west, north or south." It quoted the warning adjurations of Washington and Madison, against those "detestable efforts to alienate one portion of the country from the rest, and to enfeeble the sacred ties which link together the various parts." And it concluded with the earnest declaration, that against "this dangerous spirit of sectionalism and division—those unhallowed attempts to weaken the bonds of our glorious confederacy—it becomes the duty of every wise man, of every honest man, and of every true American, to watch with sleepless vigilance." A meeting was held in the city of Albany, in which A. C. Flagg, John A. Dix, and John Van Buren were prominent: over which William L. Marcy, then the executive of the state, presided; and at which General Dix reported the resolutions. These were a most emphatic condemnation of the slavery agitation. They declared that "the union of the states, which, under Providence had conferred the richest blessings on the people, was the result of compromise and conciliation; that we can only hope to maintain it by abstaining from all interference with the laws, domestic policy, and peculiar interests of every other state; and that all such interference, which tends to alienate one portion of our country from the rest, deserves to be frowned upon with indignation by all who cherish the principles of our revolutionary fathers, and who desire to preserve the Constitution, by the exercise of that spirit of amity which actuated its framers." General Dix, in his speech on that occasion, not only affirmed, "as a fundamental condition of our social existence, that the question of slavery in a slaveholding state shall not be disturbed by the people or government of any other state; and that the general government has no control over it;" but he held that "there was a political obligation, rising out of the compromise of interests, in which the foundations of the Union were laid, to abstain from every species of interference which may tend to disturb the domestic quietude, or put in jeopardy the rights of property, which the constitution was designed to secure." Mr. Van Buren declared, in reply to an application from North Carolina, that, if elected to the presidency, he "must go into the presidential chair the inflexible and uncompromising opponent of any attempt, on the part of Congress, to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, against the wishes of the slave states." He urged the people of the north and south to "visit, with their severest displeasure, any attempt to connect the subject with party politics;" and he expressed the hope, that "the efforts of those who may persist in the work of agitation may be overcome by reason, or rendered inoperative by constitutional remedies." In his inaugural address, he renewed these declarations, in language equally explicit. Repeating his declaration of inflexible and uncompromising opposition to any attempt, on the part of Congress, to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, against the wishes of the slave states, he made the strongest avowal, in relation to any prospective action of Congress, known in our public history. He said, "No bill conflicting with these views can ever receive my constitutional sanction." He said also, that "the last, perhaps the greatest, of the prominent sources of discord and disaster, supposed to lurk in our political condition, was the institution of domestic slavery;" that "if the agitation of this subject was intended to reach the stability of our institutions, enough had occurred to show that it had signally failed;" and that although "such attempts at dangerous agitation might periodically return, yet, with each, the object would be understood." The democratic members of Congress, of both houses, held a meeting, and, through their chairman, John M. Niles, reprobated all efforts at slavery agitation or sectional interference. And, finally, during the same session, (1838,) the democratic majority, under the sanction and guidance of Mr. Van Buren and Mr. Wright, felt it their duty to arrest the "periodical return of this attempt at dangerous agitation." It had assumed the form of petitions to Congress, for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, and in territories, and for the abolition of the internal slave-trade, so called. The entire whig and abolition strength, in and out of Congress, was engaged with great zeal in this fresh labor of party agitation. To meet and defeat it, the cele-

brated resolutions of Mr. Atherton were introduced. They were adopted with the entire concurrence of Mr. Van Buren, Mr. Wright and Col. Benton, of nearly all the democratic members of Congress, of the entire democratic national and state administrations, and of the democratic press of all parts of the Union. They were resisted by the united northern federal or whig vote, attacked with violence by the abolitionists, and denounced by the whig press. So universal was the concurrence among democrats, in the general positions of these resolutions, in relation to the slavery agitation, and the interference of Congress in its abolition in the District of Columbia and the territories, that because Judge Beardsley (while he concurred in their general scope) objected to the last resolution, as touching upon the right of petition, he was denounced by the politicians who are the leaders in the present slavery agitation in this state, as "unsound!" These resolutions were as follows:

"1. Resolved, That this government is a government of limited powers, and that, by the Constitution of the United States, Congress has no jurisdiction whatever over the subject of slavery in the several states of this confederacy.

"2. Resolved, That petitions for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, and the territories of the United States, and against the removal of slaves from one State to another, are a part of a plan of operations set on foot to affect the institution of slavery in the several states, and thus indirectly destroy that institution within their limits.

"3. Resolved, That Congress has no right to do that, indirectly, which it cannot do directly; and that the agitation of the subject of slavery in the District of Columbia or the territories, as a means and with a view of disturbing or overthrowing that institution in the several states, is against the true spirit and meaning of the Constitution, an infringement of the rights of the States affected, and a breach of the public faith, upon which they entered into the confederation.

"4. Resolved, That the Constitution rests on the broad principles of equality among the members of this confederacy, and that Congress, in the exercise of its acknowledged powers, has no right to discriminate between the institutions of one of the States and another, with a view of abolishing the one and promoting the other.

"5. Resolved, therefore, That all attempts on the part of Congress to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, or the territories, or to prohibit the removal of slaves from state to state, or to discriminate between the institutions of one portion of the confederacy and another, with the views aforesaid, are in violation of the Constitution, destructive of the fundamental principles on which the union of these states rests, and beyond the jurisdiction of Congress; and that every petition, memorial, resolution, proposition, or paper, touching or relating, in any way, or to any extent whatever, to slavery as aforesaid, or to the abolition thereof, shall, on the presentation thereof, without any further action thereon, be laid upon the table, without being debated, printed, or referred."

These proceedings, so unequivocal in their import—and so significant of the democratic sentiment of the country—had been preceded by the parting admonitions of Jackson. This valedictory to the American people, over whom he had presided, with equal wisdom and patriotism, was filled with this topic. Alluding to the farewell address of Washington, he said:

"He has cautioned us, in the strongest terms, against the formation of parties on geographical discriminations, as one of the means which might disturb the union, and to which designing men would be likely to resort." Amid the general prosperity and splendid success which has followed the adoption of the Federal Constitution, the dangers of which he warned us, are becoming every day more evident, and the signs of evil are sufficiently apparent, to awaken the deepest anxiety in the bosom of the patriot. We behold systematic efforts publicly made to sow the seeds of discord between different parts of the United States, and to place party divisions directly upon geographical distinctions; to excite the South against the North, and the North against the South, and to force into the controversy the most delicate and exciting topics, upon which it is impossible that a large portion of the Union can ever speak, without strong emotion. "Rest assured that the men found busy in this work of discord, are not worthy of your confidence, and deserve your strongest reprobation."

Thus, during the unbroken course of the democratic party of the Union, through the entire series of republican Presidents, the agitation of the slavery question, its introduction as a party test or issue, and the attempts to create geographical parties, have been regarded and resisted, as an antagonist principle of that party, and as an element of disunion.

But they did not choose to rest the question alone, even upon this high concurrent action and expression of democratic statesmen and legislators nearly coequal with the foundation of the government. They embodied the democratic sentiment on the subject in the highest political assemblage known to their organization. At the National Convention, held at Baltimore, in 1840, at which Mr. Van Buren was nominated for a re-election, the democracy of the Union placed themselves distinctly on record, upon this, and all the questions that divide the democracy and the federalism or whiggism of the country. They resolved :

“ That Congress has no power under the Constitution, to interfere with or control the domestic institutions of the several states, and that such states are the sole and proper judges of everything appertaining to their own affairs, not prohibited by the Constitution; that all efforts of the abolitionists and others, made to induce Congress to interfere with questions of slavery, and to take incipient steps in relation thereto, are calculated to lead to the most alarming and dangerous consequences, and that all such efforts have an irresistible tendency to diminish the happiness of the people, and endanger the stability and permanency of the Union, and ought not to be countenanced by any friend to our political institutions.”

This resolution, drawn up, as we believe, by Silas Wright, was unanimously adopted by the National Convention—was, four years afterwards, reported by Benjamin F. Butler, and re-affirmed by the National Democracy of 1844; and again adopted and reiterated by the Democratic National Convention of 1848.

If there is one feature for which the national democratic party is distinguished beyond another, it is that of antagonism to the slavery agitation in every form. From the first to the last, they have stood before the world in this high attitude of patriotism, and have successfully maintained the democratic cause and principles. From the beginning, also, or at least from the advent and fall of the Hartford Convention, the slavery question and sectional division and partyism have been an element, an adjunct of federalism and abolitionism. “ Periodically,” these combined adversaries of the democracy have renewed these attempts at “ dangerous agitation,” as an auxiliary to their unabated desire to divide and overthrow the democratic party. But, until the last election, the scheme of division, hostile to the best interests of the country, and threatening evil far beyond the strife of parties or the hopes of individual aspirants, resulted in the discomfiture of its authors.

At that election, a new auxiliary entered the field of division. In all the northern States, individuals who had previously acted with the democratic party, some of them prominently so, and who had enjoyed its confidence, and upon whom its favor had been lavished, separated from it, and assumed precisely the antagonist ground upon which federalism and abolitionism had previously assailed it in vain. In this State the division began in 1847. In that year this body of partisans insisted that the issue which the national democratic party had uniformly rejected, as a party element, should be adopted—should form a part of the party expression and declaration—and, because the Democratic State Convention of that year declined to engraft this new dictum into the democratic creed, but preferred, as in all past time, that, as a disturbing element, it should be allowed to remain an individual sentiment, and not a party axiom, a body of partisans, who have since assumed a “ free soil” organization, styling themselves, in some quarters, the “ free democracy,” and known by various appellatives, refused to support the democratic nomination, made in conformity to the uniform democratic usage, and avowing the well-known principles of the democratic party—and withholding their votes, contributed directly to the success of the whig party, and to the election of the present whig State officers. They threw the State, in all its departments, into the hands of the old, active and uniform antagonists of the democratic party. At the last election, this defection, assuming a bolder front, and a more distinct antagonism, separated from the national democratic party, and assembling at Buffalo, and inviting and receiving the co-operation of partisans of all faiths and creeds, adopted a new “ platform,” embracing federal and abolition doctrines, and, standing upon it during the campaign, brought out separate third party tickets, comprising, as candidates, whigs, abolitionists, and seceding democrats, and thus threw the government and administration of the Nation, as they had previously done that of the State, into the hands of the whig party. With a peculiar consistency, they professed to regard the principles of hostility to the extension of slavery, and its distinct party avowal, as the only question involved in the contest; so much so, that they professed to separate from the democratic party upon this single position, and upon this issue to resist and defeat the democratic candidate for the Presidency, and to effect, as they well knew, if their efforts were at all potential, the election of the whig presidential candidate. Thus aiming to defeat a democrat, distinguished as such in the highest civil stations, during more than forty years public service; a citizen of a free

State, and opposed to slavery extension: and to elect the whig nominee, standing as such in known hostility to the principles and organization of the democratic party—a citizen of a slave State, an extensive slave owner, and with such interests and associations, not doubted to favor the institution and extension of slavery.

By order of the Democratic State Convention:

Committee.	{	WM. L. MARCY,	J. B. FLANDERS,
		L. B. SHEPARD,	WM. PORTER, Jr.,
		CHARLES GANUN,	S. G. HATHAWAY,
		A. C. NIVEN,	T. M. HOWELL.
		T. A. OSBORNE.	

This appeal was powerful, and exposes in a clear light the frauds and tergiversations of the Van Buren cabal.

On the 6th of September, the Democratic State Convention met at Syracuse for the nomination of State officers, and the following ticket was presented:

For Judge of Court of Appeals.—Hiram Denio, of Oneida county.

Comptroller.—John A. Lott, Kings county.

Secretary of State.—Jesse C. Dana, Jefferson county.

Attorney General.—L. S. Chatfield, Otsego county.

Treasurer.—Darius A. Ogden, Yates county.

State Engineer.—John D. Fay, Monroe county.

Canal Commissioner.—Frederick Follett, Genesee county.

State Prison Inspector.—Darius Clark, St. Lawrence county.

These nominations were accepted and the following resolutions passed:

Resolved. That the Democratic State Committee be authorized to withdraw any of the nominees presented by this Convention, except those for Comptroller, Attorney-General, Canal Commissioner and State Prison Inspector, provided the Utica Convention ratify those names, and complete the ticket by nominating well-known and acknowledged Democrats as candidates for Judge of the Court of Appeals, Secretary of State, Treasurer, and State Engineer, and shall impose no principle or test upon said candidates inconsistent with the resolutions adopted by the Democratic Convention held in the Presbyterian Church at Rome: and that the ticket thus nominated receive the united support of both divisions of the Democratic party.

Resolved. That we are opposed to the extension of Slavery to the free territories of the United States; but we do not regard the Slavery question, in any form of its agitation, or any opinion in relation thereto, as a test of political faith, or as a rule of party action.

Resolved. That the power of Congress over Slavery in the territories, and the particular modes of legislation thereon, are, among Democrats, controverted questions; and that we concede to every one, in relation thereto, the undisputed right of opinion, not regarding any particular mode of constitutional construction on this question a part of the Democratic creed, or as essential to fellowship with our Democratic brethren in this State, or in any section of the Union."

The first resolution was justly and warmly opposed by the New-York delegation, because it is known that no confidence whatever can be placed in the Van Buren leaders. They have avowed whig principles, and their organs are daily reiterating the worn-out slang of the Federal press. The clause, however, providing that the nominees should be well known democrats, and declaring that no test should be exacted saved, the resolution, and the whole were passed by the following vote:

Ayes.—Messrs. Degraw, Spaw, Pruyn, Seymour, Moulton, White, Bowen, Porter, Hutchinson, Bennett, Warden, Mitchell, Monell, Howell, Disbrow, Peters, Bloomfield, Goodwin, Fox, Butts, Camp, Smith, Dodge, Follett, Northrop, Benton, Carver, Skinner, Cole, Church, Barnes, Morse, Hough, Huson, Christie, Mott, Cramer, Walworth, Dodge, Woodward, Bristol, Wing, Sandford, Gery, Ward.—47.

Noes.—Messrs. Dodge, Cutting, Western, Murphy, Matsell, Tittle, Crasto, Steward, West, Schell, Sweet, Sheppard, Ranson, Robinson, Beardsley, Caryl, Wendell, Thompson, Moore, Hyde, Spencer, Woodruff, A. J. Thompson, Suffern, Searing, Stanton, White, Smith, Birdsall, Harrison, Jackson, Halsey, Hasbrook, Raplee.—34.

The Van Buren faction met at Utica, on the 12th, and accepted the resolutions of the Democratic Convention, nominated the four officers allotted to them, and the ticket now stands—

DEMOCRATIC.

For Comptroller,
JOHN A. LOTT.

For Attorney General,
LEVI S. CHATFIELD.

For Canal Commissioner,
FREDERICK FOLLETT.

For State Prison Inspector,
DARIUS CLARK.

KINDERHOOK.

Judge of the Court of Appeals,
FREEBORN C. JEWETT.

For Secretary of State,
HENRY J. RANDALL.

For State Engineer,
ALEX. CAMBELL.

For Treasurer,
BENJAMIN WELCH.

That the people of the State will rally to the support of those recognised as sound Democrats there is no doubt, and they will also remember that when Mr. Van Buren's agents appeared at Baltimore, on the pretence of being delegates from the New-York democracy, it was required of them to know if they would support the nominee of the Convention if they were admitted as members. The insolent contempt and affected indignation with which they rejected this "test," although it ill concealed their meditated fraud, is a severe commentary upon the "test" they now seek to impose upon the candidates of the people. The absurd folly of questioning a candidate for office in the free State of New-York, as to his opinion upon how the free people of California ought or ought not to vote upon their own affairs, is too manifest for serious consideration. Religious, or scientific, or any other abstract notions, might as well be made the test of qualification for a political office. It may be regarded as derogatory to the Democracy, that they condescended to confer at all with *pseudo* democrats, who propose to fetter the opinion of candidates for office upon matters foreign to the State Government. The Democracy will, doubtless, act upon the Democratic principles of Jefferson and Jackson, and abandon the schemes concocted between John Van Buren and their old enemy, Henry Clay, while managing the masque balls at Saratoga. Thanks to the progress of the age, politics are no longer a *masqued ball*, to be controlled even by managers as adroit as Messrs. Van Buren and Clay.

M. POUSSIN.—It is a lamentable fact that the administration of the federal government has, for the last six months, been managed more in accordance with the passions and prejudices of the individuals composing it, than in the pursuance of any settled and well recognised principles of governmental policy. Among all the objections that are urged against the English form of government, it must be admitted that her ministers are, for the most part, enlightened statesmen; and no matter which party may be in power, the government is, in the long run, conducted upon broad principles, in accordance with the progress of the age. On the other hand, while congratulating ourselves upon the general excellence of our own institutions, we have to regret that the highest offices in the nation are sometimes filled by narrow-minded and incapable men, whose vulgar passions and political prejudices make the great interests of the nation and of humanity subservient to petty personal schemes. That the public interest was sacrificed to the hot haste with which experienced public officers were supplanted by ignorant and inefficient men, was to be expected, notwithstanding that the "second Washington" had pledged himself that there should be no indiscriminate removals. This was a minor evil, however, compared with the narrow views taken of our foreign relations, and the eagerness with which the interests of American citizens and of struggling republicans abroad, have been sacrificed to a desire to meddle with individual rights, and to conciliate the oppressive governments of Europe, as manifest in the prohibition of the sale of American built vessels to the governments of Europe, under a forced construction of treaty obligations; also in the prohibition of the undoubted right of American citizens to take service with the people of Cuba; and more recently an interruption of our diplomatic relations with France, without any sufficient cause that appears upon the surface. In the case of Rey, our soil was invaded by Spanish officials, our flag insulted, and our national sovereignty set at naught in the arrest, by order of the Spanish governor of Cuba, of an individual in New-Orleans. All this was atoned for satisfactorily to the government, simply by the return of the man. Hence it follows, that any citizen of the United States may be kidnapped by a foreign despot, torn from his family, transported beyond seas and imprisoned, threatened with death and

torture; and if he condescends to return the man, our government is satisfied, and the citizen may thank God that he has escaped so. The government acts, it would seem, only when the man is dead. The Irish justice, when appealed to for protection by one whose life had been threatened, replied, "only you let him kill you, that's all I want, and then I'll fix him." This appears to be the wisdom in the case of Rey. The Spanish minister received as much respect as before. Quite another tone has been assumed towards the only republican envoy sent to us from Europe. M. Poussin, it is well known, was a sub-editor of the *National*, when the revolution of February, 1848, placed the clique owning and editing that journal in power in France. As his share in the new order of things, the sub-editor became the envoy of France to the United States. That he is a gentleman of ordinary abilities, but deeply imbued with republicanism as "he understands it," there is no doubt; and the fact of his retaining office under the present foresworn President of France, is evidence that his political principles take their hue from the color of his environment. For some reason, not before the public, a strong personal prejudice appears to have sprung up between this person and the cabinet officers with whom he held official intercourse. Now it appears that both minister and secretary are innocent of all experience in diplomatic intercourse. M. Poussin cannot divest himself of that vulgar conviction of his national importance, which exhibited in the Chinese, furnishes an endless source of amusement to the rest of the world; consequently all his communications to this government smack of this narrow-minded arrogance. However, the passages in his letters which ought to have been read with a smile and passed with contempt, were eagerly seized upon by the Secretary, as cause of offence. The points in dispute were two. It appears that the U. S. authorities in Mexico sold a lot of tobacco to a Mr. Domercq, June 20, 1847, and that on the 16th of Oct. in the same year, the same tobacco was resold to M. Port, at \$24, and the mistake being discovered, it was restored to Mr. Domercq. M. Port then alleged that he had sold it for \$33, and claimed damages. On trial, it appeared that M. Port's claims were founded in fraud, and were dismissed. The matter was referred to the government, and the claim was urged by M. Poussin in a style such as we have indicated as natural to him. His letter of April, 1849, closed as follows:

"The Government of the United States must be convinced that it is more honorable to acquit fairly a debt contracted during war, under the pressure of necessity, than to avoid its payment by endeavoring to brand the character of an honest man."

He was sent for, and told that this letter could not be received, and he struck out this quoted passage. Soon after, the French ship *Eugenie* went ashore upon the bank of Riso, and was saved by Commander Carpenter, of the U. S. steamship *Iris*, who preferred a claim for salvage, and detained the vessel 30 hours to adjust it. The claim being refused, was relinquished, and the vessel proceeded. The refusal to pay the salvage claimed, was based upon the legal point that no salvage was due except in case of total wreck; and although the *Eugenie* would have been a total wreck but for Capt. Carpenter's timely assistance, yet his promptness and efficiency cut him off from the reward which greater tardiness might have insured. For this M. Poussin requested the punishment and dismissal of Capt. Carpenter. The conclusion of the correspondence on the part of the minister was as follows:

TRANSLATION OF A NOTE FROM THE MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY OF FRANCE.

LEGATION OF FRANCE, }
WASHINGTON, May 30, 1849. }

SIR:—I received on the 28th of May the note which you did me the honor to address to me on the same day, in answer to mine calling upon the government of the United States to disavow the conduct of Commander Carpenter, of the American steamship *Iris*, towards the French ship *Eugenie*, of Havre, which had run upon the bank of Riso, near the anchorage of Anton Lizardo. The explanations given by Commander Carpenter are not of a nature, Mr. Secretary of State, such as to dispel the discontent which his proceedings caused to my government. He considered, as he says, and still considers, that the case was one of salvage; that the rights acquired by him as the savor of the vessel saved, empowered him to keep possession of her until his extravagant pretensions were fully satisfied. But his opinions have little interest in our eyes when we have occasion to condemn his conduct. I called on the Cabinet at Washington, Mr. Secretary of State, in the name of the French government, to address a severe reproof to that officer of the American navy, in order that the error which he has committed in a point involving the dignity of your national marine might not be repeated hereafter. From your answer, Mr. Secretary of State, I am unfortunately induced to believe that your government subscribed to the strange doctrines professed by Commander Carpen-

der, of the steamer Iris; and I have only to protest, in the name of my government, against these doctrines. I have the honor to be,

With distinguished consideration,

Your most obedient servant, &c.,

GUILLAUME TELL POUSSIN.

HON. J. M. CLAYTON, Secretary of State.

This whole matter was then laid before the French Minister for Foreign Affairs, Alexis de Tocqueville, author of "Democracy in America," and he probably not being aware of the state of things which gave rise to the singular tone of the notes passing between those funny diplomats, assumed the tone of the emperor of the world, and brother of the sun, and "blowed up" both of them in style as follows:

"These sentiments of reciprocal confidence being of a nature to avert and prevent, in the discussions of private interests, those susceptibilities and misunderstandings which cannot fail to complicate them, we have seen with as much astonishment as regret the turn which the communications exchanged between our Envoy and Mr. Clayton have taken. Even before I had received the letter which you have written me to call my attention to them, M. Poussin had transmitted copies of them to me. I had been painfully impressed to find in that correspondence, a tone of acerbity and harshness very little conformable to the friendly relations between the two countries; but I ought to say, without entering into useless recriminations, without seeking for the side whence the first injuries proceeded, it had appeared to me that this observation was not alone applicable to the letters written by the Minister of France."

Although this epistle, under ordinary circumstances, would indicate the most insufferable arrogance, and might in earlier times have been construed into an assumption of suzerainty over the United States, is in fact ridiculous. Mr. Clayton and M. Poussin had with true school-boy tactics been "making mouths at each other," and on the first opportunity, Mr. Clayton "told his marm." The basis of the whole was so absurd that *marm* DeTocqueville, doubtless, with a hearty laugh, told them both to "behave." Unfortunately, however, for the Minister, we have no President; there is an old soldier that votes with the cabinet, and almost always in the minority, so that Mr. Clayton was empowered to send him the following note:

"DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, September 14, 1849. }

"SIR,—The President has devolved upon me the duty of announcing to you, that the government of the United States will hold no further correspondence with you, as the Minister of France, and that the necessity which has impelled him to take this step, at the present moment, has been made known to your government.—In communicating the President's determination in regard to yourself personally, I avail myself of the occasion to add, that due attention will be cheerfully given to any communication from the government of France, affecting the interests of our respective republics, which may reach this department through any other channel. Your own government will be able to explain to you the reasons which have influenced the American Executive in delaying the present communication until this period. The President has instructed me further to say, that every proper facility for quitting the United States, will be promptly given at any moment when you may be pleased to signify a desire to return to France."

I am, sir, very respectfully,

Your most ob't servant,

JOHN M. CLAYTON.

"MR. WILLIAM TELL POUSSIN, &c."

It is only a short time since that Spain ordered the British minister, Sir H. Bulwer, to leave Madrid for an insolent interference in the affairs of that government. The minister of France is sent home from the United States, because he is not agreeable, socially, to certain persons at Washington; while the Spanish minister, whose government authorizes its officers to invade the United States, and kidnap its citizens, is treated with the highest respect. The legality of the repudiation of M. Poussin, is based on the following passage in Kent's Commentaries on the Law of Nations, cap. 11:

"If ambassadors should be so regardless of the object of their privilege as to insult, or openly attack the laws or government of a nation to whom they are sent, their functions may be suspended by a refusal to treat with them, or application can be made to their own sovereign for their recall, or they may be dismissed and required to depart within a reasonable time. We have had instances within our own times, of all these modes of dealing with ministers who have given offence, and it is not to be denied, that every Government has a perfect right to judge for itself whether the language or conduct of a foreign minister be admissible."

THE AMERICAN ART-UNION.

This great institution is now in the eleventh year of its operation, and it has reached a degree of prosperity unparalleled in the history of similar undertakings. Its income, from \$5,000 has reached \$30,000. The number of members, from 937 to 16,475. Its distribution, from seven Works of Art, costing about \$2,000, to 929, costing more than \$60,000.

The Institution has distributed about 2,000 Works of Art, painted by 231 different Artists, residing in fifty towns, in sixteen States and Territories from Maine to Louisiana, in Rome, Florence, Dusseldorf, Paris and London.

Paintings have been purchased from 145 New-York Artists; 27 Pennsylvania; 10 Massachusetts; 7 Ohio; 5 New-Jersey; 4 District of Columbia Artists; and smaller numbers from Artists in Maine, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Virginia, South Carolina, Alabama, Louisiana, Missouri and Michigan.

Engravings, etchings and outlines, to the number of more than 150,000 copies, have been distributed throughout the Union.

The Art Union has more than 500 agencies, embracing every State in the Union and the neighboring nations, and now offers to citizens and strangers, free access to its large galleries filled with paintings.

The great success of this undertaking is, mainly, to be attributed to the exertions of a few gentlemen, like Gen. Prosper M. Wetmore, who, although deeply engaged in business, and arduous duties of a public and private nature, have, nevertheless, devoted such time and talents to this object, as have wrought out the results indicated. The exhibition gallery in Broadway, has long been known to the public; and during the past year the adjoining estate has been purchased, and a new gallery of splendid dimensions opened parallel to the first, and the two now present the most magnificent collection upon this continent. A festival in honor of the dedication of this additional gallery was held on the 17th. While the company were absorbed in the contemplation of the most select paintings of the Union, the President, Gen. Prosper M. Wetmore, invited the company to pass through the side curtain, and partake of a generous collation there spread.

At the request of the President, the Rev. Dr. Bethune prefaced the repast with an invocation for the Divine blessing, the company standing the while uncovered in respectful silence. Some two hundred gentlemen were present.

The President arose and said:—Gentlemen, you will fill your glasses for the first toast. We are happy, in the presence of this goodly meeting, to inform you that we are honored on this occasion with the company of the representative of one of the first among the great nations of the earth—the representative of a nation whose whole history is a history of achievements in science and in arts, and of glory in arms—a nation which has recently taken her stand among the great families of the republics of the earth. Her representative here is known to us. He is alike distinguished for his services to our country and to his own. I give you, gentlemen—

“The republic of France, and her representative to the United States, Major Poussin.”

M. Poussin, although actually dismissed by our government on the preceding Tuesday, was not then aware of the fact. There was no applause given to the French republic. There were murmurs of Rome and Hungary during General Wetmore's introduction, and we were glad to hear them, although the minister himself was received with becoming respect; and

Major Poussin, under some embarrassment, proceeded to express his thanks for the honor conferred upon him and the republic of France; and as the theme of his remarks, he exhorted the young and rising artists of America to study the old masters of Europe. It was from the study of their great works that the arts in France had risen to their present state of perfection. He concluded by a sentiment complimentary to France and the United States, as being united in their devotion to the fine arts. The remarks about old masters and French excellence, were in very bad taste and coldly received.

The President said, while he would give the old masters the first rank, we should not forget our artists at home; and after speaking of the benefits conferred by this institution in the encouragement and creation of painters, he proposed

“The American School of Arts.—Let us remember, while we admire its productions, that the artist cannot live on praise alone.” (Cheers.)

Mr. Doughty, as the oldest artist present, was called out, and after some appropriate remarks, proposed the following sentiment—

"The American Art Union—May its interests and prosperity be dear to every lover of art on this vast continent, and may its success be commensurate only with its wishes."

The President next addressed, in a complimentary speech, the meeting, in behalf of the fine arts in the great and growing West, and directed his remarks especially to the Cincinnati Art Union, and Dr. Magoon, as its representative here.

The Rev. Dr. Magoon rose to reply. He spoke of the fine progress of the Cincinnati Art Union, and said that a Western man was a New Englander enlarged—a Yankee made bigger—and that every thing over the mountains was on the expansive and go-ahead system. He finally gave:

"The Western Art Union—We will emulate you as far as possible, and beat you if we can." (Laughter and applause.)

The President next called attention to the Philadelphia Art Union, and to its able and distinguished representative among us, Mr. McMichael.

Mr. McMichael briefly expressed his sense of the honor, and asked leave to pass over the subject to Dr. Bethune.

President Wetmore.—We take you at your word, sir; I have desired to get the Doctor out, but was puzzled how to reach him.

The Rev. Dr. Bethune came forward and delivered a very happy and appropriate address—He proposed in conclusion:

"The Revolutionary War—A good study for the American artist." (Applause, loud and strong.)

Gov. Bradish was next called forward, and after some general remarks on the advantages of a cultivation of the arts—of the success of the society, he submitted:—

"Art and Artists—A just appreciation of the one, and a liberal encouragement of the other, have in all countries, and in all ages, indicated a high civilization."

The President next remarked upon the indispensable agencies of the press in the propagation and advancement of all good things, accompanying his panegyric with a corresponding toast, complimentary of the press.

Mr. James Brooks was called out to respond. He concluded with an appropriate sentiment.

Volunteer toasts being called for, the Pioneer London Art Union was proposed, and received with applause.

Mr. Hoffin was called upon to reply, and did so in an able exposition of the progress of the fine arts in England, the effect of which might be seen even in the rough engravings of the *London Punch*.

Mr. Morgan L. Smith, of Texas, was called for, but he had modestly disappeared.

Mr. H. J. Raymond, one of the committee of management, was toasted, and received with three times three. He disclaimed having done any thing extraordinary to the advancement of the institution, and was at a loss to account for the refusal of the resignation he had proposed, of so very little service had he been to the committee.

Other speakers followed, and at a late hour the meeting dissolved, the whole company delighted with the entertainment.

NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS.

I.—THE ANGLO-SAXON. London: Longman, Brown, Green & Longmans, Paternoster Row. Nos. 1, 2 and 3.

This is the title of a new and elegantly printed Quarterly, published in London, three numbers of which have just reached us. Its editors are Martin F. Tupper, Esq. and the Rev. L. Brereton. The design and scope of this publication are entirely new—to create and diffuse a more fraternal feeling among the great Anglo-Saxon family, scattered throughout the world. It recognises no distinctions, except those of race. It is the organ of the Anglo-Saxons—of the British Empire, the United States, and the world.

A new feeling seems to have recently sprung up in England towards this country, and it is one of justice and good will. That our native land, its institutions and people, have been the objects of much scurrilous abuse and wilful misrepresentations on the part of some of the British writers, there can be no question. But this class never represented the feelings of the great mass of the British people, any more than the perpetrators of the bloody cruelties of the prison ships of the revolution represented the humanity of the British nation. But numerous and scurrilous as may have been the attacks made upon us by British writers, it must be confessed that, as a people,

we are rather inclined to be "thinned-skinned," and have by our own extreme sensitiveness and fluttering given an accidental importance to works, which, like Mrs. Trollope's, would otherwise never have been raised into notice, or which would have sunk at once into oblivion. But the day of such writers is past: they have given place to such men as Lyell and Murray. It is even probable we may in future be delivered from the infliction of so stupid a book as Mr. Charles Dickens's "Notes." At least it is to be hoped so.

The tone of the Anglo-Saxon is one of great friendliness towards this country—indeed we should half suspect the sincerity of its "sweet caresses" did we not believe the author of Proverbial Philosophy to be too honest a man to utter any thing but the real sentiments of his heart.

A nobler object could not engage the attention of a British or American scholar, than the investigation of the origin and progress of the Anglo-Saxon race, whose advancement has been marked by the noblest institutions and achievements that have distinguished any of the modern nations.

In the third number of the Anglo-Saxon, we perceive that the *Thousandth Anniversary* of the birth of Alfred the Great is to be celebrated this fall, at Wantage, in the county of Berkshire. It will be a great Anglo-Saxon festival, to which will gather for an exulting greeting, vast numbers of the Anglo-Saxon family, from Alfred's own descendant, Queen Victoria, to the humblest peasant that turns up the soil of his native island. It will be a grand occasion; and as the invitation has been sent to this country for the Anglo-Saxons to join in the festival, we hope it will be responded to, and that as large a number as possible of our citizens will take this occasion to visit the Father Land, to mingle their sympathies with our brethren beyond the sea. In a subsequent number we shall notice more particularly the literary contents of the Anglo-Saxon. We understand that it will hereafter be issued simultaneously in New-York and London; a distinguished writer, of this city, having been requested by the association in London, to act as American editor.

2.—LIBERTY'S TRIUMPH. A Poem. By Robert W. Landis. John Wiley, 161 Broadway.

This is a handsome volume of some 544 pages, being a poetical account of the "model revolution of the world," in imitation of which Europe has, during 70 years, been convulsed with abortive throes. We believe this is the first measured history of "the times that tried men's souls," and it has, therefore, at least, the merit of novelty. The author informs us, in his introduction, that it has been the labor of a life; that it is

"A work not hasty wrought; but at the price
Of life's most dearest hours from its young dawn,
'Till frosted locks announce the moment near
When from its warfare stern I can retire."

3.—MORNINGS AMONG THE JESUITS AT ROME. Being notes of conversations held with certain Jesuits on the Subject of Religion, in the city of Rome. By the Rev. Mr. Robert Seymour, M. A. Harper Brothers.

The ferment which of late years has existed in the Church of England has been productive of many valuable and interesting works, as well from seceding clergymen objecting to unauthorized formalities, as from those who have been drawn back to what they consider the orthodoxy of Rome. The present volume is one of great interest. The Rev. gentleman throws together, in a very readable shape, notes of conversations held with leading members of the Society of Jesus upon the points of difference that exist between the Anglican and Romish churches. His apprehensions of the tenor of the conversation are stated clearly and concisely, and convey much information upon matters of faith not generally known or understood. The whole, however, has the air of a design to counteract the growing respect for Rome, and to damp the growing sympathy, and to re-assure the wavering. The injudicious conduct of the Romish leaders is the greatest enemy the Church now possesses, and is the surest bulwark the Anglican church has against her proselytes. The book will be read with interest by all.

4.—SCHMITZ AND ZUMPT'S CLASSICAL SERIES: Q. Curtii Rufi de gestis Alexandri Magni. Lea & Blanchard.

This series of the Latin classics is sufficiently well-known and appreciated by the public. It is singularly calculated to advance the learner in the analyzation of Latin sentences.

5.—OLLENDORF'S New Method of Learning to Read, Write and Speak the French Language; or First Lessons in French. By G. W. Greene, instructor. D. Appleton & Co., 200 Broadway.

This is an excellent pocket edition of a very useful book to the learner of French.

THE INEDITED WORKS
OF
LORD BYRON:
NOW FIRST PUBLISHED
FROM HIS
LETTERS, JOURNALS, AND OTHER MANUSCRIPTS,
IN THE POSSESSION OF HIS SON,
MAJOR GEORGE GORDON BYRON.

WHAT Lord Byron said of Pope may with more justice be said of himself: "He is the Poet of all times, of all climes, of all feelings, and of all stages of existence. A thousand years will roll away before such another can be hoped for in our Literature:—HE HIMSELF IS A LITERATURE." Throwing aside the trammels of conventional life, in his hatred and disgust at the cant and hypocrisy which sought to annihilate him on account of his youthful irregularities and indiscretions; and relying solely on the vast power of his own mighty genius, he contemned and defied both the World's censure and praise. But for the very faults of his early education, the misfortunes of his youth, and the disappointments which awaited him as he merged into manhood;—but for the natural moodiness of his spirit, and the possession of affections, that longed for something around which to entwine;—but for the want of a mother's love, and the loss of a wife's affections;—but for a combination of evils, which would have prostrated another,—but for all these,—the genius of Byron might have slumbered, and been lost to us and to posterity. "The light that leads astray is the light that shines from Heaven," and this glorious light which sheds its effulgence over every page of his writings, will be sought for in vain in the effusions of his most gifted contemporaries. It is this lightning-flash of genius, uncontrolled and uncontrollable, that will cause posterity to speak of the nineteenth century as THE AGE OF BYRON. With Shakspeare, Milton, Dryden, and Pope, the name of Byron will in future ages mark a brilliant period in the development of English Poesy, and the generations yet to come will treasure the smallest relic of the Master-mind.

The valuable unpublished materials, which the editor has been enabled to amass, in tracking the footsteps of Lord Byron through all his pilgrimages, consist of about ONE THOUSAND LETTERS; THE RAVENNA JOURNAL OF THE YEAR 1822, enriched with copious notes by the late Sir Walter Scott; NUMEROUS UNPUBLISHED POEMS, including the suppressed portions of his printed works; and a MASS OF ANECDOTES AND REMINISCENCES OF LORD BYRON by the Countess Guiccioli, Mrs. Percy Bysshe Shelley, and Miss Bristowe; by Archdeacon Spenser, Sir Humphrey Davy, Messrs. Horace Smith, John Taylor, Trelawney, Gordon, Captain Boldero, and others. To these he is kindly permitted to add NUMEROUS LETTERS ADDRESSED TO LORD BYRON by his most familiar friends.

A quarter of a century has passed away since the death of Lord Byron, and twenty years have elapsed since Mr. Moore's admirable Notices of the Poet appeared. During that period death has been busy with those, out of regard to whom Mr. Moore was induced to omit passages in the published correspondence,

as given in the seventeen-volume edition of Lord Byron's Works. These passages will now be restored, the editor feeling assured that the Public will uphold him in what he looks upon as a sacred duty, the rescuing the memory of Lord Byron from the many unjust aspersions cast upon his character, either from interested motives, or for the mere gratification of envy, hatred, and malice. In publishing these the utmost delicacy consistent with truth and candour will be observed; but if any one should feel aggrieved, the editor disclaims at once any intention of giving pain by the publication, and would call to mind what Tyers says in his Rhapsody on Pope, "All such writings and discourses as touch no man will mend no man."

The publication of these works of the Poet in England having been prevented by an injunction of the Lord Chancellor, obtained through a combination of influences of which it is unnecessary to speak, the editor has determined to give them to the Public of the United States, and thus place the world in possession of the materials for doing complete justice to the greatest of modern Poets.

The following distinguished persons had signified their intention of patronising the work:—

HER GRACE THE DUCHESS OF HAMILTON.
 THE COUNTESS OF LINCOLN.
 THE COUNTESS OF CHARLEVILLE.
 THE RIGHT HON. THE VISCOUNT MORPETH, M. P.
 THE RIGHT HON. LORD ASHBURTON.
 THE RIGHT HON. THE VISCOUNT FAULKLAND.
 THE LORD ALBERT CONYNNGHAM.
 THE RIGHT HON. SIR ROBERT ADAIR, G. C. B.
 JOSEPH NEELD, Esq., M. P., F. S. A.
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 HUDSON GURNEY, Esq.
 DAWSON TURNER, Esq., F. R. S., F. S. A.
 HORACE TWISS, Esq.

The Work will be published in Monthly Parts, at 25 cents each. At the commencement of each Volume AN ENGRAVED TITLE-PAGE and FRONTISPIECE will be given; and amongst other subjects already in the engraver's hands, are THREE HITHERTO UNPUBLISHED PORTRAITS, the first a curious mathematical sketch taken about the age of eighteen, the second a copy of the picture by West, the well-known American Painter, and the third a sketch from the celebrated statue by Thorwaldsen at Cambridge.

The publication will commence on the 1st of Oct., and be continued on the 1st of every succeeding month, till the whole is completed. It is imagined that it will not exceed four volumes.

A liberal discount to the trade, and no order attended to unless accompanied by cash.

G. G. BYRON, PUBLISHER,
 257 BROADWAY, NEW-YORK.

August 21st, 1849.

. Postmasters and others transmitting orders with money from the interior, will be entitled to retain 15 per cent. If sent by mail, the postage must be paid in advance.

SERIES FOR 1849.

THE HOME JOURNAL,

EDITED BY MORRIS & WILLIS.

The editors of this widely-circulated and popular FAMILY NEWSPAPER, animated to renewed exertions by the extraordinary increase which has taken place in their subscription list during the past year, have reorganized their whole establishment upon a

NEW AND EXTENDED BASIS:

and have put such resources into operation for the COMING YEAR, as will enable them, beyond all question, to render THE HOME JOURNAL, decidedly the

BEST WEEKLY PAPER OF THE AGE.

The first number of the NEW VOLUME will be issued during the first week of January next. It will be printed on paper of the finest texture (manufactured expressly for the purpose) and with new type. It will contain several ORIGINAL FEATURES of great and peculiar interest. Among them the proprietors have much pleasure in announcing an

ORIGINAL NOVEL.

from the pen of a highly gifted woman of the West, entitled a

SEQUEL TO THE WANDERING JEW.

BY METTA V. FULLER.

This remarkable work abounds in interest of the most startling description, and is one of the most attractive and delightful blendings of romance and reality that has ever issued from the American press.

The interest which is so vividly and universally felt in any portrayments of those among us who are gifted by Nature with unusual beauty, or who exercise great influence by uncommon personal grace, loveliness, and accomplishment, has suggested to us the idea of portraying such idols of the present hour by description. We propose, that is to say to give PEN AND INK PORTRAITS OF

THE BELLES OF OUR TIME.

BY N. P. WILLIS.

These verbal portraits will describe features, manners and causes of attraction and fascination; and as, of course, no names will be given, they will involve even less publicity than the engraved likenesses in a Book of Beauty, being subject to identification only by friends and acquaintances. We shall not confine ourselves to single nor to married ladies, but shall portray loveliness wherever we have seen it in this our American galaxy of woman—the brightest, we safely and confidently say, after much observation of other countries, which the world can show. The portraits will appear, from time to time, in the progress of the coming volume.

As it is intended, hereafter, to give the subject of ART more attention than it has heretofore received, a portion of the paper will be devoted to information and comments upon the works of AMERICAN ARTISTS, and the proceedings of

ALL THE ART-UNIONS.

The universal demand for Dr. Culverwell's previous works (printed during the past year in THE HOME JOURNAL) has induced the editors to procure another series of papers from the same able pen, which will be republished in their columns under the title of

WHAT TO EAT, DRINK, AND AVOID.

These essays form a guide to health and long life, and the most valuable treatise of our time. They show all people of all ages, sexes and conditions, how to live—how to think—how to take exercise—how to control the passions and appetites, and how to regulate their whole conduct from childhood to old age. Every man and woman living should be familiar with these remarkable papers, which should be universally circulated for the benefit of the whole human race.

A series of

RARE AND CURIOUS DOCUMENTS,

giving a brief but complete history of the origin and discovery of all the useful inventions of the age, will also appear.

A series of

POPULAR SONGS AND BALLADS,

THE WORDS BY GEORGE P. MORRIS,

the music by a number of distinguished composers, will also be published in the course of the coming volume, printed in the most accurate and beautiful manner. The cost of these, if purchased at the stores, would far exceed the price of THE HOME JOURNAL for the whole year.

Besides these NEW AND PECULIAR FEATURES, we shall continue, what has become so popular with all classes of readers, our occasional translations of the BRIEF NOVELS and PICTANT STORIES of George Sand, De Balzac, Dumas, and others; and the sparkling wit, and amusing

ANECDOTE, NEWS, AND GOSSIP,

of the Parisian Papers; and also Personal Sketches of public characters; the stirring scenes of the city we live in; a chronicle of the news for ladies; the fashions and fashionable gossip; the facts and outlines of news; the pick of English information and brilliancy; the wit, humor, and pathos of the times; essays on life, literature, society and morals, and the usual variety of careful choosings from the wilderness of English periodical literature, criticism, poetry, etc., etc., etc.

In addition to our already copious and splendid host of

ORIGINAL CONTRIBUTORS,

we have made arrangements to receive the regular communications of many other authors of acknowledged eminence and marked ability.

We assure our readers that we shall spare neither toil, care, nor expense to render the new year of THE HOME JOURNAL every way superior to all its predecessors in the richness of its contents, the beauty of its typographical appearance, and the vigor and interest of its general character.

As no more copies of the first numbers will be printed than the demand absolutely requires, and as new subscribers generally desire to begin with the beginning, it is advisable to subscribe without delay, to avoid any disappointment in the early and prompt receipt of the paper.

TERMS.—THE HOME JOURNAL is published every Saturday, at No. 107 Fulton street, New York, at the very low price of two dollars a year, or three copies for five dollars, payable invariably in advance.

All letters, remittances, and communications (post paid) to be addressed to

MORRIS AND WILLIS, New York.

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THE Twenty-Fifth Volume of the DEMOCRATIC REVIEW proceeds to its readers under different auspices from those which have smiled upon its progress hitherto.—New arrangements have become necessary, internally, as well as renewed exertions to promote its welfare externally. The unfortunate divisions of the party have resulted in a reverse more severe than any that has been experienced for many terms. The outgoing administration leaves the country in every position—politically, territorially, commercially, and financially, more renowned, more extended, more prosperous, and in higher credit than it had ever before attained. The prosperity which pervades the country, and the glory that surrounds its flag, are mainly, if not entirely, due to those sound principles clearly recognized by an American public, and carried to their fulfilment through the steady loyalty of the Democratic Party.

That schisms have been created by designing men, as dangerous to party ascendancy as to national welfare, affords additional reasons for more rigorous exertions, the cultivation of a spirit of forbearance, and that self-sacrificing patriotism which has for so long a period been a distinguishing feature of democracy. For whatever of evil may spring from federal ascendancy, those who defeated the democratic party by heartless desertion in its hour of trial must be held accountable; and we doubt not that November, 1852, will witness a retribution that will be more terrible to false friends than to open foes.

The accustomed features of the Review will be continued, including *Portraits and Biographies of distinguished Democrats*—men whose patriotic principles and steadiness of purpose have won the confidence of the people.

We have to remind our readers that the low terms on which we furnish the Review makes it indispensable that the payment of the subscriptions should be in **ADVANCE**, and that the expenditure incurred to improve the work can be met only by the prompt remittance of subscriptions.

N. B.—All communications will hereafter be addressed to the Proprietors, office of the Democratic Review, 170 Broadway.

KETTELL & MOORE.

THOMAS PRENTICE KETTELL,
J. WILLIAM MOORE.

TO THE DEMOCRATIC PRESS we acknowledge the kindly feelings that have existed on all sides, and shall cheerfully continue our exchanges.

Subscribers are requested not to pay their subscriptions to any person who does not present his Certificate of Agency, signed by the Proprietors. Agents and Collectors are particularly desired to render an immediate statement of their accounts with the Review, and to furnish themselves with certificates of Agency, &c., from the present joint proprietors.