THE

SLAVE STATES

OF

AMERICA.

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On Friday, the 8th of February, we left Charleston for Savannah. We were attended to the steam-boat "William Seabrook," by a number of friends, whose expressions of regret at our departure, and hope of our meeting again, were more than usually ardent, and, as we had every reason to believe, sincere. We quitted the wharf about 11 o'clock in the forenoon. Our voyage was to be made by the inner passage, as it is called, for the purpose of touching at several small villages and plantations on our way, this steam-vessel being so occupied for the accommodation of the planters living near the route. All along the coast of North and South Carolina, as well as of Georgia and Florida, there are a number of small low islands, separated from the continent only by narrow arms of the sea, in the shape of creeks; and these mingling with branches of rivers, bays, and lakes afford a continuous chain of water-communication, within the island, at distances of from ten to fifty miles inland from the ocean. This series of islands is chiefly devoted to the cultivation

of the finer kinds of cotton, called, from the place of its growth, "Sea-Island cotton;" and as the plantations are numerous and the population considerable, the inner passage, between these islands and the main land, is more interesting to one who wishes to see the country, than the outer passage by the sea. We therefore preferred going by it, although I had been offered a passage for myself and family in the larger steam-vessel, the "Charleston," which was going round from hence, under the direction of General Hamilton on his way to Texas, to the government of which this steamer had been sold, and on her way she was to touch at the principal parts of Georgia and Florida.

As we passed from the Cooper river on the east of Charleston, round the extreme southern point of the town near the Battery, and up the Ashley river on the west, the aspect of the city was picturesque and animating; and its resemblance to New York, though on a smaller scale, extremely striking—the Cooper corresponding to the East river, along the wharfs of which were crowds of ships, the masts of all exhibiting their respective signal-flags; and the Ashley corresponding to the Hudson river, with the Battery, at the southern point between them. The structures of Fort Moultree or Sullivan's Island, which defeated a large squadron of British ships, and a force under Sir Henry Clinton, in the war of the revolution; and of Fort Pinckney on a smaller island immediately opposite to the city, corresponding to the forts on Governor's Island and Bedlow's Island in the bay of New York, complete the resemblance; while the passage out to sea on the south is about the same distance as the Narrows from the Battery of the last-

named city; and both are admirably situated for navigation and commerce, though New York has the great advantage of a thickly-peopled country behind it, which Charleston does not yet possess.

Nearly opposite to the upper part of the city, on its western side, we passed out of the Ashley river into a narrow artificial cut, as the commencement of our inland passage: and though the steam-vessel drew only four feet water, we grounded several times in the short bends and sharp turnings of this narrow pass; yet, as it was a rising tide, we floated off again, and pursued our way. We soon got into broader passages and deeper water, and then again into narrower and shallower channels; and on each side of us were seen occasional plantations, with the dwellings of the planters, the huts of the negroes, and groups of these at their labours, ploughing and preparing the land. This appeared to be performed in an indolent, indifferent, and rudely imperfect manner; and, as far as outward indications could be a guide, there seemed as little of cheerfulness and comfort as the condition of the labourers might lead one to expect.

In the course of the afternoon we took in tow a long boat, rowed by twelve negroes, with a covered cabin, in which were two slaves in custody of a white sheriff's officer, conveying them to one of the judicial stations for trial. It appeared that an overseer, or driver, on a plantation, had been shot dead by a negro belonging to an adjoining estate, and these two men were taken up on suspicion, one as the perpetrator, and the other as an accomplice in the act. The reason assigned by our white inform-

ants on board for the murder was this:—They alleged that the negroes were often in the habit of stealing cattle from their masters' plantations, as well as from the neighbouring estates, and their overseer being a vigilant man, had often detected them; so that to remove him, and thus carry on their depredations unmolested, they had shot him with a rifle. I inquired what they did with the stolen cattle, when they escaped detection; and was informed that they killed them in secret for food, some using the flesh themselves, others exchanging it with other negroes for rice; and some being given to runaway negroes, who were often secretly sustained in this manner by their fellow-slaves, till they could get safely out of their hiding places, and effect their escape.

I ventured to remark, that this seemed to prove two things: first, that the negroes were not sufficiently fed, as they were willing to encounter the risk of death in stealing food for their own use; and secondly, that there must be great sympathy among them with their runaway brethren, to incur the risk of death, to supply them also with the means of subsistence. But the general opinion of those with whom I conversed seemed to be, that there was something in the African race which made them naturally incapable of moral improvement, and insensible to all notions of distinction between right and wrong.

I could not help observing, however, that the testimonies of the same persons differed very much according to the turn which the conversation took. When they spoke of the coercion employed towards the negroes, and endeavoured to justify the necessity of it, they were represented as "an indolent, worthless,

and ungrateful race, wholly incompetent to arouse themselves to voluntary labour by any adequate motive, and so ungrateful for favours received, that the better they were treated the worse they behaved." On the other hand, when it was lamented that they could not be elevated from their present condition, and made to feel the influence of hope for the future, and a desire to improve their circumstances, and bring up their children with some education, it was replied that "they were already as happy as persons could be, that they were perfectly contented with their condition, and on the whole a much better race without education than with, as they were now faithful, kind-hearted, and attached to their masters, whereas education would destroy all their natural virtues, and make them as vicious as the lower orders in other countries." Such were the contradictory statements which I heard, not from different persons, but from the same individuals.

About three o'clock in the afternoon, we entered one of the narrowest of the cuts communicating with the creeks and rivers between the islands, and close to the battle-ground of Stona, where a desperate conflict arose between the British and American forces during the revolutionary war. Here the steam-boat took the ground at the very top of high water, so that all hopes of getting her off again were vain, until the next return of the flood, when the night tide, being higher than that of the day, would probably float her through.

We remained here, therefore, through a tedious night; though there was much in our favour, to counterbalance this inconvenience; for the boat was

furnished with excellent accommodations: the table was better supplied than in most hotels on shore, the captain was a gentlemanly and attentive man, and the passengers, to the number of nearly 100, contained many intelligent and agreeable persons, so that the time was beguiled by varied and instructive conversation. During our stay in this creek, only one alligator was seen, though they abound here in the summer; but at this season they are thought to be concealed in holes along the banks, in a state of torpidity. They are not dangerous to man, like the alligators of the tropics, but fly at the least sound or pursuit; though they will sometimes stand at bay with a dog, and instances have been known of large alligators drawing a young dog into the water, but this is rare. Musquitoes also abound here in the summer season; and the whole region being one of marshy land, and often flooded, is extremely unhealthy from August to October, when few white persons remain here, and all intercourse by the inner passage is then suspended for the more healthy route by the open sea.

At four o'clock in the morning of the 9th, the water was found to be just high enough to float the vessel off the mud, though we had not three inches of depth to spare; and we were obliged to propel the vessel to her utmost capacity of speed to get through this shallow cut while the high water continued. We continued our course through the same description of creeks and narrow passages, and with the same character of scenery on both sides; the weather was however delicious, the thermometer being at 65°, the air fresh and balmy, like a fine

English day in June, though now in the early part of February, when the cold in the Chesapeake was so severe, as to close the navigation of that noble bay by the ice.

At sunrise of the second day we arrived at Edisto, a small village on the northern edge of the island of that name, one of the sea-islands devoted to the cultivation of cotton. And after receiving a supply of fire-wood, we proceeded on our way, with increasing breadth of water, and increasing interest of scenery from the greater variety and abundance of wood; until, at sun-set we reached the town of Beaufort, or Port Royal, where we remained for an hour to discharge and take in freight and passengers.

This is a small place, inhabited chiefly by wealthy planters, and families in easy circumstances, who come here to reside at certain seasons of the year, for the sake of the sea-breezes, which blow through the inlet at the head of which it is situated, and is not at all a place of trade. Its population, white and coloured, does not exceed 1,000 persons. The most healthy spots along the coast are the dry sandy ridges near the sea; and these preserve their salubrity throughout the summer and autumn; while, within a mile of such positions, where moisture and decayed vegetation exist, the miasma produces a fever that is fatal to strangers, and very dangerous even to the natives of the soil, who leave these parts to the negroes and a few overseers on their estates.

At eight o'clock we left Beaufort, and at ten arrived at a place called Hilton Head, the opening of a broader passage, where we anchored for the night; and getting under way at four in the morning, we

passed at daylight, a small fort and light-house, on Cockspur Island; and at eight o'clock entered a stream called the Tybee, which led us soon into the Savannah river. After passing by a number of large ships anchored a few miles below the town, two or three only of which were American, and the greater number from London, Liverpool, Glasgow, and Cork, we reached the city of Savannah at ten o'clock, and hauling alongside the wharf, were soon furnished with conveyances to take us to the Pulaski Hotel, where we took up our abode.

We remained here a fortnight, and passed our time most agreeably. Having been favoured with many letters of introduction from Charleston, we were soon surrounded by a large circle of friends, and many of the principal families to whom we had no letters, were quite as cordial in the voluntary tender of their hospitalities. We attended several large parties, and many more small social circles, in each of which we found ourselves completely at home. We were taken to some of the pleasantest drives around the city, and to all the public institutions within it, while my two courses of lectures, which were very fully attended, that on Palestine in the Unitarian church, and that on Egypt in the Baptist church, brought us every day acquainted with new friends, not only among the residents of the city, but with persons from the interior passing through Savannah, on their way to other places, and many and urgent were the entreaties that I would visit the several towns from whence they came.

CHAP. VII.

Foundation, rise, and progress of Savannah—Visit of Sir Walter Raleigh and Goyernor Oglethorpe—Philanthropic design of the original colony—Oglethorpe's first treaty with the Indian chiefs —Visit of the warriors to the king of England—First code of laws framed for Georgia—Prohibition of rum, and of negro slavery—Emigration of Moravians—Voyage of John Wesley—Striking picture of their religious exercises—Emigration of Scottish highlanders to Darien—Foundation of Augusta—Moravian settlements Testimony of Charles Wesley on the treatment of slaves—Visit of George Whitefield after John Wesley's return—Charter of Georgia surrendered to the crown —Character of her population at this period—Emigration of Quakers—Attack of the French and Americans on Savannah—Evacuation of the British—Surrender of the city—Progress of Georgia since that period—Statistics of her population and commerce—General description of the State—Geography—Productions—Government—Judiciary—Education—Religion —Banking and trade.

THE history of the foundation and progress of the State of Georgia may be more briefly told than that of the more northern provinces, though it is not without its incidents of public interest. It appears from Sir Walter Raleigh's Journal, corroborated by the testimony of the Indians, at the first settlement of Georgia, that long before its being taken possession of by the English, it had been visited by Sir Walter Raleigh, who sailed up the Savannah river, and landed and held a conference with some Indian chiefs on the very spot on which the city of Savannah now stands. The territory now forming the State of Georgia, was first included in the patent granted to South Carolina, of which the history has been already given; and it was then under a proprietary

government. In 1719, however, it became a royal territory, its limits being between the 31st and 36th degrees of latitude; and it was not until 1732 that it was granted by charter to an incorporated company by George the Second, in honour of whom its present name of Georgia was given.

The circumstances which gave rise to this grant were of a mixed character. The possession of Florida by the Spaniards was a source of continual apprehension and difficulty to the settlers of South Carolina; and it was thought desirable to interpose between these two a barrier State or province, and by peopling it with Europeans well armed and trained, to make it answer as an advanced post of defence. This was undoubtedly the first motive which led to the settling of Georgia. About the same period, however, that this was projected, a number of Englishmen, some animated by religious zeal, some by philanthropy, and some by patriotism, conceived the design of promoting the settlement of this then unoccupied region; the religionists, to open an asylum for the persecuted Protestants of various countries in Europe; the philanthropists, to secure a home for the many poor families in Britain, whose labour was inadequate to obtain them a decent subsistence; and the patriots, to strengthen the British power, and extend its dominion over these distant lands.

It was in 1728, that General Oglethorpe, who may be called the founder of Georgia, being then a member of the British House of Commons, obtained its sanction to the appointment of a committee of inquiry into the state of the prisons in England. Of this committee he was nominated chairman; and in

the following year it presented a report which induced the House to adopt measures for reforming some of the most prominent evils of the prison-system of discipline then existing. The illustrious Howard, in his philanthropic labours of examining the prisons of England, and exposing their abuses, had brought to light such facts as almost staggered belief, while they touched the sympathy of many benevolent hearts, and prepared the way for a great effort of reformation. A rich and humane citizen of London, having bequeathed his ample fortune for the express purpose of liberating as many insolvent debtors from prison as its amount would allow, some members of parliament undertook to visit the jails, and select the objects that seemed most worthy to be participators of this generous bequest. The difficulty of obtaining for these released debtors suitable and profitable employment when set free, was, however, much greater than the task of selecting them; and it was partly to meet this difficulty, as well as to provide for the other objects named, that Oglethorpe and his benevolent associates conceived the plan of founding a new colony between South Carolina and Florida, and transporting to it as settlers as many of the poor and destitute thus released from their imprisonment, as could be prevailed upon to go, including as many others as their means of transport and settlement would admit.

In pursuance of this philanthropic design, application was made to the monarch, by Oglethorpe and his associates, for a charter of incorporation, which was readily granted, and the sum of £10,000 sterling was also obtained by a vote of the House of Commons, to be added to the private estate left by the

London merchant for the liberation of insolvent debtors. To this also was promised to be added the funds previously raised for Bishop Berkeley's college for instructing the Indians, but never appropriated. The Moravians, who in 1727 first proclaimed their intention of undertaking missionary labours on an extensive scale, hearing of this intended new colony, offered to unite a portion of their body with it; so that the foundation thus appeared to be laid of a useful and prosperous settlement. The royal charter granted in 1732 ceded all the territory between the rivers Alatamaha and Savannah, as a separate and independent province, under the title of Georgia, to twenty-one noblemen and gentlemen under the title of "Trustees for settling and establishing the Colony of Georgia." Among these were the celebrated Lord Shaftesbury, author of "The Characteristics," Lords Percival, Tyrconnel, Limerick, and Carpenter, James Edward Oglethorpe, and Stephen Hales, an English clergyman, and one of the most distinguished natural philosophers of the day. These were entrusted with the powers of legislation for twenty-one years, after which the colony was to lapse to the crown, and be placed under such form of government as the monarch then reigning might determine.

The trustees being empowered to collect contributions from the public for assisting the first settlers, gave an example to others by their own liberality, which was imitated by many wealthy persons. The Bank of England gave a large donation; and the House of Commons voted several sums, amounting in the whole to £36,000. Some silk-workers from

Piedmont, bringing with them a quantity of silk-worms' eggs hatched in Italy, were engaged to accompany the first expedition; as the cultivation of silk was one of the first objects intended to be put in practice. All being prepared for their departure, General Oglethorpe, placing himself at the head of the first body of emigrants, sailed from Gravesend with 116 persons, to found the colony proposed.

In January, 1733, they reached Charleston, where they received considerable assistance from the Carolinians. After a short stay there, they proceeded to the station then called Yamacran, where they planted their first settlement, and called it, from the name of the river on which it stood, Savannah. In the preliminary operations of felling trees, clearing the ground, and erecting dwellings, Oglethorpe himself joined with cheerfulness and zeal; and in the intervals between this labour, he exercised his followers in military movements and discipline; while steps were taken to establish a friendly relation with the Indians then residing here. By the assistance of an Indian female, the wife of a trader from Carolina, who could speak both the English and the Indian tongues, an invitation was conveyed from General Oglethorpe to all the Indian chiefs of the Creek tribe, to hold a conference with him at Savannah; and they came readily, to the number of fifty warriors, at the time and place appointed. To these, the General represented the great power of the English nation, and pointed out the advantages that would result to the Indians from their friendship and alliance. He added, that as the Indians had much more land than they could occupy, he hoped they

would readily grant a portion of it to the people who had come from so great a distance to settle among them; and in token of his good-will, he distributed various presents among the chiefs.

To this, the most aged warrior of the tribe, Tomochichi, replied, by giving the assent of himself and all his followers to the request made, while he in turn presented to General Oglethorpe, a buffalo's hide, on which were delineated, an eagle to represent speed, and a buffalo to represent strength, saying, "The English are as swift as the bird, and as strong as the beast; since, like the first, they fly from the uttermost parts of the earth over the vast seas; and, like the second, they are so strong that nothing can withstand them." He added, that the feathers of the eagle were soft, and signified love; the buffalo's skin was warm, and signified protection; and he hoped that the English would exemplify those attributes in loving and protecting the families of the Indians. He acknowledged that the Great Spirit, which dwelt in heaven and all around, had endowed the English with wisdom and riches, so that they wanted nothing; while the same Power had lavished great territories on the Indians, who were still in want of everything. He added, that the Creeks would be quite willing to resign to the English, the lands that were useless to themselves, and permit the English to settle among them, so that they might be instructed in useful knowledge, and supplied with improved accommodations of life. A treaty was accordingly concluded by the Indians with the English; rules for mutual traffic, and the adjustment of mutual disputes, were established; all lands

then unoccupied by the Indians were assigned to the English, under the condition that the Indians should be previously apprized of the intended formation of every new township; and they then promised, "with straight hearts, and love to their English brethren," that they would allow no other race of white men to settle among them in the country.

After the conclusion of this treaty, the building of the dwellings and cultivation of the grounds went on rapidly; and the settlers were soon joined by two successive arrivals of emigrants, the majority of whom were sent out and equipped at the cost of the trustees in England; more than a hundred of the number, however, defrayed their own expenses. Having put the little colony in a state of defence, and deputed the direction of its affairs to two deputies, Scott and St. Julian, Oglethorpe made a voyage to England, to promote the interests of the settlement there. In this voyage he was accompanied by the Indian chief, Tomochichi, and his queen, with several of the warriors of their tribe. These were all received in England with great distinction, honoured with entertainments and presents, and introduced to the Court at Kensington.

On this occasion, Tomochichi, presenting some feathers of the eagle to his majesty George the Second, addressed him as follows:—"This day I see the majesty of your face, and the greatness of your house, and the number of your people. I am come over, in my old days, for the good of the whole nation called the Creeks, to renew the peace they made long ago with the English. Though I cannot live to see any advantage to myself, I am come for the good of the children of all the nations of the

Creeks, that they may be instructed in the knowledge of the English. These are the feathers of the eagle, which is the swiftest of birds, and flieth all round our nations. These feathers are a sign of peace in our land, and have been carried from town to town there. We have brought them over, to leave them with you, O great king! as a token of everlasting peace. O great king! whatever words you shall say to me, I will faithfully tell them to all the kings of the Creek nations." The British monarch returned a gracious answer to this address, and assured the Indians of his protection and regard. After a stay of four months in England, the Indians returned to Georgia, accompanied by a new band of emigrants for the colony, and carried out with them the deepest impression of British intelligence, wealth, and power, to communicate to their red brethren of the forest.

The trustees in England now began to frame a code of laws for Georgia, and these were some of its most prominent enactments. It was provided that each tract of land granted to a settler should be held as a military fief, obliging the possessor to appear in arms whenever called upon for the public defence; and that no original tract should exceed fifty acres. In order to keep up the military hardihood and spirit, and to prevent a plurality of tracts coming, in process of time, into the same hands, and engendering wealth and habits of luxury, it was enacted that males only should succeed to the property of deceased parents; that women should be incompetent to inherit landed estate; and that in the failure of male heirs, the lands were to revert to the trustees as a lapsed fief, to be granted to other colonists on the original

terms. No inhabitant was to be allowed to quit the province without a license, to prevent fraudulent escape of traders dealing with the Indians. The importation of rum was disallowed; trade with the West Indies was declared unlawful; and negro slavery was absolutely prohibited.

The reasons assigned for this last enactment are sufficiently curious to be given in detail. They do not appear to have been founded on any notion of the injustice or inhumanity of slavery, but purely on prudential and selfish grounds. It was thought that the first cost of a negro would be at least £30, and this would exhaust so much of the capital of a poor settler, as to cripple his means in the very outset of his career. It was thought also that the white man, by having a negro slave, would be less disposed to labour himself, and that a great portion of his time would be employed in keeping the negro at work, and in watching against any danger which he or his family might apprehend from the slaves. It was believed that upon the admission of negroes, the wealthy planters would, as in other colonies, be induced to absent themselves to more pleasant places of residence, leaving the care of their plantations to negroes and overseers; and that the introduction of negroes would increase a propensity for idleness among the poor planters also, as well as their families, and thus entirely defeat the object of the settlement, which was to provide for and bring up a race of industrious and prosperous people.

These reasons, satisfactory as they may appear to some, as to the *inexpediency* of negro slavery in such a settlement, to say nothing of its *injustice* anywhere,

made no impression on either the Georgians or Carolinians; the last, especially, were not slow to express their indignation and disgust at laws which indirectly cast so severe a censure on their own institutions. It was easy, of course, to find excuses for negro-slavery, as it is for any other injustice; and accordingly it was alleged "that it was indispensable to the prosperity of the settlement, because the strength of European constitutions, unaided by negro labour, could make no impression on the vast and stubborn forests by which they were surrounded." Upon this Mr. Grahame very justly and forcibly remarks, that "Europeans had now become so habituated to regard negroes as slaves, and to despise them as a servile and degraded race, that it never occurred, either to the trustees or the colonists, that, by an equitable intercourse and association between white men and negroes, the advantage of negro *labour* might be obtained, without the concomitant injustice of negro *slavery*."

In 1735, General Oglethorpe returned from England to Georgia, accompanied by a small party of Moravians, who had accepted a grant of land for cultivation, and an exemption from military service, as, like the Quakers, they refused, on religious grounds, to engage in any war; and like them, also, the preachers as well as the hearers were enjoined to obtain their own subsistence by their labours.

The celebrated John Wesley, and his brother Charles, also accompanied General Oglethorpe on this voyage, as well as several of their religious brethren; and there were no less than three hundred passengers, including one hundred and seventy Ger-

mans of the Moravian society. Their voyage out was long and stormy, as they sailed in October, 1735, and did not arrive till February, 1736; but the manner in which they passed their time, shows that no inconveniences or privations could damp the ardour of the spirit by which they had been animated to undertake this perilous enterprise. The following extract from John Wesley's Private Journal will exhibit this:—

"Our common way of living was this:—from four of the morning till five, each of us used private prayer. From five to seven we read the Bible together, carefully comparing it (that we might not lean to our own understanding) with the writings of the earliest ages. At seven we breakfasted. At eight were the public prayers. From nine to twelve I usually learned German, and Mr. Delamotte, Greek. My brother writ sermons, and Mr. Ingham instructed the children. At twelve we met to give an account to one another of what we had done since our last meeting, and what we designed to do before our next. About one we dined. The time from dinner to four, we spent in reading to those of whom each of us had taken charge, or in speaking to them severally as need required. At four were the evening prayers, when either the second lesson was explained, or the children were catechized and instructed before the congregation. From five to six, we again used private prayer. From six to seven I read in our cabin to two or three of the English passengers, and each of my brethren to a few more in theirs. At seven I joined with the Germans in their public service; while Mr. Ingham was reading between the decks to as many as desired to hear. At eight we met again to exhort and instruct one another. Between nine and ten, we went to bed, where neither the roaring of the sea, nor the motion of the ship, could take away the refreshing sleep which God gave us."

In the same Journal, he gives the following striking picture of the piety, resignation, and courage of the Moravians who had joined this expedition:—

"In the midst of the psalm wherewith their service began, the sea broke over us, split the mainsail in pieces, covered the ship, and poured in between the decks, as if the great deep had already swallowed us up. A terrible screaming began among the English; the Germans calmly sung on. I asked one of them afterwards, 'Was you not afraid?' He answered calmly, 'I thank God, no.' I asked, 'But were not your women and children afraid?' He replied mildly, 'No; our women and children are not afraid to die.'"

The importation of such a body of people as these into a colony originally planted by insolvent debtors, where, mingled with the poor and needy, were many desperate and reckless characters, could hardly fail to produce great benefits; and such, indeed, was the result. About the same period there arrived also in the settlement, a hundred and fifty Highlanders from Scotland. These formed a small town on the river Alatamaha, which they called New Inverness. They also built a fort, which they called Darien, the name now borne by the town itself, which has grown up to be a considerable place. Here they continued to wear the Highland dress, and to preserve their national manners, as among their native mountains, and lived in a state of great industry, independence, and contentment.

The Wesleys, meanwhile, were stationed at Frederica and Savannah, at which they preached; but the ministry of John Wesley, at the last named place, was so much more rigid than was acceptable to the colonists, that he was obliged to quit it in 1736 for England, where he soon after founded the great sect of the Wesleyan Methodists, that still bear and venerate his name.

Augusta, nearly 200 miles up the Savannah river,

was now begun to be built, and it and Frederica were fortified with artillery from England; but troubles multiplied thickly. War with the Spaniards of Florida threatened the Georgians on the one hand, and the discontent of the Carolinians menaced them on the other; while the dissatisfaction of the Georgians themselves with the restrictions placed on the importation of rum, in which their neighbours traded freely, and with the prohibition of employing negro slaves, which the people of Carolina did extensively, made them impatient and desirous of change.

The only two portions of the settlers who did not share in these discontents, were the Moravian Christians, and the Scotch Highlanders, each of whom pursued their industry, quietly, prosperously and happily. The former body had already made a plantation, which was a model of neatness, comfort, and successful husbandry; they had assisted their poorer and less industrious neighbours, and established a school and mission among the Creek Indians, with the most promising appearance of success. With indefatigable industry and charity they combined the most rigid sense of justice; and before another year had passed, they repaid to the Georgian trustees the money that had been advanced in London, to enable them to emigrate to America;—so that while the more indolent and dissolute of the early settlers clamoured against the prohibition of negro slavery, and declared that without this it was impossible to cultivate their lands or provide for their posterity, the Moravians silently demonstrated, by their successful industry, that slavery was unnecessary; and

the Scotch Highlanders, to their great honour, protested against it, as an *outrage on justice.*

Soon after this, in 1738, war was declared between Great Britain and Spain; and General Oglethorpe, who had in the interim revisited England, sailed for Georgia again, with a regiment of 600 men, and a commission as commander-in-chief of all the forces in South Carolina and Georgia, while the Parliament made an additional grant of £20,000 for military services, and authorized the allotment of twenty-five acres of land to every soldier of seven years' service.

Just at this period, the Spaniards had been successful in exciting the negro slaves of South Carolina to revolt, by proclaiming liberty and protection to all who should seek refuge from slavery in Florida; and the excessive cruelty with which the slaves were then treated in this colony, induced many to become fugitives, and others to take up arms against their masters. The Journal of Charles Wesley contains some striking instances of this; but one or two are selected out of many. He says, "Colonel Lynch cut off the legs of a poor negro, and he kills several of them every year by his barbarities. Mr. Hill, a dancing-master in Charleston, whipped a female slave so long that she fell down at his feet, in appearance dead; but when, by the help of a physician, she was so far recovered as to show some signs of life, he repeated the whipping with equal rigour, and concluded the punishment by dropping scalding wax upon her flesh: her only crime was overfilling a tea-cup! These horrid cruelties," he adds, "are the less to be wondered at, because the law itself, in effect, countenances and allows them to kill their

slaves, by the ridiculous penalty appointed for it. The penalty is about seven pounds, one-half of which is usually remitted if the criminal inform against himself."

This, it may be said, was under British rule, and in colonial times—which is perfectly true; and on Britain be the just reproach of such a state of things. But the same historian very truly adds, "Traces of the cruelty with which slaves were anciently treated in South Carolina have lingered, it must be confessed, till a very late period, both in the laws of this province, and in the manners of its inhabitants. In 1808, two negroes were actually burned alive over a slow fire in the market-place of Charleston; and in 1816, the grand jury reported, 'as a most serious evil, that instances of negro homicide were common within the city for many years; the parties exercising unlimited control, as masters and mistresses, indulging their cruel passions in the barbarous treatment of slaves, and therefore bringing on the community, the state, and the city, the contumely and reproach of the civilized world.'" Here are the facts, and this the language of the jurors of the city in which they occurred, resting on the good authority of Bristed and Warden, two writers of credit in their own country; and therefore the reproach is not confined to the age of British rule, or the days of colonial cruelty.

The dissatisfaction of the slaves in Carolina led many of them to fly to Florida, where a body of about 500 negroes was formed into a regiment, by the governor of that province, with black officers. These were all clothed in the usual Spanish uniform,

placed on a footing of equality with the white troops, and employed in the same warfare—a tolerable proof that the Spaniards did not doubt their *capacity;* while the people of Carolina and Georgia gave equal proof, by their alarms, how much they dreaded the *example*, not only of freedom, but of power, to their own slaves. Soon after this, in 1740, the celebrated George Whitefield visited Georgia, after the two Wesleys had left it. The first object of his mission was to preach the gospel to the Indians. He obtained a tract of land from the trustees, on which he built an orphan asylum, a few miles from Savannah, which was erected at great expense; but it has since been burnt down, and never rebuilt. During his stay here, he interested himself deeply in the amelioration of the condition of the slaves of the adjoining provinces; and one of his first publications in the colony was a letter addressed to the planters of Virginia, Maryland, and the Carolinas, on the cruelties inflicted on their negro slaves. At subsequent periods, during his long and frequent visits to America, he invariably advocated the interests of the negroes, and so successfully as to persuade a number of the planters to emancipate their slaves.

A succession of wars and skirmishes with Florida and the Indians followed, and in 1742 Oglethorpe left Georgia for England. He never after returned, though he lived to the age of 102, dying in 1785, and beholding the colony he had founded, separated from the mother-country and declared independent by the American revolution.

Ten years after Oglethorpe's retirement, the charter of Georgia was surrendered to the crown;

at which period, 1752, the whole exports from the colony did not exceed £10,000 of value annually.

A new provincial constitution was given to it by Great Britain; and negro-slavery, hitherto prohibited in Georgia, was forthwith introduced into it, under the *royal sanction;* the restrictions on the importation of rum were also removed. The habits of nearly all classes were at this time remarkably intemperate and extravagant; while hunting, racing, cock-fighting, pugilistic exercises, and gambling, were too common throughout every part of the colony; arising, no doubt, from the combined causes of, first, the number of idle and dissolute persons who were among the early settlers, including even many convicted felons; secondly, the use of slave-labour, which made the whites averse to industrious occupation; and thirdly, the free use of intoxicating drinks, and the consequences always resulting from this vicious indulgence.

A beneficial change was, however, subsequently introduced, by the infusion of a much better class of men, a large number of Quakers having emigrated to Georgia, under the conduct of Joseph Mattock, a public-spirited member of this religious body. This was under the government of Sir James Wright, whose wisdom and liberality were subjects of the highest commendation; and whose example, in the successful cultivation of his own estate, was followed by many then already settled in Georgia, and by others who were induced by this success to come out as new settlers. In 1752, as we have seen, the whole annual exports did not exceed £10,000 in value; in 1763, the exports consisted of rice,

indigo, corn, silk, skins, provisions, and timber, of the value of £27,000; and in 1773, the amount of staple commodities exported was £125,000.

We now approach the period of the American revolution, and find that on the 14th of July, 1774, a public meeting of the citizens of Georgia was held in Savannah for the purpose of considering what constitutional measures might be pursued to resist the arbitrary imposition of taxes on the American people by the British government. From this time onward, the people of Georgia took an active part in all measures to promote the revolution. In 1776, Savannah was attacked by the British, who were repulsed with some loss. In 1777, the first constituted Assembly met in Savannah with a Speaker and other officers, and authorized the raising and equipping a regular land-force. In 1778, another attack was made on Savannah by the naval forces under Sir Hyde Parker, and the military under General Howe; who were then more successful, taking possession of this city, and marching on to Augusta, which they captured also.

In 1779, a French fleet, under Count d'Estaing, appeared off Savannah, containing 21 ships of the line, 8 frigates, and 5 sloops, with 5,000 men. The attack was fierce and long continued, and the defence was obstinate and successful. The number of the killed and wounded on both sides was considerable; but in the end, the French fleet, and the allied army of the Americans that had joined them, were obliged to retire, and leave the British, under General Prevost, still in possession of the fort and city of Savannah. There they continued until 1783, when

the general peace between Great Britain and the United States was ratified; and Savannah being then evacuated by the British, all Georgia was given up to the American government. On this occasion there embarked from Savannah, between the 12th and 25th of July of that year, 1783, about 7,000 persons for various parts of the British possessions, among whom were 1,200 British regulars and loyalists, 500 women and children, 300 Indians, and 5,000 negroes; but a large number of persons attached to the British cause, having property and connexions in this country, continued to remain there, and became legally-constituted American citizens.

From that period up to the present time, Georgia has gone on progressively improving in the developement of her resources, the building of cities and towns, and the formation of roads, canals, and steam-boat communication, as well as establishing institutions for the promotion of education; and the advance which it has made may be seen in the progressive increase of her population, and expansion of her exports and imports.

Population at different periods.

In 1749 . .	6,000	In 1800 . .	162,686	In 1820 . .	348 989
1790 .	82,548	1810 . .	252,433	1330 . .	516,567

And of this last number, taken by the census of 1830, the following were the different classes and proportions:—

White Males,	153,236	Free Coloured Males,	1,256	Male Slaves,	108,946
White Females,	143,378	Free Coloured Females,	1,227	Females Slaves,	108,524

Deaf and Dumb, 147 : Blind, 143 : and Aliens, 86.

Shipments of Cotton and Rice.

The following tabular report, from the Savannah Commercial Register, made up from official documents, will show the extent of the exports from that port alone, in the two articles of cotton and rice, from the 1st of October, 1838, to the 15th of February, 1839:—

Ports Exported to, Feb. 15.	From Oct. 1st, 1838, to Feb. 15, 1839.		
	Sea Island.	Upland.	Rice.
Liverpool	421	41,341	
Other British Ports	150	1,721	650
Havre	51	5,498	563
Other French Ports	. . .	2,518	251
Other Foreign Ports	. . .	1,570	
West Indies	. . .	. . .	2,314
New York	13	26,101	5,693
Philadelphia	. . .	3,954	140
Boston	. . .	9,552	1,087
Providence	18	1,612	14
Baltimore and Norfolk, &c.	. . .	1,389	480
New Orleans &c.	. . .	. . .	1,239
Charleston	40	3,686	
Bales	773	98,942	12,436

The following table will show the comparative quantities of cotton exported from the several ports of the United States, within a limited period; by which it will be seen that Georgia greatly exceeds South Carolina in her export of that article, taking Charleston as the index of the one, and Savannah as the index of the other:—

Exported from — 1838				Same period last year.		
	Britain.	France.	Other Ports	Britain.	France.	Other Ports
N. Orleans, Feb. 9	58,597	45,018	3039	145,298	45,871	4731
Mobile, Feb. 9	32,302	9,422	1050	25,429	14,654	3574
Charleston, Feb. 8	27,679	20,234	8340	60,093	25,166	9319
Savannah, Fb. 15	43,833	8,067	1570	84,098	13,000	30
Virginia, Jan. 1	1,050	. . . .	104	4,309	3,000	200
New York, Jan. 30	11,488	10,916	591	29,464	11,098	5290
Other Ports, Jan. 19	2,550	1,334	. . .	19,144	. . .	60
Bales	177,499	94,998	14,697	367,835	112,789	23,204

The State of Georgia, as at present established, since the cession of the large tracts of land given up to the general government, to form the States of Alabama and Mississippi, N. of 31°, amounting to 100,000 square miles, is in length from N. to S. about 300 miles; in breadth from E. to W. about 200 miles. It contains an area of about 60,000 square miles, or nearly 40 millions of acres; its latitude being from 30° to 35° N., and its longitude from 80° to 86° W. Like the Carolinas, it has three distinct zones, or belts, of territory; that on the sea-coast being low, and full of islands and creeks; that in the centre being dry and sandy, or pine-barrens; and the westernmost belt being hilly and mountainous, increasing in salubrity as you advance from the sea into the interior.

In this variety of soil and elevation the inhabitants find great advantage; as cotton and rice are cultivated on the sea islands and the low and swampy flats near the coast; while in the other parts of the country are produced tobacco, indigo, and fruits. Sugar, also, is raised in the southern section of the State, where the climate is almost tropical; and there are grown excellent melons, with the orange, lemon, citron, olive, grape, fig, and pomegranate; while apples, peaches, and plums are the production of the higher region. Among the trees, the live-oak, an evergreen, is most conspicuous, and cedar, red and white, firs or pines, hickory, and white oak, are the most common. The magnolia is seen in large trees in the woods, and flowers of great richness and variety abound in every garden.

The principal rivers are the Savannah, Altamaha, Ogeechee, Satilla, Ockmulgee, Oconee, St. Mary's, Flint, Chattahoochee, Tallapoosee, and Coosa. Some

mineral springs exist in the interior, and are now visited by invalids. Several fine cataracts, or falls, are spoken of in the western part of the State, and valuable gold mines have been lately brought into working; while iron and copper are also found in the mountains; and the making of wine, and the growing of silk, both from the common mulberry and the *morus multicaulis*, are beginning to be carried on as experiments, and with good hope of success.

The government of the State consists of a Governor, and two Houses of Legislature, which meet at Milledgeville, the legislative capital of the State, for a few months in the winter. The constitution of the State, and the election and term of office of its representatives and senators, differ in nothing from that of the other States generally. The governor has a salary of 3000 dollars, or £600 sterling, per annum; while the secretary of state, the comptroller-general, the treasurer, and the surveyor-general, have each only 2000 dollars. The judiciary is divided into ten circuits, with a judge for each circuit; their salaries being each 2100 dollars. These judges are appointed by the legislature for life, or during good behaviour. But there is an inferior court held in each county, composed of five justices, who are elected by the people every five years, and who serve without salary. There is, however, no court of errors, or tribunal of appeal from the decisions of any of the circuit courts, so that the judgment of each is final; and though several attempts have been made to establish such a court, public opinion seems to be against

it, from a conviction that increasing the number of courts and judges, only gives rise to increased litigation and increased expense to the suitors.

The maintenance of the poor is by a "poor-tax," levied on the inhabitants of each county in which any poor are found. But as the slave population perform almost all the laborious duties in agriculture, and as emigrants do not come here from Europe direct in any great numbers, the poor are so few that no returns are ever made of their numbers, or the cost of their subsistence.

Education is well provided for in Georgia. At Athens, in the interior of the State, is a college which has about 200 students. At Columbus, in the same State, is a female college, recently established, and containing an equal number of students; and in each county there is an academy for the higher branches of education. An act was passed, in January of the present year, to establish a general system of education by common schools, by which the academic and poor school funds are to be blended in one, and augmented by occasional grants from the State, to be applied to the promotion of education generally in all its branches. The whole of the schools, academies, and college, are under the superintendence of a board, called the *Senatus Academicus*, composed of the governor and senate of the State and fifteen trustees. These appoint a board of commissioners in each county, of which there are 39, to superintend the academy and common schools in each. In 1817, 200,000 dollars were appropriated by the State legislature, for the establishment of free-

schools, and there are now upwards of 100 academies in the State, besides common schools, increasing in number every year.

Religion is also well supported, and wholly by the voluntary system. There are upwards of 400 Baptist churches and 40,000 communicants. The Methodists have 80 ministers and about 30,000 members. The Presbyterians have 60 churches, the Episcopalians 6; and there are places of worship also for Universalists, Unitarians, Lutherans, Quakers, and Jews; but the last five are among the fewest in number of all the sects. The aggregate, however, makes nearly 600 churches to a population of 600,000 in round numbers; thus keeping up the usual ratio throughout the United States, of a place of worship to every 1000 inhabitants; a larger proportion, it is believed, than that of any other country on the globe; and itself, no doubt, a consequence of the larger proportion of schools and people educated, to the whole community, than anywhere else exists.

The banking capital of the State is considerable, exceeding, it is believed, at the present moment, ten millions of dollars. A large proportion of this, however, is employed in promoting internal improvement in railroads and canals; the result is, that these works are carried on with great vigour, and bid fair to place Georgia on a par with any of the northern States in these respects, within a few years from the present period.

CHAP. VIII.

Description of the city of Savannah—Plan of Savannah—Streets, squares, and public buildings—Private houses, shops, hotels—Churches—Monument to Pulaski—Population, white and coloured—Character and manners of private society—Public ball, social circles, hospitality—Ladies of Savannah—Union of piety and benevolence—Military spirit, volunteers, Washington's birth-day—Youths of the South, premature independence—Early marriages—Contrast of the Old and New World—Desirability of a better order of emigrants.

SAVANNAH, the principal city and sea-port of Georgia, is agreeably and advantageously situated; it was founded, and its plan laid out, by Governor Oglethorpe in 1733; and as his own description of the locality, and the reasons which induced him to select it, are remarkable for their clearness, and interesting from their precision, I transcribe them from an original letter of his writing, dated "From the camp near Savannah, the 10th of February, 1733," and addressed to the trustees who formed the proprietary government then in London.

"I gave you an account in my last of our arrival in Charleston. The governor and assembly have given us all possible encouragement. Our people arrived at Beaufort on the 20th of January, where I lodged them in some new barracks built for the soldiers, whilst I went myself to view the Savannah river. I fixed upon a healthy situation, about ten miles from the sea. The river here forms a half-moon, along the south side of which the banks are about forty feet high, and on the top a flat, which they call a bluff. The plain high ground extends into the country about five

or six miles, and along the river-side about a mile. Ships that draw twelve feet water can ride within ten yards of the bank. Upon the river-side, in the centre of this plain, I have laid out the town, opposite to which is an island of very rich pasturage, which I think should be kept for the trustees' cattle. The river is pretty wide, the water fresh, and from the key (quay) of the town you see its whole course to the sea, with the island of Tybee, which forms the mouth of the river. For about six miles up the river into the country, the landscape is very agreeable, the stream being wide, and bordered with woods on both sides. The whole people arrived here on the 1st of February; at night their tents were got up. Till the 10th, we were taken up in unloading and making a crane, which I then could not get finished, so I took off the hands; and set some to the fortification, and began to fell the woods. I have marked out the town and common; half of the former is already cleared, and the first house was begun yesterday in the afternoon."

It is not often, in the history of cities, that one can obtain such exact and minute information as this from the hands of their founders; but its very rarity increases its interest when it can be obtained, and therefore I venture to add the following, from a letter written soon after by the governor, dated February 20, 1733.

"Our people are all in perfect health; I chose the situation for the town upon an high ground, forty feet perpendicular above high-water mark; the soil dry and sandy, the water of the river fresh, and springs coming out of the side of the hill. I pitched upon this place, not only for the pleasantness of the situation, but because, from the above-mentioned and other signs, I thought it healthy; for it is sheltered from the western and southern winds by vast woods of pine-trees, many of which are an hundred, and few under seventy feet high. An Indian nation who knew the nature of this country chose the same spot for its healthiness."

The city is laid out with the greatest regularity, the streets running in parallel lines with the river

from east to west, and these crossed by others at right angles running north and south. Philadelphia itself is not more perfect in its symmetry than Savannah; and the latter has this advantage over the former, that there are no less than eighteen large squares, with grass-plats and trees, in the very heart of the city, disposed at equal distances from each other in the greatest order; while every principal street is lined on each side with rows of trees, and some of the broader streets have also an avenue of trees running down their centre. These trees are called by some, the Pride of India, and by others, the Pride of China; they give out a beautiful lilac flower in the spring. There are others also, as the live-oak, and the wild cherry, both evergreens, and, when in full foliage, their aspect and their shade must be delightful. Even now, in February, when this is written, the prospect up and down every street in the city, intersected as it is by squares and rows of trees, is peculiarly pleasing, and gives the whole the most rural appearance imaginable.

Along the bank of the river, and on the edge of the bluff on which the city stands, is a long and broad street, having its front to the water, and built only on one side. The part nearest the water is planted with rows of trees, having seats placed between; and this street, which is called "The Bay," is the principal resort for business. The counting-houses, warehouses, and best shops, are along this Bay; the Exchange and Post Office, as well as the city offices, are here; and underneath the bluff, or cliff, are the warehouses and wharfs, alongside which the vessels load with cotton, while the tops of their masts are a

little higher only than the level of the street, the height of the cliff from the water varying from forty to seventy feet.

The city is nearly oblong in shape its greatest length from east to west along the river's banks, being about 5,000 feet, and its depth inward from the river to the land, north and south, about 2,500 feet.

Every part of the town is level; and the general breadth of the streets varies from 80 to 150 feet. This ensures a thorough ventilation, from whatever quarter the wind may blow; and, with the fine shade of the trees around, makes it delightful to ride in; but the whole surface is sand, often as loose and deep as in the Deserts of Arabia, and, after dry weather for any length of time, it is as heavy to walk on as the loosest sand on the sea-shore. It is never removed, so that none of the streets are paved; but as the sand is heavy, there is not much fine dust blowing about in the air, though it adheres to the clothes of those who walk. The few side pavements that exist are of brick; but a great portion of the streets are without side pavements at all; and this increases the distaste for walking much in them, except after a heavy rain, when, instead of mud being created, as in other cities, the walking is much improved, by the sands being hardened and pressed together by the rains, while their absorption of all the moisture that falls, prevents exhalation, and makes the air dry, and the ground firm and compact.

The greater number of the dwelling-houses are built of wood, and painted white; but there are many handsome and commodious brick buildings occupied

as private residences, and a few mansions, built by an English architect, Mr. Jay—son of the celebrated divine of that name at Bath—which are of beautiful architecture, of sumptuous interior, and combine as much of elegance and luxury as are to be found in any private dwellings in the country. The shops are in general small, and not well provided with goods, though some wholesale warehouses on an extensive scale are found. Of hotels, there are three, the City Hotel, the Mansion House, and the Pulaski; but as they all belong to the same proprietor, there is no competition among them, and the usual consequences follow—great indifference, and most extravagant charges. The Pulaski, at which we stopped, was the best, and the dearest;—our party of four, including my youngest son and a man-servant, costing, to board and lodge, without private sitting-rooms, ten dollars per day.

Of public buildings there are not many remarkable ones. The Exchange, Post Office, and City Offices, are all included in a large brick edifice on "The Bay," surmounted by a tower, and from this is to be had the finest and most interesting view of the city. The Court House is a chaste building, of the Doric order, with portico and colonnade, near the centre of the town. The United States' Bank, and the Bank of the State of Georgia, are two handsome edifices; and these, with the Custom House, the Academy, the Theatre, the Public Market, the Arsenal, and the Jail, with some new barracks recently built for the United States' troops, who are now employed in the Florida war, make up the sum of the public buildings of the city.

Of churches there are ten; two Presbyterian, one Episcopal, one Methodist, one Baptist, one Roman Catholic, one Unitarian, one Lutheran, and two meeting-houses for coloured people, as well as a synagogue for the Jews, who are here as numerous and wealthy as at Charleston. Of these churches, there is but one that is very conspicuous, and this is the Independent-Presbyterian church, which is really a beautiful structure. It was built by the architect of the two fine churches at Providence, but is larger than either; its spire is one of the loftiest, lightest, and most elegant that I had yet seen in the country; its portico is chaste and well proportioned; and its interior, for vastness, richness, and general beauty of effect, surpasses any place of worship that I remember to have seen in America. It cost 120,000 dollars, and is as substantial as it is elegant.

Of the public monuments there is one in the centre of Monument-square, being an obelisk of stone, on a raised pedestal, erected to the memory of Count Pulaski, a Polish noble, who, like his countryman Kosciusko, and Lafayette of France, took an active part in the war of the American revolution; and receiving his death-wound in the attack on Savannah, when the fleet of France and army of the United States combined for that purpose, while it was in possession of the British, he died at sea, and was buried in the deep with martial honours.

Another monument is about to be erected in another of the public squares, to the memory of the numerous citizens of Savannah, who, during the last year, perished in the wreck of the steam-ship Pulaski. This vessel was blown up by the bursting

of her boilers, on a voyage from Savannah and Charleston to New York, whither she was conveying about 300 of the members of the most wealthy and influential families of these two cities, on their way to the springs of Saratoga, for health and pleasure, when upwards of 200 were consigned to a premature grave. There is scarcely a respectable family in Charleston or Savannah, that has not to mourn the loss of some friend or connexion by this afflicting event; and all parties have contributed to the erection of a very elegant monument, to commemorate their loss. The design is by a classical artist, Mr. Frazee, of New York; and when executed, it will be a great ornament to the city.

The population of Savannah is estimated to be at present 10,000, of whom about 5,000 are whites, and the remainder mostly slaves, though there are some free coloured people residing here. The white population are chiefly merchants, planters, bankers, and professional men; the laborious trades being all carried on by coloured persons, and nearly all the severe and menial labour is performed by slaves. Like the society of Charleston, this of Savannah is characterized by great elegance in all their deportment; the men are perfect gentlemen in their manners, and the women are accomplished ladies. A high sense of honour, and a freedom from all the little meannesses and tricks of trade, seem to prevail universally among the gentlemen, who are liberal, frank, and hospitable, without ostentation, or much pretence; while the ladies are not only well educated, but elegant in their manners, and mingle with the pleasures of the social circle, much of grace, and

dignity, blended with the greatest kindness and suavity.

The principal causes of this difference from the coldness, formality, and reserve of the north, is, no doubt, partly to be attributed to climate, partly to the different style of living, and a great deal to the circumstance, that as all persons of moderate fortunes live here upon a footing of equality with the wealthiest, there is not that straining after distinction, and the practice of various arts to obtain it, which prevail in cities where the aristocracy is composed of three or four grades, or castes, each anxious to outrival and overtop the other, which begets uneasiness, jealousy, suspicion, and an extraordinary degree of fastidiousness as to the acquaintances formed, the parties visited, and the guests entertained. The graceful ease and quiet elegance of the southern families, make their visiters feel that they are in the society of well-bred and recognized gentlemen and ladies; while in the north, the doubt and ambiguity as to relative rank and position, and the overstrained efforts to be thought genteel, make the stranger feel that he is in the presence of persons new to the sphere of polished society, and labouring under an excessive anxiety about the opinion of others, which makes them a burthen to themselves.

On the second day after our arrival at Savannah, there was a large party given by the gentlemen residing at the Pulaski House, to those families of the city from whom they had received civilities; and to this party, as strangers recently arrived, we were invited. The entire suite of rooms was devoted to

its reception, and there must have been from 300 to 400 persons present. The party was an extremely elegant one in every respect; and we did not remark a single awkward or ill-bred person present. Among the ladies were a great number of very lovely faces, with the peculiarly animated expression of the southern women, in their dark eyes and hair, and soft Italian complexions. They appeared also more healthy, as well as more animated, than their northern countrywomen, and were in general dressed in better taste, less showily and less expensively, but with more simple elegance in form, and more chasteness in colour. A number of naval officers, in uniform, mingled in the party, and many gentlemen came in to town from the plantations to attend it. The dancing was good, the band was wholly formed of negroes, and the supper was in the most unexceptionable style. Altogether, it was one of the most brilliant parties I had seen in the country, and had as much of ease and elegance in it as could be seen in any party of similar numbers in London or Paris.

The social entertainments and family circles which we had the privilege of enjoying in Savannah, were extremely agreeable. As almost every family keeps a carriage, morning and evening visits are rarely interrupted by weather; and, as great cordiality appears to exist among all the residents, so strangers who become known to one family, are speedily introduced to every other. Gentlemen have their convivial meetings at each others' houses, and enjoy their athletic sports in clubs; one of which, the Quoit Club, I visited, and found a number of the members engaged in the healthy and vigorous exercise of

throwing the discus, in which both strength of arm and accuracy of sight was manifested. The game was played after dinner, commencing about three in the afternoon, and lasting till sunset. The ground was about half a mile from the town, under the shade of a cluster of fine trees. Wine and cigars were provided for the members and visiters; and the use of both is so universal here, that I was the only visiter the members could remember since the club was formed, who had declined to partake of either. It should be added, however, that though wine is universally drank here, and champaigne in abundance, of which the ladies partake as freely as the gentlemen, I saw no intemperance, in the *ordinary* acceptation of that term, or, in other words, no intoxication. Spirit-drinking has been long since discontinued by the gentry, though it was once as frequent as wine-drinking is now; and when the Temperance Societies of the South shall take the high ground of entire abstinence from all intoxicating drinks, I have no doubt, that after a few years, wine-drinking will become as rare as spirit-drinking is at present.

The ladies of Savannah, though enjoying freely all the pleasures of elegant society, are not behind their countrywomen in the north, in the zeal with which they promote benevolent objects. An Orphan Asylum for the maintenance, education, and putting out to useful occupations, of orphans of both sexes, is chiefly maintained by ladies here; they have also Sewing Societies, the members of which meet once a week at each others' houses, and occupy four or five hours in needlework, the produce of which is devoted to the support of benevolent objects at home, and

missionary exertions abroad; they appeared to me religious without being fanatical, and pious without being puritanical; thus blending elegant and innocent recreation, with charitable and philanthropic undertakings.

The military spirit seems to be as strong in this quarter as elsewhere, and men of all classes delight in military titles, and military displays. The principal banker and the principal bookseller of the city were both colonels; the hotel-keeper was a major; and captains abound in every class; nor do they receive their titles on parade only, but in the every-day address of business and conversation. During our stay at Savannah, the anniversary of Washington's birth-day, February 22d, was celebrated by a military display; and the companies that turned out on that occasion were well dressed, well disciplined, and had as perfectly martial an air as the National Guards of Paris, to which, both in uniform, stature, and general appearance, they bore a marked resemblance. During their exercises of the day, they fired at a target with rifles, and put in their balls with extraordinary skill. They are habituated to this practice, it is true, from their youth upward, for almost every boy of fourteen or fifteen has a horse and a rifle. Shooting matches are therefore frequent, and in deer-shooting they have almost daily opportunities of trying their aim; as the wild deer are here so abundant that they are shot in the woods within a mile or two of the town; and venison is therefore to be seen on almost every table.

The youths of both sexes appear to be brought up in less subjection to parental authority than in

England. The boys are educated chiefly at day-schools: between the hours of school-attendance they are under very little restraint, and do pretty nearly what they like; many carry sticks or canes with them, and some even affect the bravo, by carrying bowie-knives, but it is more for show than use. The young ladies being also educated at day-schools, or at home, have much greater liberty allowed them in the disposal of their time, and the arrangement and control of their visits, than girls of the same age in England. The consequence is, great precosity of manners in both sexes, and often very early marriages. The following is taken from the newspapers of Savannah, and from the Augusta Sentinel, of February 20, 1839:—

"MARRIED—On the 7th inst., by the Rev. S. Gibson, Mr. Hiram Dill, aged 14, to Miss Margaret Ann Langley, aged 13 years, both of Greenville District, South Carolina."

There are, however, few elopements, or seductions, and domestic infidelity is very rare; so that on the whole, married life appears to be quite as happy as in England; with this great advantage on the side of married life in America, namely, that almost all who marry are in easy circumstances as to fortune, or if not, they are sure to become so, if they exercise only ordinary prudence, because every kind of business is prosperous here, and labour of every description is handsomely rewarded; while in England, there are hundreds of newly-married persons who struggle on from month to month and year to year, with difficulties, arising from competition in the same branch of business, or the same professional career,

which no amount of industry or prudence will overcome, and from which nothing but extraordinary ability, powerful patronage, or that favourable combination of circumstances, called "good luck," will extricate them. The same persons, if they could be transplanted to almost any part of the United States, would not only live at ease for the present, but, by a very slight attention to economy, would be sure of laying up provision for the future; and, above all, would be able to ensure to their children, however numerous, a good education, useful and well-paid employment, admission into good society, and every prospect of an elegant, if not an opulent retirement in old age:—prospects that are but dim and distant to the great majority of the struggling middle classes in England.

I have so often been struck with this since our residence in America, that I have thought it might be worth while to devise some plan by which the governments of the two countries might co-operate to promote the transfer, from various parts of Britain to the United States, not of the utterly destitute, as in the case of emigrants, but of people of small means, but good information, and high moral character among the middle classes. Both countries would benefit greatly by such an operation. England, by lessening the severity of that competition which makes all classes feel they are overstocked with labourers, and can only live by outbidding each other in the smallness of the remuneration they will consent to receive; and America, by the infusion into her growing population, of a much better stock and race than the present emigrants generally are.

CHAP. IX.

Newspapers, instability of editors—Coloured population, comfort of domestic slaves—Visit to a rice plantation, condition of field slaves—Comparison of slavery and free domestic servitude—Anecdote of negro indolence and industry—Absconding slaves and rewards for their capture—Democratic papers most hostile to abolition—Anecdote of American sovereignty in the people—Public rebuke of female abolitionists—Speech of Mr. Clay against abolition—Opinions of different parties on this speech—Amusing peculiarity of American politicians—Excursion to Bonaventure, near Savannah—Public meeting for establishing a "Sailors' Home"—Ladies' meeting for promoting Indian and Chinese Missions.

THERE are two newspapers in Savannah, the Daily Georgian, a democratic print, and the Daily Republican, a whig journal. Neither of these are so remarkable for talent or circulation as the Charleston Courier; but, like the Charleston papers, they are untainted by the vituperative language and abusive style of too many of the papers of the north. A third paper was attempted while we were here, called the Daily Telegraph; and though we were only in Savannah a fortnight altogether, we were there long enough to witness its birth and death, for it lived only eight days, and then expired.

The newspapers of the south are much dearer than those at the north; the two established journals here, as well as those at Charleston, selling for 12½ cents, or sixpence sterling per copy, though neither of them are as large as the smallest evening

papers in England, and there are neither stamps, duty on paper, reporters, news collectors, or paid correspondents, as on an English paper of any reputation. A single editor, frequently without any assistant, writes the whole of the original matter, which rarely exceeds a single column, the rest of the pages being made up of compilations cut out from other papers; and as three pages of standing advertisements are usually kept in the journals of largest circulation, there is only a single page of new matter to be set up daily; so that the expense of getting up the whole is very inconsiderable.

Notwithstanding this, the greater number of the country papers in America are far from being profitable; 1000 copies is considered a large circulation; advertising, by the year, is very cheap, though the transient advertisements of the day are as dear as in the country papers of England, a dollar being the usual sum for the shortest. The great cause of embarrassment to newspaper proprietors, is the difficulty of obtaining payments from their subscribers, the amount being small to each individual, scattered over a great extent of country, and costing twice as much labour and expense to collect, as bills of any other kind, not from the inability of parties to pay, but from their indifference and negligence. The plan of obtaining payment in advance is sometimes resorted to, but this is not easy to be secured, from the want of confidence in their stability, as so many papers start with every prospect of success, and are relinquished either for want of means, or want of perseverance, or from something more lucrative having tempted the editor into other undertakings.

The condition of the coloured population, slave and free, excited in me the liveliest interest, as I was anxious to see and judge for myself on this much contested point. Here, as at Charleston, the greatest anxiety seemed to be manifested on all sides as to my opinions on slavery. With some few I could safely venture to let these be known; as they were liberal enough to suppose that a man might, from conviction, be in favour of abolition, without designing any evil to the country; but with the great bulk of the white population here, the name of an abolitionist was more terrible than that of an incendiary, a rebel, or a murderer, and to such it would have been useless to make any observations on the subject.

From all I could perceive or learn, the condition of the domestic servants, or slaves of the household, was quite as comfortable as that of servants in the middle ranks of life in England. They are generally well-fed, well-dressed, attentive, orderly, respectful, and easy to be governed, but more by kindness than by severity.

If the slaves of America were confined to household attendants, I have no doubt that their condition would be very far from miserable; because the master and mistress of a family, and all the younger members of it, feel as natural a pride in having their personal attendants to look well in person and in dress, when slaves, as they do when their servants are free; for the same reason as ladies or gentlemen in England like to have their livery servants handsome and well-dressed, and their carriage-horses sleek, glossy, well-fed, and caparisoned with handsome harness. But when slaves are employed in

field labour, as instruments of producing wealth, or when they are owned by one party, and hired out to another for wages to be received by the owner, then the case is very different, because the object is then, in each instance, to make as much money by them as possible, and turn them, as property, to the most profitable account; so that the least expense in food and clothing, compatible with keeping them alive and in working condition, leaves the largest amount of gain; and therefore their personal appearance is no more attended to than that of cart-horses or post-horses, as compared with the attention bestowed on the carriage-horses as a part of the family equipage.

We visited one of the rice plantations in the neighbourhood of Savannah, and saw the condition of the slaves on it with our own eyes. The estate was considered to be a valuable one, and under a fair condition of management, not among the best nor among the worst, but just such an average plantation as we wished to examine. The dwellings for the negroes were built of wood, ranged in rows of great uniformity, raised a little above the ground, each building containing two or more rooms, with a fire-place for two. We saw also the nursery for the children, and the sick-room or hospital for those who were hurt or diseased, and we had communication with the overseer, and several of the people, from both of whom we learnt the following facts, as to their routine of labour, food, and treatment.

The slaves are all up by daylight; and every one who is able to work, from eight or nine years old and upwards, repair to their several departments of field-labour. They do not return to their houses

either to breakfast or dinner; but have their food cooked for them in the field, by negroes appointed to that duty. They continue thus at work till dark, and then return to their dwellings. There is no holiday on Saturday afternoon, or any other time throughout the year, except a day or two at Christmas; but from daylight to dark, every day except Sunday, they are at their labour. Their allowance of food consists of a peck, or two gallons, of Indian corn per week, half that quantity for working boys and girls, and a quarter for little children. This corn they are obliged to grind themselves, after their hours of labour are over; and it is then boiled in water, and made into hominey, but without anything to eat with it, neither bread, rice, fish, meat, potatoes, or butter; boiled corn and water only, and barely a sufficient quantity of this for subsistence.

Of clothes, the men and boys had a coarse woollen jacket and trousers once a year, without shirt or any other garment. This was their winter dress; their summer apparel consists of a similar suit of jacket and trousers of the coarsest cotton cloth. Absence from work, or neglect of duty, was punished with stinted allowance, imprisonment, and flogging. A medical man visited the plantation occasionally, and medicines were administered by a negro woman called the sick-nurse. No instruction was allowed to be given in reading or writing, no games or recreations were provided, nor was there indeed any time to enjoy them if they were. Their lot was one of continued toil, from morning to night, uncheered even by the *hope* of any change, or prospect of improvement in condition.

In appearance, all the negroes that we saw looked insufficiently fed, most wretchedly clad, and miserably accommodated in their dwellings; for though the exteriors of their cottages were neat and uniform, being all placed in regular order and whitewashed, yet nothing could be more dirty, gloomy, and wretched than their interiors; and we agreed that the criminals in all the state-prisons of the country, that we had yet seen, were much better off in food, raiment, and accommodation, and much less severely worked, than those men, whose only crime was that they were of a darker colour than the race that held them in bondage.

It is constantly alleged here, that the condition of the field slaves, though confessedly inferior to that of the domestic attendants, is not worse than that of the labouring population of England; but though this is much worse than it ought to be, it is still greatly above the condition of the slave, even in a physical point of view; while in a moral and intellectual one, the superiority is still more marked. The slave can never be instructed—the law forbids his being taught to read or write, under the severest penalties. He cannot, therefore, ever receive much of moral or intellectual culture, neither can he hope in any way to rise from his present dependent condition; but an English peasant, manufacturer, or artisan, may be taught anything he has a disposition to learn, and may rise to independence at least, if not to opulence; while the *hope* of better days never abandons him, but sheds a ray of light on his path, and comfort around his heart, which the very condition of a slave renders it impossible that he should ever experience.

It is usual here also to say, that supposing the slaves were made free, they would be unable to maintain themselves, and would not work even for their own benefit, as they are incapable of voluntary exertion. Yet in the face of this often-repeated assertion, I learnt here the following facts, and from the same persons that so confidently insisted on the indolence and incapacity of the slaves—

A wealthy planter said to me, "I assure you that these negroes are the laziest creatures in the world, and would never work but by compulsion. Now, I have a fellow on my plantation, who for fourteen or fifteen days past has been complaining of rheumatism, and could not be brought to work for an hour; he was so ill, as he said, as to be unable. On Sunday last, I was walking on the bay, looking down the river, when who should I see but my rheumatic rascal, pulling up in his boat with some things to sell on his own account, the fellow having rowed a distance of fourteen or fifteen miles for a market." I replied, "The reason is very plain: he was too ill to work for *you*, because he got nothing more by working than by being idle; but he was quite well enough to work for *himself*, because his labour was well rewarded." "Egad!" said the planter, "but you have hit it; that is no doubt the cause of the difference." I rejoined, "This is the whole solution of the question; no man will labour for another's profit with the same zeal that he will for his own; and the difference between the indolent apprentice toiling for his master, and the active journeyman working for himself, is just the difference between the exertions of the slave and the free." To this no reply was made.

I was further shown instances of coloured persons settled in the town, as carpenters, bricklayers, tailors, barbers, &c. who had acquired property, in materials of trade and houses, and managed their affairs with so much prudence as even to be getting rich, merely because they received the whole of the profits of their labour, instead of its being handed over to a master, who, after maintaining them, pockets the surplus as his own lawful profit.

Instances of hiring out negroes to work, not for their own benefit, but for that of their owners, are common; and I select, from among a hundred such cases that came every day before the public eye, the following, taken from a single column of a Charleston newspaper, in succession—

"To be hired, three able-bodied experienced Boatmen. Inquire at this office."

"To be hired, a Boy, a good House-servant, and capable of taking charge of horses. Apply at this office."

"To hire, a likely Mulatto Boy, fifteen years old, accustomed to House Work. Apply at this office."

"To hire, a Boy accustomed to waiting about House. Inquire at 43 Beaufain-street, opposite Coming."

"To Master Tailors.—To hire by the year, at very low wages, a young Fellow who has served six years at the Tailoring Business. Apply at 112 Queen-st."

"Nurse to hire. A young Wench, of good disposition. Also, two prime young Wenches. Apply at this office."

These were all negroes, or coloured people, belonging to owners who hired them out to others, and received a profit from their labours, as interest of the capital laid out on their purchase. In the Savannah papers the following appeared—

"*Negroes wanted.*—The contractors upon the Brunswick and Alatamaha Canal, are desirous to hire a number of Prime Negro Men, from the 1st October next, for fifteen months, until the 1st January, 1840, or for any term within these dates, not less than twelve months. They will pay at the rate of Eighteen dollars per month for each prime hand. Payments to be made quarterly.

"These negroes will be employed in the excavation of the canal. They will be provided with three and a half pounds of pork, or bacon, and ten quarts of gourd-seed corn per week, lodged in comfortable shantees, and attended constantly by a skilful physician.

"As the Contractors are now making their arrangements for the work of the next year, all those who will be disposed to hire negroes for the coming season are requested to make immediate application, and obtain any further information that may be desired at the office of the contractors in Brunswick.

"J. H. COUPER,
"P. M. NIGHTINGALE."

It will be seen that there are two strong inducements offered here—high wages to tempt the owner to hire out his negroes, and good living to tempt the men to go readily into such service, if their masters desired them. But it cannot fail to be also seen, that if the men's labour is really worth the eighteen dollars per month, and their provisions besides, it is a positive robbery of their only natural wealth, the labour of their hands, to steal it from their pockets, and place it in that of their owners. It does not require the aid of reading and writing for the negroes to discover this: and the greater part of them are no doubt quite conscious of the injustice thus done to them, though the remedy is beyond their reach. The only thing they can do is to run away, and try to get to some place where they can work for themselves,

and enjoy the profit of their own toil. The following, from a Savannah paper, as one of a hundred such announcements, abundantly proves this.

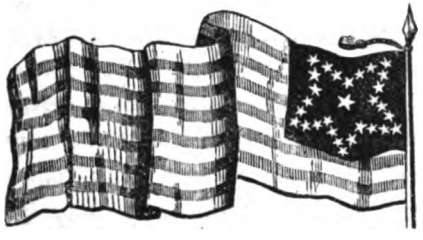
"One Hundred Dollars Reward will be given for my two Fellows, Abram and Frank, who have absconded, or fifty dollars for either of them, to be put in some secure jail, so that I get them. Abram is a tall, likely black man; Frank, a yellow complected man; he stutters, and has a pleasing countenance; both likely, active men. Abram has a wife at Colonel Stewart's in Liberty County, and a sister in Savannah at Capt. Grovenstine's. Frank has a wife at Mr. Le Cont's, Liberty County, a mother at Thunderbolt, and a sister in Savannah. *They will, in all probability be at work on the wharves in Savannah, and on board of vessels.* All persons are cautioned not to harbour or employ them, as no expense will be spared in prosecuting, if proof can be had.

"WM. ROBARTS,
"Walthourville, Liberty Co. Jan. 5, 1839."

This is an announcement, dated from "*Liberty* County," and the object is to arrest and punish those who thought that liberty was better than slavery, and therefore sought the change. As a proof, however, that it was not indolence, or a dislike of labour, which prompted this step, their very owner publicly asserts the probability that they would "be found *working* on the wharves or on board ships," where they would enjoy the fruits of their own labour, instead of its being appropriated to enrich another.

Here, too, as at Charleston, the most democratic papers were most violent in their denunciation of Abolitionism; and the strangest contrast was often observable in the columns of the same paper; one page teeming with proofs of the ultra-democratic or extreme republican views of the editor, and the

other advocating the most uncontrolled despotism over the slave population, and deprecating any interference with the "cherished institutions" and "constitutional rights of the South." The Daily Georgian, for instance, from which some of the advertisements respecting the sale and hire of slaves, and rewards for their apprehension, were taken, has, over its leading article, an American flag unfurled, exhibiting its stripes and stars to the eye, and under it are the following lines, repeated in every day's paper, as the motto of its principles—



"Flag of the Free! still bear thy sway,
Undimmed through ages yet untold;
O'er Earth's proud realms thy stars display,
Like morning's radiant clouds unrolled.
Flag of the Skies! still peerless shine,
Through ether's azure vault unfurled,
Till every hand and heart entwine,
To sweep Oppression from the world."

In the same spirit, and to keep alive, as much as possible, the democratic sentiment, all anecdotes tending to exhibit this prominent characteristic of American institutions, are highly relished and universally acceptable; such as this, taken from the Charleston Mercury, and repeated in all the papers, probably, of the Union—

"A distinguished American lady, while at Rome, was asked by a Cardinal, if he could have the pleasure of presenting her to the Pope. On her inquiring whether she would be permitted to converse with His Holiness, the Cardinal replied, that she could not; for this was an honour confined to princesses of the blood, the daughters of sovereigns. 'But, sir,' replies the lady, 'I am a princess of the blood, and a daughter of a sovereign; for in America the people are *all* sovereigns, and I am the daughter of one of the people.' His Holiness was so much pleased with this Spartan boldness, that an interview was granted, and the American princess admitted to an honour to which no lady of private station had ever before aspired."

When these American princesses, however, attempt to exercise even the rights of ordinary citizens in their own country, on the proscribed topic of Abolition, they are soon taught, by severe public rebuke, that they are not *quite* so free as they are represented to be, and that their "sovereignty" is very limited indeed. Of this, the following may be taken as proof, from the Savannah Telegraph of February, 1839—

"*Abolition in Delaware.*—The following brief, but significant report, was lately made in the Legislature of Delaware, by Mr. Jones of Wilmington, an able Democratic member.

"Mr. Jones on Friday presented the following report:—

"The Committee, to whom was referred the petition of 319 women of the city of Wilmington and county of New Castle, praying for the Abolition of Slavery throughout this State, beg leave to report—

"That they consider the petitioning of women, to our National and State Legislatures (which they regret to see is becoming so general a practice) as derogatory from that refinement and delicacy which should, under all circumstances, accompany the female character, and as an unwarranted interference in subjects that should more properly belong to their fathers, husbands, or brothers

"Your Committee are also decidedly of opinion, that the petitioners whose names are affixed to the memorial under consideration, would confer more real benefit upon society, if they hereafter confined their attention to matters of a domestic nature, and would be more solicitous to mend the garments of their husbands and children, than to patch the breaches of the laws and Constitution."

It was during my stay in Savannah that the speech of Mr. Clay, the Whig candidate for the Presidency at the next election, was published in the newspapers, and made matter of universal comment and conversation. It was delivered in the Senate of the United States on the 7th of February; and, both from the importance of the subject, and the position of the speaker, it was made the subject of eulogy, or censure, in almost every paper of the Union. Mr. Clay is the most prominent of the Whig leaders in Congress; but of late there had been some doubt as to the part he would take on the subject of Abolition. The friends of this doctrine in the North, belonging to the Whig party, had begun to indulge hopes that he would be with them; and many sincere Abolitionists were on this ground added to the ranks of his supporters for the next presidency. But he found by experience that he lost more friends in the slave-holding States, than he gained supporters in the free States, by this temporizing conduct; and discovered, also, that General Harrison, his rival Whig candidate, was gaining on him in many quarters. It is remarkable, too, that Mr. Van Buren's only hope of re-election to the presidency, was from his retaining the support of the South, by his opposition to negro-emancipation: they like his democracy well enough, but they like his determined opposition to the Abolitionists much

better. For any one to compete successfully with Mr. Van Buren for the presidency, it was indispensable that he should be as zealous an opponent of Abolition as the reigning president, or he would be deserted by the entire South, and consequently lose his election. This late movement of Mr. Clay, to proclaim his horror of Abolitionists, and their views and practices, is believed, therefore, by many to be a mere political manœuvre, and as such is denounced by most of the friends of the doctrines he espouses. As this is a very instructive lesson on the subject of American politics and politicians, I have selected for insertion here, three of the shortest and most striking comments on this speech, from the papers of the day. The first is from "The Constitutionalist," of Georgia, a very moderate and impartial journal; the editor of which says—

"We have read the speech of Mr. Clay on the Abolition question. The influence of his name will be felt, and the position he has assumed will have the salutary effect of neutralizing the efforts of the most fanatical of the Abolitionists to disturb the harmony of the Union, and the peace of the country. With pleasure then we receive the declarations of Mr. Clay on that deleterious question.

"We shall not question the sincerity of the declarations of Mr. Clay; but it must be permitted to us to express our surprise at the late period at which these declarations are made. Can it be possible that it is only a few weeks ago that Mr. Clay has formed an opinion on that important topic of the day? Why were not these declarations, and the expression of his opinion, made years ago? If he had taken two years ago that position which he now has assumed, the influence of his name would have prevented the angry feelings which sprung up in the South against a portion of our Northern brethren; because many of those Northern Whigs, friends of Mr. Clay, would have paused and reflected, before con-

necting themselves with the Abolitionists. Silence on the part of that gentleman has, no doubt, increased the number of those deluded citizens, especially when he was charged with an indirect support of the scheme proclaimed for the abolition of slavery in the district of Columbia and in the South. This charge was never publicly denied by Mr. Clay, until recently. Why then is the charge now denied? Is it to allay the excitement, which, by his silence, he has contributed to create? Is it to verify the charge alleged against him by one of the Georgia senators? If Mr. Clay believes that he will reap in the South all the benefits which he calculates on by his recent declarations, he will find himself greatly mistaken. The people of the South will not abandon men who have stood with them in defence of Southern institutions and Southern rights, when those institutions and those rights were assailed, for a man who stood aloof when the South wanted friends, and who, now that he finds it of necessity to propitiate this section of the Union, comes at the eleventh hour, and claims the same reward, for a labour which interest, perhaps, has induced him to perform."

The official organ of the government at Washington, the "Globe," deals with the speech in less measured terms, and speaks more truly the general feeling of the democratic party. The following is the article from that journal—

"In the senate to-day, Mr. Clay appeared in a new part. For some years past he was one of those who saw no harm in the Abolition movements. His biographer, Mr. Prentice, of the Louisville Journal, in his sketch of his life, has taken pains to varnish up for display in the light of Northern philanthropy, Mr. Clay's early Emancipation principles. This, Mr. Clay carefully kept alive himself, by proposing to set apart, in his distribution of the public lands, a portion to carry out this scheme. In 1836 he voted against the effort made by the administration to prevent the circulation of incendiary prints in the South, tending to excite insurrection; and even as late as the last session, he voted against Mr. Rives's resolution, throwing cold water on the firebrand petitions continually sent into Congress. But, to-day

what a sudden change we have had in all the senator's courtesy, kindness, and forbearance for Abolition—no sudden flaw of our variable city weather equals it. During the first part of the session Mr. Clay dodged every vote, and avoided, by a retreat behind the columns, any expression of opinion about the reception of Abolition petitions; but to-day he brought in an anti-abolition petition, and never was a party so belaboured in a set speech of some hours, as the fanatics! fanatics!! He denounced them all, and did not spare even the fair spinsters of the East. He conjured them to remember, that when with their fair hands they dipped their pens in ink to sign an Abolition petition, they dipped them in blood! He exhausted his pathos in portraying "conflagrated cities," "desolated fields," and scenes of "butchery and murder." There was not a man in the senate who did not see through this new act of the drama, the moment the curtain rose. Mr. Clay finds Harrison has the start of him with the Abolition-Antimasonic-Whigs."

The most able and influential of the southern papers, the "Charleston Courier," is so much more enamoured of Mr. Clay's anti-abolitionism, than it is displeased with his Whig principles, that it is lavish in his praise; and if the "Washington Globe" speaks the probable sentiments of the great bulk of the democratic party, and the "Georgia Constitutionalist" embodies the views of the more moderate of the Southern politicians, the Charleston Courier, no doubt, represents, with greater accuracy than either, the feelings and opinions of the slave-holding States, and its language is therefore important, as the index of the policy which that party are determined to preserve. The editor, Mr. Yeadon, is a gentleman of the bar, eminent in his profession, estimable in his character, sincere in his opinions, and independent in his expression of them; and all

these qualities give force and value to the productions of his pen. These, then, are the terms in which he speaks of Mr. Clay's speech—

"*Mr. Clay's Speech.*—We have given a hurried perusal to Mr. Clay's great anti-abolition speech in the American senate: and we will lay it before our daily readers as soon as our crowded columns will permit. It crowns its author with glory, and gives him new claims to the name and fame of a true and fearless patriot, and to the warm gush of Southern gratitude. The political tenets of the South may forbid it from ever supporting Mr. Clay for the presidency, but let it not deny him the meed due to his patriotism and fidelity to the Constitution. Twice before, namely, on the Missouri question and on the Tariff compromise, has he played the noble part of pacificator of the Union, and he has now literally swept Abolition from its moorings and coverts, dissevered it from the right of petition and other adventitious aids, and held it up, in isolated odium, to the scorn and indignation of the republic, leaving its frenzied advocate, the notorious Morris of Ohio, nothing but the sneers of the august and enlightened assembly he dared to insult with his treasonable balderdash.

"He divides the Abolitionists into three classes:—those who oppose slavery on grounds of humanity and philanthropy, and do not shame their profession by traitorous plottings, and conspiracies against the tranquillity of the South and the peace of the Union;—those who are misled into seeming co-operation with Abolition, by the false issue raised on the right of petition;—and those who recklessly and wickedly pursue their bad purpose, in utter disregard of the rights of property, the provisions of the Constitution, the rights of the States, and the preservation of our Union, and its glorious system of government;—and each class receives its due appreciation. An excoriating allusion is made to O'Connell, as the plunderer of his own country, and the libeller of a kindred people; and Mr. Stevenson is held pardonable for being made to swerve from his propriety by virtuous and patriotic indignation against the wretch. The mingling of Abolitionism with the politics of the country receives the just and stern rebuke, and is held up as an alarming symptom of the times. A rapid survey is taken

of the three prominent eras of Abolitionism in our republic. Simultaneously with the first operation of the federal constitution, it broke ground in the halls of the national legislature, by the process of petition, and a temperate and well-reasoned report reduced the Abolitionists themselves to reason, and quieted the country. Next, the Missouri question shook the Union with fearful motion; but the spirit of compromise, which dictated the Constitution, was again invoked, and we escaped the peril. The third epoch includes the last few years and the present time.

"This last excitement is the result of the stimulus given to the spirit of Abolition by British West India emancipation, an example inapplicable in all its aspects, political, social, and statistical, to this country; and the evil influence has been heightened and aggravated by those who would stake the peace and glory of their country on the hazard of the die, in the game of politics. Abolition in the district of Columbia, it is argued in a masterly and convincing manner, would be a violation of the public faith, implicitly pledged to Virginia and Maryland, when they ceded the district to the Union for a seat of government, and an unjust and dishonest perversion of the grant of exclusive legislation over the district to the national legislature. Abolition in Florida, it is insisted with equal force, would be in violation of the Spanish treaty of cession, and a trampling under foot of the Missouri compromise. The prevention of the removal of slaves from one state to another, is shown to be the result of a *destructive*, and not a *conservative* construction of the power to regulate commerce among the several States, and to be concluded by the constitutional recognition of slaves as 'property.' And the clause relating to the migration and importation of slaves, is proved to refer to the *introduction* and not the removal of that description of persons. Mr. Clay denounces the Abolitionists as aiming at universal emancipation; he shows that on the principles of the British example, their scheme would require, to carry it out, an indemnity of *twelve hundred millions of dollars*, which they ought to begin by raising, to pay the despoiled South. He demonstrates the malign workings of Abolitionism on the interests of the slaves themselves, by checking the efforts of benevolence for the melioration of their condition; and closes with an eloquent, touching, and heart-stirring appeal to

all parties in Congress, and all classes of his fellow-citizens, to resist the evil spirit of Abolitionism, rally around the constitution, and preserve the peace and tranquillity of the country.

"When Mr. Clay sat down, Mr. Calhoun, with honourable liberality, rose, and said he had heard the speech of the senator from Kentucky with the greatest pleasure. He thought it would have great effect. The work, said he, is done! Abolition is no more! The South is consolidated!

"Nor do we quarrel with him, that he should have added,

'Quorum pars magna fui.'

One of the most amusing peculiarities of American politicians, is the extraordinary effects which they predict, or proclaim, of the delivery of remarkable speeches. Mr. Calhoun says, "Abolition is no more." "The work is done;" and his admirers throughout the South will reiterate this sentiment in their several journals and meetings for a few weeks, when they will discover that Abolition is as fresh and vigorous as ever, and they will then be proposing new checks to keep the monster down. Though they exclaim, "and thrice we slew the slain," yet, after this threefold death, the demon rises again into stronger life than ever; and every subsequent death only makes his resurrection the more certain. It was during the last session of Congress only, at Washington, that Mr. Calhoun made a speech, in which he denounced Mr. Clay in such terms as induced the Washington editor of the "Chronicle" to say that Mr. Clay was "annihilated," and to predict that his name would never again be mentioned but as an "object of ridicule and scorn;" yet, in twelve months afterwards, his very denouncer is the same individual who rises to do him honour; so short-sighted are political predictions,

and so transient in duration are the most powerful political harangues.

During our stay at Savannah we enjoyed a pleasant excursion to a spot in the neighbourhood, called Bonaventure, the drive to which is among pine-trees and live-oaks, and over a road of deep sand, with here and there a magnolia-tree, of large size and noble proportions, mingling with the other inhabitants of the forest, and a variety of beautiful flowering shrubs, giving great richness to the foliage of the woods.

I attended here three meetings connected with benevolent objects, at which I was solicited to take part in the proceedings; and the result of each was extremely satisfactory.

The first of these was a meeting of the inhabitants of Savannah, to consider the claims of seamen on the sympathies of their fellow-countrymen, and the desirability of erecting for them a "Sailor's Home," in the shape of a boarding-house, adapted to their accommodation, with a union of comfort, economy, and sobriety, in a greater degree than are to be found in the existing establishments in which they are lodged and boarded on shore. The meeting was held in the large Presbyterian Church of Savannah, and was crowded to excess, there being, it was thought, at least 2,500 persons present, and many were unable to get in for want of room. After a suitable hymn and prayer by the pastor of the church, and the minister of another congregation in the city, I occupied the remainder of the evening by an address from the pulpit, on the subject for which the meeting was convened, enumerating the peculiar disadvantages under which seamen laboured, showing the numerous

temptations by which they were beset on every side, and pointing out the means by which their situation might be greatly improved, through the establishment of a "Sailor's Home," on the plan of those at Boston, New York, and other maritime cities; to which might be added a library and reading-room, a school for navigation, play-grounds for athletic sports, a savings-bank for their wages, and a store for the supply of cheap and well-made clothing. I cited the example of New Bedford, in raising, by a small tax on her tonnage, the sum of 10,000 dollars to build such a Home; and of Charleston, in raising a similar sum by a small tax on the rice and cotton shipped at her port. As the church, in which this address was delivered, had cost 120,000 dollars, which was furnished by the subscriptions of one sect only in the town, I appealed to the audience, as members of all the different sects in Savannah, whether they would suffer the reproach of being unable or unwilling to raise so small a sum as 10,000 dollars from their whole body, for so good and useful a purpose as that of building this "Sailor's Home," which when once erected, would maintain itself. The audience appeared to be deeply interested; and at the close of an address of about two hours, there was more of excitement and interest manifested than is usual in American audiences, especially in a place of worship, and on a Sabbath evening. I had the happiness of being assured also by those competent to judge, and sufficiently impartial to be relied on for their accuracy, that a deep impression had been made in favour of the undertaking advocated, and that the shipowners and merchants of Savannah

would no doubt see it carried forward and completed without delay.

The second meeting that I attended was at one of the largest and most splendid private residences in Savannah. It was held in the morning, at eleven o'clock, and consisted entirely of ladies, with the exception of a young Missionary, who had recently returned from India, China, and the Isles of the Pacific, in which he had laboured as a minister for several years. The ladies composing the meeting were members of a Society for promoting Education and Christianity among the Females of the East, and the object of their assembling was to hear from the young Missionary and myself, some details respecting the condition of women in Asiatic countries, and the probable success of any measures that might be taken to promote their elevation and improvement. The meeting was opened by reading a chapter of the Bible, and this was followed by prayer, after which, I spoke for about half an hour on the subject proposed, and answered various questions during another half hour. After this, the young Missionary gave some interesting details respecting the countries he had visited, the state of females there, and the probable success of the benevolent efforts of his country-women for their relief. The ladies at this meeting comprised members of the principal families of Savannah; they were all occupied with needle-work during the greater part of the time, and I learnt subsequently that this was in conformity to a rule of the Society—that work to a certain amount in value should be done by every member at their meetings during the year, and the proceeds applied to the

objects of the Society in aid of its funds. Every one seemed earnestly interested, and the morning was most agreeably occupied.

The third meeting that I attended was on the last evening of our stay in Savannah; namely, Sunday the 24th of February, when, at the request of some of the leading friends of the Temperance cause in the city, I delivered an address from the pulpit of the large Presbyterian church, to an audience of about 1,500 persons, giving a sketch of the rise, progress, and present state of the reformation in England, adding to this, various facts to prove the great utility of Temperance Societies, and advocating their being formed on the principle of total abstinence from all that can intoxicate, as the only certain preventive against the evils of intemperance.

Upon the whole, our stay in Savannah was as agreeable as any that we had yet made in either of the cities of the United States, and our enjoyments were unalloyed by a single drawback. Our only regret was that an intercourse so pleasurable as that which we had enjoyed with its intelligent and hospitable families, should be of such short duration, and so suddenly broken off. Every family on whom we called to take leave, evinced sincere regret at our departure, and we felt as though we were separating from friends of long standing, instead of two short weeks' acquaintance.

CHAP. X.

Embarkation in the steam-boat for Augusta—Sir Walter Raleigh's mound, raised by the Indians—Singular juxtaposition and contrast of names on the river—Settlement of Purisburgh by the Swiss—Trees and flowering shrubs of the forest—Alligators, snakes, birds, and wild animals—Vegetable moss in festoons of drapery on the trees—Rafts descending the river—Stations for firewood—Southern integrity—Superstition of African negroes—Vicissitudes of temperature—Steam-boat in the woods—Indian corn, ample returns—Cotton factories, slave-labour used—Arrival at Augusta.

On Monday, the 25th of February, we left Savannah for Augusta, in the steam-packet, "Thorne." The morning was extremely disagreeable—a heavy rain descending in torrents, and the river being so covered with fog as to make it difficult to see the opposite bank. The temperature, however, was mild, as the wind was from the S. W. We left the hotel at nine o'clock in the morning, having previously sent on our baggage by two negro slaves from the house; but on reaching the vessel we had the mortification to find that only one portion, and that the least important, had reached its right destination, the other having been carried off, by mistake, to the "William Seabrook," another steamer just on the point of starting for Charleston, and lying at another wharf nearly a mile distant. By a great effort of speed, our servant arrived at the wharf just in time to prevent its embarkation; and we were thus saved, by a

hair's-breadth only, from one of the most disagreeable incidents of a steam-boat voyage.

As we pursued our way up the Savannah river, we found our small boat well adapted to its navigation; she was about 150 tons measurement, was propelled by low-pressure engines of 55 horse-power, and drew only 3½ feet water; so that we glided along at a rate of more than ten miles an hour; but the vibratory motion of so much force on her slender frame, rendered it difficult to write with steadiness. Her accommodations were excellent; the ladies having their range of cabins below the main deck, with windows sufficiently above the water to be kept constantly open; the gentlemen's cabins being above the deck, double-berthed, with a window in each bed-place. Everything was remarkably clean, the captain obliging and attentive, and the steward's department and table well conducted.

The tide, which rises about six feet at the bar of Savannah, does not extend its influence much above the city; so that the current of the river, now running about four miles an hour, was against us, and yet we made good ten miles an hour by the land; so that our rate of speed must have been fourteen miles an hour through the water.

The first place of interest that we passed, was a spot called "Raleigh's Mound," raised, it is said, by the Indian chiefs of the olden time, to commemorate the visit of Sir Walter Raleigh, and the "talk" which they held with that distinguished navigator on this spot; and from the history of that period, there is no room to doubt the accuracy of this tradition. This is about three miles above Savannah.

On looking along the course of the river, as delineated on the map, it was curious to see the juxtaposition, and contrast of the names given to places on or near the stream. For instance:—Ebenezer is immediately followed by The Frying-Pan; Blanket Point, Poor Robin's Cut, and Saucy Bay, follow next in succession. Higher up are Dog's Ferry and Tinker's Cut; Augusta and Hamburgh are opposite to each other; and still farther up the river, Petersburgh and Vienna are close neighbours; whilst Edinburgh and Abbeville are not far off.

About eleven o'clock we passed the small settlement of Purisburg, on the Carolina side, originally settled by Swiss peasants, of whose descendants a few only remain; and about one o'clock, we passed the village of Ebenezer, an old settlement of the Germans, of which there are few left; the church and a small cluster of humble dwellings are all that remain of the town, Augusta and Savannah having drawn off its inhabitants by the superior facilities for commerce which they afford.

On our way up beyond this, we found the river lined on both sides with thick woods, approaching close to the stream, and having no open spaces for cultivation. This is owing to the frequent submersion of all the banks by floods; for though the river is less than a quarter of a mile in average breadth, when confined within its proper bed, the waters rise from a height of ten feet, their present depth in mid-channel below, to thirty feet, after heavy rains; and the river is then expanded over a breadth of three miles, covering all the low trees and bushes, and entirely submerging the land.

Among the trees, the most prominent were the evergreen live-oak, and the pitch-pine; but with these were intermingled the white-oak, the sycamore, the birch, the beech, the cypress, the gum-tree, and the willow. The misletoe was seen in great abundance on many of the trees, and cane-brakes were here and there interspersed near the banks of the stream; while the myrtle, the calmia, the grape-vine, the wild honeysuckle, and the magnolia, with many other flowering trees and shrubs, gave a rich promise of beauty in the more advanced season of spring.

Alligators frequent this river, and one or two were seen by us on our way, but almost lifeless, as they remain torpid during the winter. In the hot summer months they are seen in great numbers at every mile of the stream, and especially in the sweeps or bays occasioned by the serpentine turnings of the river, which are unusually tortuous and frequent. The alligators never attain to a greater length than twelve feet, and are not at all dangerous to man, from whose approach they invariably fly. It is said that they devour and feed upon their own offspring; and it is from this that many account for their not increasing very much; since, in their retreats, or nests, called alligator-holes, as large a brood as a hundred are seen at a time; but they do not come to maturity, as the numbers remain nearly stationary through a series of years, or diminish rather than increase. Snakes are found in the cane-brakes also; and some of these, particularly the rattle-snake, are formidable. The turkey-buzzard preys upon the

carrion along the river's banks; while wild turkeys and wild ducks are in sufficient abundance to furnish game for food.

The mocking-bird, and the red bird or Virginian nightingale, are each inhabitants of these woods, and often enliven the solitude with their songs; and the little kingfisher, with its pencilled and golden hues, dazzles and sparkles along the bushes which overhang the stream, perching sometimes on the same branch with a terrapin or small turtle, that has just emerged from the river to take the air, and both within a few inches of the surface of the stream. There are many animals in the woods: wild deer, wild hogs, and wild horned cattle. As these lands all belong to private individuals, though not yet cleared or appropriated, there is an annual slaughter, or *battu*, by men employed for the purpose of shooting them, and the spoil is divided among the proprietors of the woods in which they are shot.

The shad is the only fish found in great numbers in the river. These resemble the salmon in some respects; they are shorter and broader in shape, have larger scales, and their flesh is white; but in substance and flavour they are quite equal to the salmon, though not so rich. They are a salt-water fish, and come in from the sea to enter the stream for the purpose of depositing their spawn. They are not found in any of the rivers north of the Potomac, at Washington, nor south of St. John's river, at St. Augustine; but within this range of latitude, from 30° to 40°, they abound from the middle of February to the end of March. They enter no rivers

but such as have falls or rapids; and it is said they instinctively turn aside from the mouths of all streams whose head-waters are in marshes, and where no rapids or falls exist. The shad entering the Savannah river go up as far as the falls above Augusta, where they are taken in greater numbers than below, though everywhere along the river they are easily caught by the net.

In the extremely tortuous and winding course taken by the river, the actual distance from Savannah to Augusta is 250 miles by the stream, though not more than 120 by the land journey. In the bends and turnings thus occasioned, there are a succession of small bluffs, pointed promontories, and sweeping little curves or bays, alternating on either side; for it almost uniformly happens that when there is a bluff or cliffy bank on the one side of the stream, there is a marsh or swamp on the opposite side, and *vice versa*. There are some small islands in the middle of the stream, and the land has gained in some places and lost in others, while the whole bed of the river appears to be somewhat elevated above the surrounding country, as is the case with most streams that carry along in their course much alluvial deposit. In some of the bluffs or cliffs, there are seen horizontal strata of fossil shells, on beds of yellow clay, superimposed by sand and light loam; but these cliffs, if so they may be called, are rarely more than twenty or thirty feet high.

On the greater number of the trees in the thick woods that border the stream, are seen festoons of the vegetable substance called moss, it being, indeed, a parasitic plant which attaches itself to the trees, grow-

ing in the air without roots, and hanging in wreaths or festoons from branch to branch. It is most abundant on the cypress, but is seen also on the acacia, the gum tree, and many others. The colour is a dull dark grey, and the whole aspect is gloomy and melancholy, especially as it is found most abundantly in low, marshy, and unhealthy situations. It produces a small flower, of the colour of the peach blossom, and has very fine seeds, which so multiply the plant, that the whole forest for miles in succession seems clothed in this mourning drapery, the effect of which is very singular to an European eye. While fresh, it is used as food for horses and cattle, like hay; but it lives only while the tree on which it hangs is living; and as soon as the tree dies it perishes with it. The deer and other wild animals of the forest feed on it also. A method is in use of preparing it, after the manner of hemp rotted by water, by which process the outer coating of the plant is decomposed, and the inner fibre remains, resembling horse-hair, being strong, dark, and elastic. In this state it is used for mattresses, it being very agreeable to lie on, and is in general use. The same material is used also for stuffing saddles and horse-collars, and making into rope for harness, and large quantities of it are now exported to Europe, for stuffing sofas and chairs, while it is substituted for horse-hair by many upholsterers, saddlers and coachmakers.

In our voyage up the river we met several large rafts of timber, floating down with the stream, guided by two men, one at each end, with a large rude oar; and a small hut built on the centre, for the cooking. Several of these had forty or fifty bales of

cotton as freight; though by such a mode of conveyance it was very likely to get wetted. I learnt, however, that this was very little thought of, as not more than one bale in fifty of all the cotton in Georgia was under cover to protect it from rain. It frequently happens that when the raft takes the ground, the cotton bales are thrown overboard and float in the river till the raft is got off, when they are picked up and taken on board again; the water does not penetrate more than an inch beyond the surface, and this soon dries up. More than one-half of the whole crop produced in Georgia, is transported down to Savannah for shipment by this river.

During our passage we halted several times at fixed stations to take in a supply of wood, as this is the only fuel used for the steam-engines. There was rarely any person at these stations in charge of the wood, or to superintend its delivery, labour being too dear to be so appropriated; but there is placed on a pole a small box, into which the person who takes the supply of wood he requires, is requested to deposit an order for the payment on Augusta or Savannah, relying on his honesty to enter the exact quantity he takes away. Once a week these orders are collected by a clerk, who visits the station, and takes out the papers deposited in the box. The price of such wood, hewn into pieces of a convenient size, and piled up in cords, is three dollars per cord; and the boats that ply on the river being well known, there is rarely or ever any difficulty about the supplies or payment.

On the Carolina side, on our right hand, we

passed a station called "The Willow Oak Spring," where a fine spring of beautifully clear water is found very near the river; but some traditional stories of ghosts being connected with this locality, the negroes, who are very superstitious, have great dread in passing it at night. Many of the negroes now in this country are of African birth. The direct importation of slaves from Africa did not cease till long after the revolution; and some, therefore, of these imported slaves still survive, retaining many of their idolatrous notions and practices, and nearly all their native superstitions.

The whole of the day continued to be damp and foggy, though the rain had abated; and at night the fog rested so thickly on the river, though all was clear above, that it was difficult to see our way. The steersmen, of whom there were two, each skilful pilots, were often puzzled to keep in mid-channel, and were frequently obliged to lessen our speed to avoid running on shore; but with these occasional interruptions only, we continued to run all night.

On the following morning, February 26th, the weather was clear, and the sun shone out with all his brightness. The weather, too, was as warm as in an English summer, though on the preceding day it was so cold as to make a fire agreeable in the cabin. These vicissitudes are common here; and one gentleman of our party assured us that last winter he had been in Augusta, when at twelve o'clock at night the air was quite close and sultry, and the rain descending freely; and at sunrise on the following morning, the whole country was bound in frost, the water in his bed-room being hard frozen.

Another added, that in 1835, the year in which all the orange-trees in Georgia and Florida were killed by the cold, and have never since revived, the thermometer at Augusta fell to 8° below zero; but on the average of several years, the range of the thermometer is found to be from 20°, the lowest, in January and February, to 90°, the highest, in July and August.

About thirty miles before we came to Augusta, we passed a steam-vessel lying high and dry in the woods, where she had grounded during a high flood among the trees, and had never been got off since. Just above this, at a wood-landing, called Silver Bluff, were several houses, one of which, near the river, on the Carolina side, was of two stories, the lower half of brick and the upper half of wood; but all of them were uninhabited.

It has been found here, as in the great river of the Mississippi, that the bluffs, though originally chosen for places of residence from their elevation, are not so healthy as the lower lands. This is accounted for by their exposure to the miasma arising from the swamps on the opposite side of the river. Purisburg and Ebenezer were both seated on such bluffs, and have never grown into any size or importance; and even Savannah was for many years extremely unhealthy, until the marsh lands opposite to it were purchased by the city, and drained and devoted to a dry culture of the cotton plant, instead of the rice formerly grown there.

As we approached nearer to Augusta, the signs of cultivation began to appear nearer the river's edge, and through openings in the woods we could per-

ceive cattle grazing, and Indian corn lands lying in stubble. The soil here is peculiarly favourable for the cultivation of this grain, it requiring about a bushel and half to sow an acre, and the returns yielding sixty bushels at least, and often mo e.

Still nearer to Augusta, and on the Carolina side, is a stream of fine clear water, emptying itself into the river with great force. It is called Horse Creek; and some few miles upward, on its banks, are seated two cotton factories, worked by water-power, at a place called Vaucluse. They have been established about nine years, and are considered prosperous and profitable concerns. They are principally devoted to the spinning of cotton yarn, though some weaving of coarse cotton cloths is done in them also. The labourers employed are chiefly negro slaves, especially women and girls; and under the direction of a few white superintendents, or overseers, they are found to perform their duty very well.

About noon on the second day of our voyage from Savannah, we came in sight of Augusta, which, with its dwellings, spires, and bridge, presented a promising appearance on a bluff, or high land, like Savannah, and on the same side of the river, namely, the S.W. or on the left hand as you sail up the stream. At one, we reached the landing-place, having been about twenty-seven hours, or twenty-five deducting the stoppages, performing a distance of 250 miles against a current of four miles, thus making an actual rate of fourteen miles an hour all the way.

CHAP. XI.

Plan of the city, spacious streets—Public buildings—Liberty Pole—Churches, population, manners of society—Medical college—Jail, discipline—Academy, free school, ladies' seminary—Theatre, library—Mild treatment of slaves—Cotton factories, Irish emigrants—Bridges, railroads, and iron steam-vessels—Falls of the Savannah—Trappers at the rapids—Snow-hill and Campbelltown—Search for hidden treasures—Exhaustion of the soil by the cotton crops—Lottery for lands vacated by the Cherokee Indians—Wood near the river—Grape vines—The opossum and racoon—Prickly pear, wax plant—Hamburgh—Liberty hill—Slave-breeding in Virginia for Southern markets—Prohibition of all public discussion on Slavery—Efforts to promote direct commerce from the South.

We remained at Augusta for a week, and were very pleasantly accommodated at the private residence of Judge Hale, to whom we had letters of introduction from our friends at Savannah, and where we found ourselves as much at home as in our own abode. My lectures were given in the Baptist church every evening of the week without intermission, where they were very largely attended; and here, as at Savannah and at Charleston, the resident families seemed to vie with each other as to who should show us the greatest kindness and attention. We interchanged many agreeable visits, were taken by families in their carriages to several pleasant excursions in the neighbourhood, and saw all that was worthy of interest in the town itself.

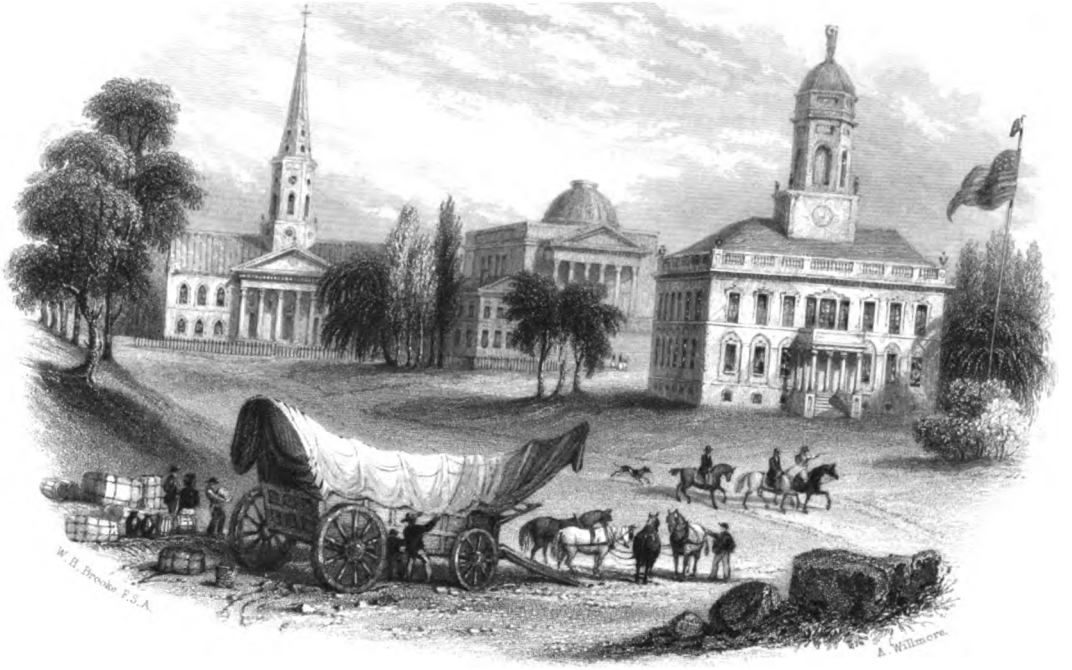
Augusta was first founded in 1735, and was so called in honour of London, of which this was the

ancient Roman name. It was planned by General Oglethorpe, the founder of Savannah; and though at first only intended as an interior station for collecting the peltries, or skins, with which the settlers were supplied by the Indians, yet it was laid out by him with all the regularity becoming a great city, which he, no doubt, believed it would one day become.

The plan exhibits three very broad streets, 165 feet in width, and each upwards of a mile in length, running parallel to the river. Several streets of smaller dimensions lie behind these, and are crossed by others at right angles, dividing the whole therefore into a great number of squares. These streets are all lined with rows of trees on each side, to give shade, and add beauty to the avenue; and the tree called the Pride of India, is chiefly used for this purpose.

The principal street of business is that nearest the river, though not immediately in front of it. This is called Broad-street, and in it are several good hotels, the Planters', the Globe, the United States, the Mansion-house, the Eagle and Phœnix, and others. Here also are nearly all the banks, of which, and insurance and trust companies, there are nearly a dozen. These is a large Masonic-hall also, two spacious and airy market houses, with open colonnades and a surmounting turret, many substantial dwellings, stores, and shops, and all the necessary adjuncts of business.

The second street in importance is Green-street, it lies next in order within, or beyond Broad-street, receding from the river, and running parallel to it.



Court House - Medical College and Church at Augusta in Georgia

This is of the same ample breadth as the former, and, like it, is lined with rows of trees, while the centre is a fine green turf, there being little or no thoroughfare of waggons or carts this way. The houses on each side of this are mostly private dwellings, and many of them are spacious and elegant. In this street also stands the city Court-house, a fine brick edifice, with portico, and tower surmounted by a statue of Justice, and having within a beautiful full-length picture of General Washington; the whole surrounded by a lawn and iron railing, and producing a fine effect. It cost 120,000 dollars. In front of it on a square pedestal is a tall mast called The Liberty Pole, the top of which bears a cap of liberty, and on it the national flag is displayed on days of public festivity.

Of churches there are seven: namely, Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Baptist, Methodist, Catholic, Unitarian, and African Baptist; the first two are the handsomest structures, and are frequented by the more opulent families of the community; but all are well sustained by the voluntary system, and the ministers and congregations of each live in perfect harmony and peace with each other.

The population of Augusta is estimated at about 8,000, of whom there are not more than 4,000 whites, the remainder being negro slaves and coloured people. The whites are almost all engaged in trade with the interior; and from Augusta being the great centre of banking operations and exchange for a wide tract of inland country beyond it, it is thought that there is no city of the same population, more wealthy than Augusta in the United States. The

planters of Georgia send their cotton in here for sale, and draw from this all their supplies for interior consumption; so that there is a very active business continually carrying on, especially in the spring and fall of the year.

In the summer, some few of the richest families go off to the north, to the Virginia Springs, to Saratoga, or to Rhode Island; but the greater number repair to a very pleasant village, called Summerville, on the heights behind the town, at a distance of about three miles, where a number of handsome residences are collected, which are now deserted, but in the summer are quite full.

There is nothing peculiar in the manners and customs of Augusta; the inhabitants are not perhaps on the whole so polished as those of Charleston, or so hospitable as those of Savannah; but their excessive occupations of business, may account for their not possessing the one, and a more frugal and simple mode of living may account for their not so extensively exercising the other; those families however, with whom we had the pleasure to hold intercourse, were characterized by great intelligence, frankness, ease of manners, affability, and courtesy.

There is a good Hospital in the city, supported by the municipal funds; and a Medical College, with chaste Doric portico and dome, at which there are from 70 to 80 students, the college being endowed by the State, and having an excellent Museum and apparatus. There is a Jail also, for debtors and criminals; but in the treatment of these last they neither adopt the Philadelphia system of solitary confinement, nor the Auburn system of labour and

silence, but suffer them to congregate together and to be idle, which is a double evil, and the cost of their maintenance is a burden to the City funds. There are from forty to fifty persons in it at present, the debtors being separated from the criminals, and the white prisoners from the coloured.

There is a large Academy close to the Medical College, for the higher branches of education, supported by the County funds; a Free School on the Lancasterian plan, originally instituted by private subscription, but since maintained by the interest of a large bequest made by a benevolent individual for its support, and now therefore rendered independent of all pecuniary aid. There are also some Common Schools for boys, and an excellent Seminary for girls, under the direction of Mrs. Moise, a Jewish lady of great accomplishments, there being many wealthy merchants of the Hebrew nation settled here; and in this school every department of female education is well conducted.

There is a small theatre in Augusta; but, as in all the smaller cities of America, it is feebly supported, and indeed rarely frequented by the more respectable inhabitants, except on the occasion of some attractive performer visiting the place.

An attempt was recently made to establish a Lyceum, for regular lectures; but it failed. There is a tolerable library, which is used, however, only by a few, as business seems to leave but little leisure or inclination for study, with any class of society in this busy town.

There are two newspapers, the Daily Sentinel and Chronicle, of Whig politics; and the Constitutionalist,

published three times a week, of Democratic politics, with a monthly literary journal, called the Augusta Mirror. These are, however, but feebly conducted, and seem to exercise little or no influence on public opinion. The Whigs have gained great strength here of late. Both parties, Whig and Democratic, are now favourable to the continuance of the Union, and unwilling to endanger it by pressing too closely the doctrines of State rights and Nullification, like their neighbours in South Carolina. All are Anti-abolitionists, though, as respects the inhabitants generally, they are more kind in the treatment of their slaves, and less apprehensive of danger from insurrection, than in Carolina. Though the law here, as in all the slave states, forbids the instruction of negroes, many of them learn, of their own accord, to read and write, and some are taught by masters; and this illegal practice is winked at by those who know it, because it is found that no danger arises from such instruction. The children are said to be quite as apt as the whites in acquiring knowledge, and display in general greater eagerness to attain it.

The law also forbids any man to give freedom to his slave, except he is taken out of the territory. But even this is evaded by some humane owners, who, though they cannot give their slaves legal freedom in the State, give them the entire command of their labour, and allow them to work for themselves, and enjoy without deduction all the fruits of their industry. Several such cases were mentioned to us, and in every instance, the slaves so enjoying the rewards of their own labour appropriated a portion of it to the learning of reading, writing, and arithmetic, and

sometimes to the acquiring the knowledge of some trade by which their gains could be increased. This sort of emancipation is quite within the power of all slave-owners to give to their negroes; and no one pretends to say that this would be dangerous; but then it would require the sacrifice, on the part of the owner, of all the gains he now makes from the labour or wages of his slaves—and this, his selfishness will not permit him to make. It is, therefore, a mere question of pecuniary loss or gain, after all. Indeed my own conviction is, that if the slave-owners of America could but be persuaded that they would *gain* more by setting their slaves free, than by keeping them in bondage, they would all do so to-morrow; and that all their pretended alarms about insurrection, annihilation, and so on, would vanish like a dream.

There are two large cotton factories in Georgia, within eight or ten miles of Augusta, worked by water-power, and chiefly engaged in spinning. In these, white labour is more used than black, there being, in the interior of the State, a number of poor white families, to whom this occupation is a great relief. Most of these are either actual emigrants from Ireland, or descendants of such emigrants; and their poverty is wholly attributable to their habits of intemperance. I was assured, by a gentleman who had paid great attention to this subject, that the average life of an Irish emigrant here, rarely exceeds three years, if he persists in drinking spirits; but that in the few instances in which men had been prevailed upon to leave off this poison, and use water only for their beverage, they were as long-lived and as prosperous as the natives of the country.

There has been some reform of late in this respect, by the operations of the Total Abstinence Society, recently established here, to succeed the old Temperance Society; and therefore, while in Savannah, with a population of 10,000, there are still 125 licensed spirit-shops, yielding a licensed revenue of 5,000 dollars per annum to the city-funds, there are here only about 50 licensed spirit-dealers, paying 50 dollars each for a license; and this privilege is often refused by the council to persons of bad repute.

There are two bridges across the river, one from the city of Augusta to the opposite village of Hamburgh, and another higher up the stream. They are both built of wood: the lower one, which is a little more than 500 feet in length, cost about 30,000 dollars; and the upper one, which is little more than half that length, cost about 20,000 dollars. They have no beauty of appearance, but they are safe, and will answer every purpose till time and accumulated capital shall lead to the substitution of more solid and ornamental structures in their stead.

There are two rail-roads leading from Augusta, one to Charleston in South Carolina, which begins at the village of Hamburgh, and goes for 136 miles, the distance being performed in about nine hours; and the other towards Milledgeville in Georgia, about 70 miles of which are completed, and the rest is in progress.

The steam-vessels that ply on the river, and carry cargoes of cotton, as well as passengers, from Augusta to Savannah, are mostly built of iron. We saw several of these at the wharf where we landed. It is said that the first iron steam-vessel used in America

was on the Savannah river. The castings and the wrought-iron, for both are used in their construction, are made in England, and they are allowed to pass free of duty, for this specific purpose. They are found to be strong, safe, light, and durable, and are likely to supersede the use of wooden steam-boats altogether, especially as, in addition to all their other advantages, they cannot be consumed by fire.

During our stay in Augusta, we made a pleasant excursion up to the Falls of the river, about three miles above the town. We rode up on the Carolina side, and went to see a spot called Snow Hill, which overlooks the Falls, and commands an extensive and pleasing view of the country on both sides the stream. The Falls, or Rapids as they should rather be called, are occasioned by ledges of hard rock that stretch across the bed of the river, like the second cataract of the Nile above Philöe or Assouan. This is the boundary of steam-navigation up the stream; but long and narrow boats come down these rapids, and shoot through small openings known to the pilots, carrying forty or fifty bales of cotton in each boat. At present there are a large number of traps set along the ledges, for catching the shad-fish; and some of the trappers make, it is said, fifty dollars in a single night, by the fish they take in this way.

Snow Hill is the most ancient spot of European settlement in this quarter. A little colony was first planted here; then another sprung up at a place close by, called Campbell Town; and lastly arose Augusta. Of Campbell Town there are not more than a dozen dwellings left, and these are all abandoned, and falling to pieces. Of the settle-

ment at Snow Hill there is not even one perfect house remaining, but the ruins of the first dwelling built there is seen in a shapeless heap; and in turning up some of its remains, my son found the rusty lock of an old musket, the necessary accompaniment of all settlements in those early days, when the Indian wigwams were often within a few miles of the settler's cottage. There also we were shown many circular excavations in the earth, of eight or ten feet depth, which were said to be places in which the people of the country sometimes employ their leisure in digging for hidden treasure, from a belief that in those early settlements it was often the practice, in time of danger, to bury vessels of gold and silver, and coin; and that such places being abandoned by parties who never returned to them again, the treasure would remain untouched. A very few instances of success in such researches would, of course, be sufficient to set many imitators in motion.

The three adjoining counties are here called Richmond, Chatham, and Burke, after the Duke of Richmond, the Earl of Chatham, and Edmund Burke—all friends of America, in her struggle for independence. These counties are devoted to agriculture and pasture; the chief products being cotton, corn, and oats, on the high lands; and pasturage, or rice, on the low. The soil, however, is said to be everywhere deteriorating, even at this early period, for want of rest and manure. On this subject, that I may not be supposed to speak without good authority, I transcribe an extract from an "Address to the Farmers of Georgia for 1839," published in the Augusta Constitutionalist, in which the writer says,

"By an act of the legislature of 1837, about forty gentlemen were constituted a board of agriculture and rural economy. These men were selected for their supposed qualifications, to advance the farming interest of Georgia, upon which all the prosperity of her citizens depend. By the aforesaid act, this board were to meet annually in Milledgeville, on the third Monday in November. It is believed that three-fourths of the persons named in the law, had no knowledge of its existence, and, therefore, the meeting was almost entirely neglected; some, however, did meet, and these highly approved of the object proposed.

"It was proposed at the meeting, that a practical member of it should address a few essays to the planters, calling their attention to some of those important objects that should engage their care and attention.

"First, then, as good soil is the first essential requisite to profitable farming, it is obvious this should engage the planter's care and labour; this should be done in two ways;—when the soil is naturally good, provision should be made to keep it so—when the soil is either naturally poor, or rendered so by exhaustion through bad husbandry, steps should, without delay, be taken for its restoration.

"The farmers of Georgia could not have pursued a more fatal course than they have done for the last thirty years. The growing of cotton on broken lands, is the most ready way that can be adopted, to utterly destroy them. Hence we have thousands of acres that were once fertile, and richly repaid labour, now worthless, to the last degree—nothing but sterile red clay, full of gullies. And what has the planter received as an equivalent for his ruined land? Why, in most cases, nothing but an increased number of negroes, who now consume the almost entire production of his worn out land. And a few years more, going on at this rate, he must either remove West, be sold out by the Sheriff, or live in extreme poverty."

This recklessness and indifference as to the soil, has, no doubt, arisen from the facility with which land has been hitherto obtained by the planters of the country. It has been already mentioned, in the

history of Georgia, that 100,000 square miles of territory were ceded by the legislature of this State to the general government, soon after the incorporation of the several States into the Union, for the purpose of forming the two new States of Alabama and Mississipi; the whole of which tract had been previously purchased by land-speculators for 100,000 dollars, or one dollar for a square mile!

The general government undertook to compensate these speculators for the loss of their bargain, and to extinguish also all the Indian titles to the Cherokee lands within the limits of the newly circumscribed state of Georgia. Several hundred thousand acres being thus left at their disposal, a lottery was formed of the whole, and they were thus distributed:—First, a survey was made of all these lands; then they were marked off into townships and sections, and numbered in consecutive order. Each section of 160 acres was designated by a particular number, and tickets corresponding to these numbers were put into a wheel, as into any ordinary lottery. Every person residing in Georgia, at the time of the drawing, who had been living six months in the State, was entitled to a draw, if a single man or single woman; and every married man had a draw for himself, his wife, and each of his children, however many, and however young; and there were sections enough for all. Accordingly, men of large families, and who were fortunate in obtaining lands in a good position, were made rich; there were no blanks, except that some sections were sandy, others marshy, and others woody, and therefore worth less than others; but as nothing was paid for the privilege of a draw, no one could lose by

such a lottery. As there were known to be many, however, who if they drew good lands would have no capital to work them, but would be obliged to sell out, it was not difficult to speculate upon their shares; and accordingly, land jobbers from the north went about and bought up men's chances for a small sum, never paying more than 50 dollars, and getting many for 5 dollars, by which large fortunes were made in this way. One gentleman told me that he sold a lot which came to him through this lottery for 500 dollars, within a week after he had drawn it; others had cultivated their lots, and these were now worth 20 dollars an acre, or upwards of 3,000 dollars per lot. These fluctuations of fortune produced, as lotteries everywhere have done, a spirit of speculation and gambling, which it is easy to engender but very difficult to subdue; and the effects of this continue to the present day, in speculations, jobbing, and lotteries, of which Augusta is still full.

In approaching the river, as we descended from the top of Snow Hill towards the stream, we passed through a thick forest, in which were a great variety of trees. Of these, there were several varieties of oak—the white, the black, the walnut, and the willow oak. There are said to be no less than 44 species of the oak in America, between the latitude of 20° and 48° N. while in all Europe, Asia, and Africa, there are reckoned only 30 species, found on both sides of the equator, and as far as 60° N. The live-oak, or *quercus sempervirens*, is the most valuable of all these, but is fast diminishing in numbers. Georgia, Florida, and Louisiana supply the best, and these near the sea-coast, and within 50 miles of the

shore. It is extremely hard, difficult to work, and so heavy as to sink in the water when green, but it is almost imperishable, and is therefore most valuable for ship-building. Its crooked branches furnish excellent knees for vessels; and for this, rather than for timbers or for plank, it is generally used. The demand for this wood, in building the finest American ships, has so trenched upon the supply, that the price has more than doubled within the last twenty years, and the trees are so fast diminishing, that it is thought in fifty years more they will be all used up.

It is remarkable that the southern shores of France and Italy were once skirted with the evergreen or live oak, but they have entirely disappeared from use as large trees, and are now only known as a small stunted shrub, the *quercus ilex*. The swamp white oak, or *quercus aquatica*, grows to the largest size, from 80 to 100 feet high, but this is a deciduous tree; as is also the black, the yellow, and the post oak. Of the former, the timber is used for beams and planks in ship-building; the latter has its name from its being suitable to posts, piles, and other uses requiring the immersion of the wood in mud or water, where it is less affected by decay than any other species. All the forest trees of America are of taller growth than the trees of Europe; for while, according to Michaux, only 37 species of trees in France reach the height of 30 feet, there are no less than 130 different species in America that reach and exceed this elevation.

The walnut is another fine tree, of which we saw many in the woods here. Of these there are ten distinct species, though most of them are called by

the general name of hickory. The wood is coarse and open, and not well adapted for building, as it is subject to be soon worm-eaten. It is used for hoops of casks and boxes, and large quantities are exported to the West Indies. While the young trees are used for this purpose, the old ones are consumed for fuel, as they contain a larger quantity of combustible matter, and give out a stronger heat, than most other woods. The vast consumption of hoops and fuel in the United States, bids fair to work up all these trees in a comparatively short space of time, more especially as they are of slow growth, and do not sprout twice from the same root. The black walnut is the finest of all the species, and its wood is used for ornamental furniture, resembling, when rubbed with a solution of nitric acid, the finest mahogany.

The Georgia pitch-pine is abundant, and it is a highly valuable tree. This is called by a great variety of names, such as the southern, the red, the brown, the yellow, and the long-leaved pine; but they all indicate the same kind of tree. It is found chiefly in what are called pine-barrens, and on the edge of swamps. It rises to the height of from sixty to seventy feet, and varies in diameter from fifteen to eighteen inches. The timber of this pine is more compact and durable than that of any other species, and it is found in the greatest perfection in Virginia, the Carolinas, Georgia and Florida. Besides its use for masts and spars for ships, and for purposes of building generally, it supplies all the resinous matter used in the United States, and affords a large quantity also for exportation to Europe.

Throughout all the lower parts of Carolina, Geor-

gia and Florida, tar was formerly made in great quantities from the pitch-pine, but at present this has given way to other occupations, and North Carolina is now the chief seat of this manufacture—large shipments being made from Wilmington. It is said that when the northern States were first settled, the pitch-pine abounded there also; but these were exhausted in about thirty years of time, by the use made of them for building, fuel, and tar; and it is now more than sixty years since they have ceased to exist in any large quantities. There are still millions of acres covered with forests of this pine, in the south and west, though they cannot now be made use of from want of ready communication with the sea; but time will develope all this, and they too will gradually disappear.

Amidst the great variety of trees which filled the forest, it was curious to observe the number of grape vines springing from the ground, twisting themselves around trees of every kind and size, and winding round their branches from the root to the summit. Some of these vines had trunks of a foot in diameter. They are thought to grow with the growth of the trees to which they attach themselves, so that the parasite is coeval with the trunk round which it winds; and this can alone account for the singular positions and combinations in which they are seen. Very few of these vines produce any fruit, and when any are seen they are found to be a small round grape, like the wild black cherry, sour, bitter and harsh to the taste, though it is said that by fermentation tolerable wine has been obtained from them. They appear to bear the same relation to the grape

of the vineyard in Spain, Portugal, and Italy, as the wild crab-apple does to the more perfect fruit of the orchard and garden. There are many other descriptions of vines, some of which produce better grapes, and furnish abundant food to the birds inhabiting the woods.

Among the animals most frequently seen here, are the opossum and the racoon, both of which are hunted for sport by the country people, and the flesh of both is eaten occasionally by the negroes. The opossums usually inhabit the hollow trunks of large trees in a state of decay, where they remain asleep during the day-time, and leave their haunts at night in search of food. The approach of winter is the period when the hunting of them commences, and the sportsmen then go out at night for this purpose. The opossum, when pursued, gets into a tree, and coils himself away in the hollow of the trunk, or on an angle of a diverging branch shooting from it, so as hardly to be seen. The dogs, however, scent him there, and keep up an incessant barking, while the hunter ascends the tree, dislodges him by shaking, and after several leaps from limb to limb, he gradually succeeds in forcing him to fall to the ground. He then rolls himself up, and puts on the appearance of being perfectly dead, a disguise which he so well assumes, that he is often left, after several stabs and blows, as really so. His pursuers are scarcely out of his sight, however, before he is seen gradually unfolding himself and silently stealing away; but if a noise or shouting apprizes him that he is seen, or a pursuit is renewed, he instantly resumes his dead appearance, and counterfeits it so well as to deceive all but the

most experienced. This habit of the animal has given rise to the common saying of a man or boy "playing 'possum," when they pretend to be sick or asleep, or put on, in short, any fictitious appearance to deceive. The racoon unites a mischievous and vindictive disposition with his cunning; and he too, like the opossum, is usually found abroad at night. It preys, like the fox, on the poultry of farm-yards, destroying what it cannot consume; and like the fox, its skin is valuable for its fur, which is much used in the manufacture of the caps and hats in the country.

When we wound our way up from the river through the forest a second time, we saw the cactus or prickly pear, though it does not grow here to the size which it attains in Palestine or in India. The holly-bush was also abundant. The Cherokee plum, now putting forth its blossoms, was like the black-thorn of England in May, and produces a small, round, harsh, and sour fruit, like the sloe. Bramble-bushes with blackberries, were also abundant; and we saw a species of myrtle, on which grows a berry that is extremely unctuous and inflammable, and is often used by the people of the country for lights. The wax plant is also found in most of these shady woods, every part of which, except the root, has the appearance of wax prepared in the most delicate and perfect manner.

Another excursion that I made during my stay in Augusta was, to the town of Hamburgh, on the Carolina side of the Savannah river. This town was begun and named by a German merchant now living, who has expended too liberally for his means

in the promotion of his favourite object; but the town has now attained to sufficient standing to go forward without further adventitious aids. It is here that the railroad from Augusta to Charleston commences, and has its depôt; and from hence also large shipments of Carolina cotton takes place for transporting down to the port of destination by the river.

The plan of Hamburgh exhibits streets of great breadth and regularity; and there are stores, hotels, banks, and all the auxiliaries of a rising and prosperous settlement. In the rear of the town is a natural hill, from 50 to 60 feet above the general level, called Liberty Hill, where the Americans were posted at the revolutionary war, when they obliged the English forces to evacuate Augusta. From this hill the finest views of the town of Hamburgh and the city of Augusta, on the opposite side of the river, are to be had. The top of the hill has been excavated with a ditch surrounding the upper mound; and large beams of wood have been placed, to form flights of steps for ascending to the summit. All this I was told was the work of the German gentleman before alluded to, who became so infatuated about his pet town, that he seemed to wish to imitate the style and state of a petty German prince; for he called this his castle, and employed several Germans of the humbler classes, with muskets and bayonets, to mount guard upon the fortress, and even to warn persons off who were approaching it, a folly that has still further encroached upon his means, and left him now as much embarrassed as

any of the German princes whose state he was so desirous of imitating.

In our ramble through Hamburgh I was shown two houses, to which negro slaves are brought for sale from Virginia; and being purchased here by slave-dealers, they are taken on to the South-western States for a higher market. In Virginia, the soil has been so much exhausted, by the cultivation of tobacco, that thousands of acres are now unproductive, and unsuited for any tillage. The wealth of the planter who owns such lands, consists therefore chiefly, if not entirely, in his negroes. These are regularly bred and multiplied for sale, like cattle; and as the progeny increases, the more saleable portions are selected, and brought on to the South, or sent to the slave-market at Washington, or sometimes sold in Virginia itself. They are thus passed on from the State where their labour is not in demand, to the rising states and territories, in which labour is in request; and accordingly, in the Augusta papers, as in the Washington journals, every day are to be seen advertisements, offering "Cash for likely negroes."

A slave-trade is thus carried on throughout the Southern States, under the gentle name of the "removal of slaves from one state to another;" and though this is not attended with all the horrors and cruelties of the "Middle Passage," which characterized the Atlantic slave-trade of former times, yet it leads to the separation of husband and wife, of parents and children, and brothers and sisters, without the most distant hope of their ever meeting again;

and from all the information I could obtain on this subject, the negroes feel these separations as acutely as any whites could do, and are unhappy for years afterwards.

Here, however, as everywhere throughout the South, slavery is a topic upon which no man, and, above all, a foreigner, can open his lips without imminent personal danger, unless it is to defend and uphold the system. Then, indeed, he may speak as freely as he pleases; but if it is even to doubt whether slavery be on the whole either just or profitable, he is sure to be assailed with imputations of being an incendiary, of desiring to incite the slaves to rebellion, to bring about the massacre of the whites and the annihilation of their property. The violence of the measures taken against the few who from time to time venture to express themselves in favour of Abolition, is such as to strike terror into others; and thus all public discussion of the question is as effectually suppressed, as if there were a censorship of the press, or a holy inquisition. I feel assured that it would not be so dangerous for a man to preach the right of resistance to despotic authority in Petersburg or Vienna, to inveigh against popery at Rome, or to denounce Mohammedanism at Constantinople, as it would be for him to proclaim himself, either by his pen or by his tongue, as an Abolitionist in the slave-holding States south of the Potomacs in America; and yet, to tell the Americans that they have neither freedom of the press nor freedom of speech, to the extent to which both are enjoyed in England, would greatly offend as well as surprise them, though nothing could be more true.

To form an idea of the horror with which the very name of an Abolitionist is regarded; and to see how men who avow themselves to be opposed to slavery in the abstract, shrink from such an imputation as that of being favourable to Abolition in practice it is only necessary to read the report of any proceedings in Congress at Washington in connexion with this subject. To those of the American nation who think Mr. O'Connell "foul-mouthed," and complain of the coarseness of vituperation with which he speaks of slave-holders and slave-breeders in the United States, the language used in the debates of their own House of Representatives, may be held up as a mirror, in which they may see a portrait as revolting, to say the least, as any that Mr. O'Connell ever presented of themselves.

I am no apologist for vituperation, under any degree of injury or excitement; because I think it degrades the person using it, be he of what nation, sect, or of party he may. But if it be an offence in one man to speak strongly when he denounces a system which he believes to be cruel and unjust as well as impolitic, it is equally reprehensible in others to follow the same course. But the Americans are not the only people to whom the prayer of Burns is peculiarly applicable; for almost every nation under the sun might profit by it if such a prayer could be granted to them; when the poet says.

> "O that the gods the gift would gi' us,
> To see oursels as others see us!"

The subject of a direct trade between the Southern States and Europe, without the intervention of the

Northern States, through which that trade is now almost entirely carried on, has been recently agitated in Augusta, as well as in Charleston, and is still indeed under discussion in most private circles, having already been the subject of a public convention. The planters and merchants of the interior, however, are not so eager on this subject as those of the sea-ports, because their interests are not so deeply involved. They dispose of their cotton to buyers here, or at the ports on the coast, and trouble themselves no further, as they find all the supplies they want in the stores of the towns at which their sales are made; but the ship-owners and merchants of the coast naturally look with jealousy on a state of things which leads to the importation of all their European supplies through the ports of the North. It is certain that three-fourths of the exports of America are from the South-western States; the cotton, rice, and tobacco of which, as well as flour, hemp, and rice, go to all the countries of Europe; yet the imports, in return for all this, come in by way of New York: so that when the imports of the whole United States amounted to 190 millions of dollars, the share of the importation that fell to the South-western States was only 20 millions. Georgia and South Carolina alone export to the value of about 24 millions, yet the united imports of both amount to only 4 millions; all the rest being imported first into New York and other northern ports, direct from Europe, and thence indirectly brought to the south, thus increasing the cost to the consumer.

The close of my labours at Augusta, was the delivery of a public address on the subject of Tempe-

rance, in the Presbyterian Church, the largest in the city, on the evening of Sunday the 4th of March. It was very fully attended, and the impression appeared to be favourable, the inhabitants of this city being much in advance of those of Charleston and Savannah on this subject; for with a similar extent of population to Savannah, where there are 125 licensed spirit-dealers, there are in Augusta less than 50; and while much less spirits are consumed by the lower classes, much less wine is also drank by the higher.

On the whole, our visit to Augusta was very satisfactory. The city is handsome, the surrounding country picturesque, the resident families intelligent, hospitable, and agreeable; while everything indicates great present wealth and comfort, and promises great future opulence. It may be doubted whether there is any town in Great Britain, containing only a population of 5,000 whites, that has so much of wealth, industry, and enterprise, combined with such excellent public and private buildings, and means of education and improvement, as Augusta.

CHAP. XII.

Departure from Augusta for Warrenton—Badness of the road—Snow; suffering from cold—Sparta—Milledgeville, legislative capital—Night journey to Macon; description of Macon; history and locality—Plan of the city and public buildings—Georgia Female College—Churches and sects—Hard-shell Baptists—Universalists—Culture of cotton lands—Employment of slave-labour—Comparative condition of domestic and field slaves—Great disadvantage of slavery to the planters—Morus multicaulis—Periodical journals devoted to the silk question—Premiums offered for the production of silk—Incendiaries—Method of slaves taking revenge—Bowie-knife vengeance by a judge—Newspapers—Indian mounds—Country-people—History of Solomon Humphries, an opulent free-negro—Contrast with white slavery in English factories—Specimen of Georgian poetry and Georgian feeling—Scenery of the northern part of the State—Impressive sermon against the love of wealth—Working of the voluntary system.

On Monday the 4th of March we left Augusta for Macon, on our way to Mobile and New Orleans, wishing to see the interior of Georgia and Alabama, and finish our examination of the Southern States before the approach of the hot weather. We had to set out at six o'clock, and go by a railroad from hence to Warrenton, a distance of about fifty miles. The cars were much inferior in their accommodation and fittings to those on the northern railroads, and our speed did not exceed fifteen miles in the hour. On reaching the end of the railroad at Warrenton, we had to take the stage-coach, and were fortunately able to engage the whole of it for our party, or to "charter" it, as the expression is here, keeping up

the maritime phraseology, by which the conductor is called "the pilot," and the sound of "all aboard" announces that the engine may move on, as all the passengers are in the cars. Our fare by the rail-road, fifty miles, was 2½ dollars each, or about ten shillings sterling; and for the whole stage, large enough for nine passengers, we paid 48 dollars, or about £10 sterling, for 75 miles; 45 from Warrenton to Milledgeville, and 30 from thence to Macon.

The weather was intensely cold; the branches of the trees on each side of our way being covered with frost, long icicles of three or four feet hanging from the rails and fences, at least an inch in diameter at the root; and before noon, the snow began to descend copiously. We were not sufficiently prepared for this extreme cold, and therefore suffered greatly, the coaches being open at the sides for summer use, and merely closed in with painted canvass, or oil-cloth, for winter, but so loosely as to let in the cold air in every part. We rode for the greater part of the way with the windows closed and curtains drawn, and even then longed for a supply of warmer clothing.

Our road lay almost wholly through dense pine-forests; and the constant succession of these trees, with scarcely any other variety, made the way gloomy and monotonous. The road itself was the worst we had ever yet travelled over, it being formed apparently by the mere removal of the requisite number of trees to open a path through the forest, and then left without any kind of labour being employed, either to make the road solid in the first instance, or to keep it in repair. We were, accordingly, sometimes half up to the axletree in loose sand, sometimes

still deeper immersed in a running brook, or soft swamp, and occasionally so shaken and tossed from seat to roof, and side to side, from the pitching and rolling of the coach, that it seemed to me the motion was more violent and excessive than that of the smallest vessel in the heaviest sea. We were all, in short, bruised and beaten by the blows we received from these sudden jolts and pitchings, so as to suffer severely; and this, added to the pinching cold, made our journey extremely disagreeable.

About two o'clock we reached the village of Sparta, there being also a Rome and an Athens in the same State; the former on the Etawah river in Floyd County, and the latter on the Big Sandy Creek, near Hermon, in Clark County, not far from the Land of Goshen, which is close to Edinburgh, Lincoln, Lisbon, Petersburgh, and Vienna, so strange are the juxtapositions of names on an American map. We halted at Sparta to dine; but the sight of the public table prepared for the passengers was so revolting, that, hungry as we were after our long and cold ride, early rising, and violent motion, we turned away in disgust from the table, and made our dinner in the coach on hard biscuits. There were three lines of coaches on this road, all leaving at the same hour, and arriving at the same time—the Mail line, the Telegraph line, and the People's line. The passengers from each of these took their seats at the table, and many of them appeared to dine as heartily as if they saw nothing unusual in the fare. But the dirty state of the room in which the table was laid, the filthy condition of the table-cloth, the coarse and broken plates, rusty knives and forks, and large

junks of boiled pork, and various messes of corn and rancid butter, added to the coarse and vulgar appearance and manners of most of the guests, made the whole scene the most revolting we had yet witnessed in the country. The ancient Spartans themselves, with their black broth and coarse fare, could not have been farther removed from luxury than these Spartans of modern days; and one might almost be tempted, from what we saw, to suppose that the modern Spartans affected the manners of the ancient Lacedemonians, in diet at least, to justify the appropriateness of the name they had chosen for their village.

We left Sparta at three o'clock; and after a cold, dreary, and tedious drive through thick woods and over broken roads, we reached Milledgeville about eight, having been assured before setting out that we should reach there at three. As this is the legislative capital of the State of Georgia, we had hoped to find a good hotel here at least, as the legislatorial body consists of nearly 400 members, and these all reside here during the few months that the two houses are assembled in annual session. But our hopes were not realized. The inn at which the coach stopped was a wretched one; and though all we desired to have was a cup of tea and some cold meat for our party, we had the greatest difficulty in getting either. It was our wish to remain here all night, and go on to Macon in the morning; but on inquiry we found that no private or extra conveyance could be had from hence to Macon in the daytime, for love or money, though this is the seat of the State legislature, and Macon is only thirty miles off.

Three stage-coaches pass through this place, between Augusta and Montgomery, at night, and these are the only conveyances to be had; so that if we did not go on to-night, we could only proceed on the following, there being no conveyance whatever for day-travelling. This was a great disappointment—but we were without a remedy; and so we prepared to go forward, cold and weary as we were. The tea was tardily and reluctantly prepared for us in a bed-room; and it may give some idea of the rudeness with which this was done, to say, that the dirty negress who made the tea, brought the stinted quantity required in the hollow of her hand, without any other receptacle for it—that the milk was placed on the table in a broken tea-cup, milk-cups not being in use—and that when a slop-basin was asked for, the thing was unknown, and a large salad-bowl was brought for that purpose.

We left Milledgeville at nine, and, after a more comfortless ride than we should like to endure again, we did not reach Macon till four in the morning, having been seven hours in performing thirty miles, over roads that would be thought impassable in any part of Europe, and which would break to pieces any description of carriages except the ponderous stage-coaches of this country, which are made as heavy and as strong as the union of wood and iron can make them. One reason assigned for this entire neglect of the public roads, is, that the scantiness of the population along their borders would make any assessment on the lands or the inhabitants, sufficient for this purpose, so burdensome, as to be ruinous to those who had to pay it, and, would, consequently,

drive all the population away from the very track to which it was most desirable to attract them. Another reason is, that railroads are so increasing over every part of the country, that stage-roads will soon be useless, and therefore it would be a waste of money to make or repair them. The wretched state of the ordinary roads thus operates as an additional stimulus to the construction of railroads wherever it is practicable; so that perhaps in a few years from this, there will be a connected series of railroad and steam-boat communication from Maine to Louisiana, and the journey from Portland to New Orleans may be then performed in a few days.

At Macon we found comfortable apartments prepared for us in the Central Hotel; and having, through the influence of a private friend, obtained the rare luxury, in this country, of a private sitting-room, and separate table, we enjoyed our week's stay here extremely. During the week, my lectures were given in the new Presbyterian church, a very handsome building just finished, and they were well attended by the most respectable classes of the community, to whom they gave so much satisfaction as to lead to an arrangement for my returning again to give another course at a more advanced period of the spring.

The town of Macon, or city, as is should be more correctly called, it being incorporated as such, is of very recent origin, as, only fifteen years ago, the ground on which it stands was covered with primeval forest; and not a single dwelling was then erected here. At that period, there was a military station near it, called Fort Hawkins, which was then the

frontier station of the whites towards the south and west; the whole of this territory being then occupied by the Creek Indians, while the Cherokees occupied the more northern parts of the State. In the survey of the lands, adverted to in the previous sketch of the history of Georgia, when the Indian titles to large tracts were extinguished by the general government paying to them a compensation or purchase-money for the same, and when the whole was divided into sections and put into a lottery, in which every citizen had a right to a ticket or a draw, certain localities were reserved by the State government of Georgia, for the formation of towns, and this was one of them. Accordingly, the town of Macon, so called after a wealthy citizen of Carolina, was laid out by the state-surveyor, and the ground sold in lots to private purchasers for building. It was soon after incorporated with all the municipal privileges of a city. Since that period it has gone on increasing in wealth and population, till the present year, when it numbers upwards of 8,000 inhabitants, of whom about 5,000 are whites, and 3,000 slaves and coloured people; and though only fifteen years old, its exports of cotton amounted last year to 5,000,000 dollars, and its imports to 4,000,000 dollars—the surplus of about 2,000,000 dollars being expended in building, in railroads, and various other improvements.

The town is very agreeably and advantageously situated on the western bank of the river Ocmulgee, which joins the river Oconee, farther south, and their junction makes the river Alatamaha, on which the town and port of Darien is situated, within a few

miles of the sea. This river, in its windings goes over a space of 600 miles between Macon and Darien, a length equal to that of all England and Scotland united! yet Macon is very nearly in the middle of the State of Georgia, it being quite as far from it to the Tennessee river, which is its north-western boundary, as it is to the river St. Mary, or Cumberland Sound, which is its south-eastern boundary on the Atlantic. This extensive area has not more than 600,000 persons yet settled on it, according to the census of the last year, though its fertility and general resources would, no doubt, be sufficient to maintain in comfort, if not in affluence, the whole population of England; and this will, no doubt, be its ultimate destiny, when its forests are cleared, and all its agricultural, mineral and manufacturing resources are fully developed.

The plan of Macon, like that of nearly all the towns in the United States, is remarkably regular; the streets run at right angles with each other, and are from 100 to 120 feet in breadth. The houses are mostly of wood; many of these are spacious and elegant; and some of the private dwellings are of brick, well built and in good taste. The public edifices are large, well proportioned, and indicative of a rising and prosperous city. The City Hall is among the most prominent of these; it stands in a fine open space at the end of one of the principal streets, which displays it to great advantage.

A neat market-house, with open colonnade and tower, occupies the middle of the same street, and near this is the Railroad Bank, with a fine Doric portico of fluted pillars; while the new Presbyterian

Church, with its square tower, completes a very interesting architectural group.

On the west of the town is a rising ground terminating in a hill, about a hundred feet in height, overlooking the town on the east, and having behind it on the west, a pretty valley, beyond which are clusters of villas and cottages, to which the wealthy inhabitants retire in the hot season to sleep, coming into the city for business only. On this hill are several private mansions as large and as handsome as any of those which excited our admiration at New Bedford. On this elevation is now constructing, and nearly completed, an extensive pile for the Female College of Macon. This edifice, which is built of brick and stone, is sufficiently capacious to accommodate 200 boarders, and to educate 200 day-scholars besides; in addition to this, it has ample accommodation in rooms, for study, recitations, and every other requisite for pupils, with an excellent private dwelling for the master and teachers. Though the building is not yet finished, there are already 150 young ladies, from 10 to 18 years of age, receiving their education there; and the style of tuition, and range of subjects taught, are not inferior to those of any of the Female Academies of the North. I had an opportunity of conversing with the head master; and enjoyed the advantages of the services of the Latin, French, and Spanish teachers for my son; and they appeared to me to be quite as competent to the discharge of their duties as those of the best schools of Europe.

In front of the College is a space of six acres of sloping land, which, as well as the site for the building, was the gift of a Methodist minister, who is also a

merchant in Macon, and which it is intended to lay out as a Botanical Garden for the recreation and improvement of the students. Instruments are also providing, for giving them instruction in chemistry, mineralogy, and astronomy, so that the course of education will be solid and useful, while languages, music, and drawing will make it also ornamental. The whole will be extremely cheap; the English literary and scientific course, including the French language, being only 50 dollars per annum, or £10 sterling. The funds for the erection of the building was raised by the Methodists, who, when the land was given for the site and garden by their minister, organized a committee, and sent agents throughout the State to collect funds by subscriptions or donations. When a considerable amount had been thus raised, so as to ensure the certainty of building a College, the resident inhabitants of Macon began to perceive that it would be to their interest to have a handsome building and an efficient establishment, and they contributed largely also; so that from these united sources, the sum of about 50,000 dollars, or 10,000*l.* sterling, was raised. The State Legislature next chartered a State Bank, on condition of its paying 25,000 dollars towards building the College; and the Methodist minister gave twelve acres of land, worth 36,000 dollars; all of which sums will be spent in its completion. The land, when given by the minister to form the site of the building, was not considered to be worth more than 100 dollars per acre, the ordinary price of cotton farming-land in the surrounding country being 10 dollars per acre. But since the erection of the

College, and the increased demand for building-lots in its vicinity, the value of the land in this locality has so increased, that a gentleman wishing to erect a country mansion on the hill, surrounded by a garden, had to pay 3,000 dollars, or 600*l.* sterling per acre, which, five years ago, might have been had for 100 dollars, and fifteen years ago might have been had for 1¼ dollar; so rapid is the increase of value in land by augmented population, and increased demand for it.

Of churches there are five in Macon—Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist, and Universalist. The first three are the largest and most popular. The Baptists are of the order called here "Hard-shelled Baptists," a phrase which was new to me; and which was given to them, as I understood, from their being so impenetrable to all influences of a benevolent kind, and so hostile to all the auxiliary aids of missions, tract societies, temperance societies, peace societies, sick-visiting societies, and other charitable and philanthropic associations; against all of which they are said to set their faces, and to denounce them as interfering with the free operation of the gospel, and substituting human machinery for apostolic preaching. They are accordingly given to the pleasures of the table without restraint; and one of their veteran preachers here is said to have declared from the pulpit that he would never submit to be deprived of his "worldly comforts" by the fanatics of modern times; and among those comforts he numbered his "honey-dram before breakfast," and his "mint julap or sling, when the weather required it."

The Universalists are very few in number, though they are zealous in endeavouring to obtain converts. Of these the following anecdote is told here:—A Universalist preacher assembled a number of the citizens to preach to them a probationary sermon, in which he endeavoured to persuade them that the idea of eternal damnation was wholly unwarranted by Scripture; and that even temporary punishment after death was not to be expected, as the wicked had their sufferings before they descended to the grave; and all beyond that would be universal happiness. After this discourse, he told the congregation that he was about to make a journey farther west; but that in a short time he would return among them again, to ascertain whether they would wish to build him a church, and engage him as their preacher. He returned after a short absence, as promised, and repeated, to the same audience, all his former opinions, desiring, at the close of his discourse, that the assembly would indicate to him, by some means, the resolution they had taken as to his future stay among them. Upon this, an elderly man arose and said, that having listened with deep attention to all that had been uttered by the preacher in his two sermons, he had come to this conclusion—that if all he had stated was *true*, and there was to be no punishment for the wicked after death, he really did not see the use of churches or preachers at all, for the police and the laws were sufficient to deal with criminals while in this world; but if, on the other hand, what he had been saying was *not* true, then, certainly, he would be a very improper person for their pastor: so that whether his views

were true or false, they should not be disposed to require his further services.

The lands around the town are devoted chiefly to the cultivation of cotton, and 150,000 bales were sent last year from this small town to Savannah and to Darien, for shipment to Europe. The crop was then short, and this year it is said to be still shorter, occasioned by unusual drought, though cotton bears the absence of moisture better than almost any other vegetable production. It is estimated that the crop of this year will fall short of that of last by 300,000 bales, and holders of cotton are therefore averse to sell, though the present price is eighteen cents per pound; while last year, about the same period, it was from nine to twelve cents only. Last year, up to the 1st of March, 86,209 bales had been received in Macon from the surrounding plantations. Up to the 1st of March this year, only 59,924 bales have been received; so that there is a deficiency of 26,285 bales in this town only, as compared with the same period last year; and then the supply was less than the average of many years preceding.

In the cultivation of cotton, the labourers employed are wholly negro slaves; their condition is generally better than that of the slaves employed in the cultivation of rice or sugar, the occupation being more healthy, and the profits admitting of a more liberal allowance of food; though in all other respects, as to clothing, lodging, cleanliness, and education, they are in the same dark, degraded, and hopeless state as the African race generally throughout the Southern States. Here, too, as elsewhere, there is a great difference between the condition

of the field-slaves on the plantations, and the domestic slaves about the houses of respectable families. These last are as well fed and as well clad as the free domestic servants of many countries of Europe, though far inferior to those of England; but still, even these are wholly uneducated, and entirely without the hope of benefiting their condition by any exertions of industry or economy, to the practice of which they have no conceivable inducement whatever. The field-slaves, being regarded as instruments of production, are maintained with as little cost as possible, compatible with the keeping them in good working condition; because, in proportion to the great quantity of work got out of them, and the small cost of their maintenance, will be the profit of the planter. He has every motive, therefore, to increase the one, and lessen the other, till he brings each to the point beyond which it is unsafe to carry them. In the domestic service of most private establishments here, there are often more slaves than are necessary for the labour required of them, many being kept for state, or ostentation; and as the coachman, footman, lady's maid, butler, cook, and other household servants, are continually passing before the eyes of the master and mistress, as well as their visitors and guests, they are almost sure of being well clad and kindly treated, because the sight of dirty and miserable-looking attendants would be painful to those by whom they are surrounded, as well as to themselves.

On this question, of the false economy of employing slave-labour in the cultivation of the land, every thing I heard and saw confirmed me in the opinion,

that it was most injurious to the interests of the planters; and that none would benefit more by a system of free labour than the very landowners themselves. At present, if a planter wishes to purchase an estate for cultivation, he can get 1,000 acres of land for 10,000 dollars; and if he could obtain free labour to till his fields, hiring it by the day, and paying for such labour as he required, and no more, 5,000 dollars would be ample for a reserved capital by which to procure his seed, labour, and stock. But as he must, according to the present system, buy his slaves as well as his land, it will require at least 500 dollars, or £100 sterling, for each working negro that he may need; and supposing only 100 negroes to be purchased, this would require 50,000 dollars to be laid out in the purchase of *prospective* labour, paying for it before he receives the slightest benefit, and under all the risks of sickness, desertion, and death. In this manner, according to the statement of Mr. Clay, in his recent Anti-abolition speech in Congress, there is locked up, of dead capital, in the purchase and cost of the negro slaves of the United States, the enormous sum of twelve hundred millions of dollars, or about two hundred and fifty millions sterling! Now, if slavery had never been permitted to exist here, and labour could have been hired by the day, or week, or year, as in other free countries, this enormous amount of capital would have been available to devote to other purposes; and the whole country would have been advanced at least a century beyond its present condition.

It may be quite true that the African race can alone sustain the exposure to heat and labour com-

bined, which the cultivation of rice, sugar, and cotton, demand; but it is at the same time as true, that their labour might be hired and paid for only as it was employed, instead of the ruinously improvident system of buying up all the labour of their lives, and paying for it beforehand; thus sinking an immense capital in the very country where capital is more valuable, because more productive of wealth, than in any other country that can be named. If a large manufacturer in England, when he had built his mill and fitted his machinery, were required to buy all his working hands at £100 each, and then maintain them all their lives, sick or well, aged or infirm, with the risk of loss by desertion or death, he would be less able to work his mill with £100,000, than he now is with £20,000; and consequently not half or a fourth of the mills now in operation could be established. If a shipowner, when he had built, equipped, and provisioned his ship for her voyage, had to buy up all his seamen at £100 a head, and maintain them all their lives afterwards, it would require four times the capital that is now necessary to send a large ship to sea, and consequently fewer persons could equip vessels. Thus the manufacturing and the shipping interests would both be retarded in their progress by this improvident and heavy burden of paying for a life of labour in advance, instead of paying for it by the week or the month, as its benefits were reaped by them.

Exactly the same effects are produced in retarding the prosperity of agriculture; and thus it is that the old slave-states of Virginia and Maryland are already exhausted. The Carolinas and Georgia are ready partially so; and in process of time this

will be the fate of Alabama, Mississippi, Kentucky, and the other slave-states; while those who employ the cheaper, more vigorous, and more productive element of free labour, will outstrip them in the race, from the mere advantage of a better system of industry. While I believe, therefore, that the condition of the slaves would be much improved by their being placed under the influence of those higher and better motives to labour which the enjoyment of the reward of their own toil can alone create, I also believe that the planters would all benefit by the substitution of free-labour for slave-labour, because the former is cheaper and more productive than the latter can ever be made. The slave-owners are indeed their own enemies, in opposing or retarding the emancipation of their labourers.

It is no doubt very difficult to prevail upon a man who has laid out 50,000 dollars in the purchase of 100 negroes, to set them all free, and pay them for their labour by the day; but it is often wiser to break up a bad system at almost any loss, and substitute a better one, than it is to continue the practice of the old, because of the capital sunk in it, when the new would be so much more profitable. But the competition of free labour in the free states will ultimately render this indispensable; and the parallel to this may be often seen in the case of manufactures. A manufacturer purchases, at great expense, a machine for producing a certain fabric. He has scarcely got it into full use, before a new discovery is made, of some superior machine, by which the fabric can be produced with much greater rapidity and at much less cost. If he adheres to the use of his old machine,

because of his reluctance to throw away that which cost him so much money, his competitor will soon beat him, by underselling him in price, and surpassing him in quantity and quality. But if he consent to sink his former outlay as a dead loss, and adopt the improvement of his rival, he will keep pace with him at least, and thus live and make a fair share of profit, though the former course could only end in ultimate bankruptcy and ruin. It was so with the small sailing-vessels for rivers, and passage-boats from port to port, when steam-navigation was first introduced. Many of the owners of the old sailing-smacks and vessels, unwilling to throw away what cost them a large sum, continued to sail their vessels against the steamers, and sunk money every trip. The wiser owners laid aside their vessels altogether, to employ steamers in the same trade, and these soon recovered their first loss, and prospered. And so it would be with the owners of slaves, if they were to set them free even without compensation, rid themselves of all the burthen of compulsory maintenance for inefficient work, employ only the hands they wanted, pay them for their labour as they required it, and thus proceed on the same system as the free states, when they would soon equal them in production and prosperity.

Among the new objects to which public attention has been much attracted in Georgia, is the cultivation of the *morus multicaulis*, or Chinese mulberry, for the rearing of silk-worms and the production of silk. It will be remembered that a hundred years ago, in the first settlement of this tract as a British colony, the cultivation and manufacture of silk was

one of the objects which was to be specially encouraged and promoted, the soil and climate having been considered peculiarly favourable for this purpose. The recent introduction of the *morus multicaulis*, with its wonderful powers of re-production and multiplication, has, however, given an entirely new stimulus to this subject. Already there are two monthly periodicals in circulation here, one published in Baltimore, and one in Philadelphia, exclusively devoted to the silk question; there may be others, but these I have seen. Several Silk Societies have been established in different States of the Union: while from Maine to Florida, the *morus multicaulis* is cultivated, advertised for sale in every paper, and hundreds of thousands, or perhaps I might safely say, millions of cuttings disposed of at high prices. One person alone, at Augusta, sold 500,000 cuttings in the course of the last and present year, and realised a profit of 30,000 dollars by his labours; and it seems to have taken the place of the late land speculation, in exciting and occupying the minds of the more active money-getters of the community. On this subject some believe that the hopes entertained are visionary, and others regard them as well-founded, as the following article from the Public Ledger, of Philadelphia, just republished in the Macon papers, will show:—

"We are no very easy believers in *mania*, having observed the fate of some, and read about that of others. Our country was once visited by a *merino sheep mania*.

"Have we now a silk mania? No. Great zeal is now manifested for the cultivation of silk, and mulberry-trees command high prices. But on considering the quantity of silk consumed in the country, the prices paid for it, the increase of demand with

the increase of population and diminution of price, the capacity of our country for producing silk, the profits of the culture at prices much less than those paid for foreign silk, the public utility of the culture in furnishing employment to those who most need it, and the productiveness and early maturity of the Chinese mulberry, which will afford a *silk-producing* plantation in the second year, we can see no *mania* in the prices now paid for mulberry trees. On the contrary, we see that eagerness to obtain them which is founded upon a knowledge of results *demonstrated* to be *easily attainable.* The prices paid for trees in New York, on Saturday last, as noticed by our correspondent in another column, may appear extravagant to those who have not examined the subject. But to those who have experience in the cultivation of silk, and know the productiveness of the Chinese mulberry, these prices are not beyond their value. Trees two years old were sold for four dollars. But the planter of such a tree will find that in autumn, its produce, in trees worth no more than twenty-five cents, will be worth five times this cost, clear of all expenses.

"But we shall be told that if trees increase so rapidly, the whole country will soon be filled with them. Let us reckon. To produce all the silk now consumed in the United States, would require more trees than the whole stock now in the country would produce for the next five years. But shall we be able to produce silk enough for home consumption? Not in five years. But we venture to predict that in ten years we shall supply ourselves, and export largely to England of raw silk for her manufacturers. The Middle, Southern, and Western States, equal China for the production of silk, and therefore excel any part of Europe. Then what should prevent silk from becoming one of our exports? About forty-five years since, many thought that the United States could not produce *cotton.* Let cultivators of silk remember this, and persevere. We see no *mania* yet, in the eagerness of farmers to purchase mulberry-trees for silk orchards. When we do, we shall cry aloud and spare not, for we have no great respect for delusions."

It is clear, however, that great efforts are making to try the experiment on such a scale as shall deter-

mine, by its results, how far the cultivation may be carried on to general advantage, and of the proceedings of the various Societies established for this purpose, the following may serve as a specimen, taken from the Macon Sentinel:—

Premiums for the Production of Silk.—The executive committee of the American Silk Society, in accordance with the constitution of the said Society, offer the following premiums, viz.:

"1st. For the greatest quantity of merchantable raw silk, produced by any individual, from cocoons of his or her own raising during the year 1839, one hundred dollars, or plate of that value, at their option.

"2d. To the person or association who shall make the greatest quantity of merchantable raw silk from one-fourth of an acre of ground, the trees of which shall have been planted in the year 1839, two hundred dollars, or plate of that value, at their option.

"3d. To the person or association who shall make the second greatest quantity of merchantable raw silk from one-fourthof an acre of ground, the trees of which shall have been planted in the year 1839, one hundred and fifty dollars, or plate, at their option.

"4th. For the best pound of sewing silk, made from cocoons of the competitors' own raising, in 1839, fifty dollars, or plate of that value, at their option.

"5th. For the second best pound of sewing silk, made from cocoons of the competitors' own raising in 1839, thirty dollars, or plate of that value, at their option.

"Five pounds of the silk offered for the first premium, and the whole quantity produced for the other four premiums, must be deposited with James O. Law, Treasurer of the American Silk Society, in Baltimore, previous to the next annual meeting of the Society, which takes place on the 11th December, 1839.

"GIDEON B. SMITH, Cor. Sec. American Silk Society."

New as Macon is, as a city, I was told that there had been already several attempts to set it on fire by incendiaries—two of which occurred in the last year only; and the general supposition was, that these attempts were made by dissatisfied slaves, who either

hoped to be able to realise something by plunder, and effect their escape, or else to avenge themselves on their masters for real or fancied ill treatment. It may be numbered among the many disadvantages of slavery, that the master or owner loses one of the strongest holds that an employer has over a free domestic. If the servant in a free country behaves ill, the master can discharge him; and the servant is thus punished for his fault by want of employment, the fear of which is sufficient to keep him, generally, in a state of obedience and anxious desire to please. The slave-owner, however, has no such remedy; he cannot threaten to discharge a slave as a punishment, because this would be to give the slave that which he most desires, his freedom; and the fear of his taking this, by running away, is often so great on the part of the master, that he is prevented from inflicting punishment to the extent he might desire, lest the slave should abscond, or take a sulky fit and not work, or poison some of the family, or set fire to the dwelling, or have recourse to any other mode of avenging himself. Among domestic slaves, all this would be perfectly easy; and therefore masters are slow to irritate or offend them by much severity: but as the facilities for such modes of vengeance are fewer among the field-slaves, these are not so much dreaded, and therefore they are made to feel the full force of the owner's displeasure. That vindictiveness should seem a virtue, and not a crime, in the eyes of an uneducated and oppressed slave, who can wonder, when the higher classes among the Southern gentlemen set such examples of its practice, as in the case of the Speaker of the House of Assembly in Arkansas murdering a member on the floor of the

hall of legislature during the last year. Scarcely a month passes in the south-western States without some such scenes and examples.

There are three newspapers in Macon—the Telegraph, the Messenger, and the Southern Post; each published once a week; and a religious journal published once a month. The political papers are divided into State Rights, and Unionists; which division is here deemed of greater importance than that of Whig and Democrat. The mayor of the city, who is also president of one of the banks, and a merchant dealing largely in cotton, is the editor of one; and they are each conducted with as much of ability, and somewhat more of moderation and fairness, than the northern prints of the smaller towns generally. The newspapers of Georgia, however, are not behind those of the older States in the love of personal abuse; and though they do not appear often to originate articles of this description, the readiness with which they appear to copy them from other journals, when the object of the personality is a political opponent, or belongs to the other party, sufficiently proves their vitiated taste, in the encouragement of virulence and scurrility,

The difficulties in the way of getting payments both for newspapers by subscribers, and for insertions by advertisers, are said to be greater and greater as you advance south; the charges for both are, accordingly, much higher than in the north, as indeed they are for every description of labour, goods, or accommodation; but the vast amount lost by bad debts makes this necessary, and thus the punctual and the honest are made here, as elsewhere, to pay for the defaults of the careless and the unprincipled.

In the neighbourhood of Macon, on the opposite side of the river to that on which the town is built, are several mounds of different sizes, all of higher antiquity than the date of the earliest settlement here, which are believed to have been thrown up by the Creek Indians, or, as some suppose, by a race anterior even to them. They must be several hundred years old, at least, as on some of them are trees of a very large size, evidently grown there since the mounds were formed. Whether they were for purposes of fortification, or of burial, or of both, it is not easy to determine. In the midst of them is the spot originally occupied as Fort Hawkins, when this was the frontier post to the south-west of the white settlers in Georgia; and from its summit a commanding view of Macon and the surrounding country is enjoyed.

In making our excursion to this and some other places in the neighbourhood, we saw many of the country people coming into town; some on horseback, some in waggons, and some on foot. They were in general as primitive in their dress as the farmers of the remotest parts of England and Wales a century ago, as far as we can judge of these by the pictures and prints of their costume: single-breasted coats without collars, broad-brimmed and low-crowned hats, and grey hair floating in loose locks over the shoulders, were among their peculiarities; and in their conversation they were as rough as in their appearance. They are called by the town's-people, "Crackers," from the frequency with which they crack their large whips, as if they derived a peculiar pleasure from the sound; and in a local little volume, entitled "Georgia Scenes," which I had the opportunity of perusing while in Macon, and which are said to be

drawn to the life, it is clear that the manners of the planters in the interior, are generally dissipated, their language coarse, and their amusements as barbarous as they were in England three or four centuries ago. The appearance, indeed, of nearly all the men we saw from the country, as well as those travelling to and fro on the road as passengers by the stages, was reckless, dirty, dissipated, and vulgar, and greatly inferior to that of the American men seen in the Atlantic cities, from Savannah to Boston — especially those of the South.

In the course of our ride to and from the Indian mounds, we passed the dwelling of a free negro, named Solomon Humphries, whose history, as related to us by persons who had known him for years, was sufficiently remarkable to be detailed. He was originally a slave to a Georgia planter; but being a person of more than usual intelligence, activity, and probity, he was entrusted with confidential employments, and had special privileges granted to him. By these means he contrived to scrape together, bit by bit, the means of placing a small sum out at interest, and by the increase of this, with some fortunate purchases and sales, he acquired money enough to buy his own freedom. This being obtained, he commenced business on his own account, as a general dealer in such commodities as could be turned to profit. Being punctually honest in fulfilling his engagements, he was readily trusted beyond his actual means, and thus soon acquired money enough to buy the freedom of such of his own family and kindred as were near to him. Every year his exertions were well rewarded, till he at length got rich; and though

unable to read or write himself, the laws of the Southern States forbidding the teaching of slaves to do either, he obtained the services of two white clerks, who kept his books and wrote and replied to his letters; till, by his skill and integrity, he acquired as large a credit as any merchant in the South. One gentleman of Macon assured me that he had given him credit for 10,000 dollars' worth of goods at a time, and was never under any anxiety as to its ultimate payment, and others dealt with him on the same scale.

The merchants and traders of the North with whom he dealt and corresponded, always paid him a visit when they came South for business or pleasure; and as he kept an excellent house, with abundance of servants, and good fare, he very often entertained a large party of white persons at dinner, giving them choice dishes and excellent wines. He never ventured, however, to seat himself at the table, but waited on his guests, superintending and directing the details of the feast, which these white persons condescended to receive and enjoy at his hands, though they would have thought it an indignity offered to them if the giver of the entertainment, whose bounty they so unscrupulously enjoyed, should have dared to place himself at the head of his own board! So revolting to every sense of propriety and justice are the notions and associations engendered by this prejudice of colour and caste! This negro is still in comfortable circumstances, and still trades with the whites as before; but he is no longer opulent, as his two white clerks, for whose engagements he made himself responsible, entered into

wild speculations with his funds, and squandered, in profligacy and dissipation, the profits of his concern, which he was obliged to contract in its operations, and carry on by himself, to avoid ultimate bankruptcy and ruin.

The case of this negro is constantly referred to as a proof that, after all, the African race is not so ill treated as the Abolitionists assert, and that, on the whole, their condition is better than that of the poor whites; it being forgotten, that if it were not for the benumbing influence of slavery, hundreds of instances similar to that of the negro adverted to, would be perpetually occurring; but the great difficulty being to get the first step, namely, to accumulate sufficient to purchase their freedom, they cannot get over this, and therefore cannot accomplish the rest. Here, too, as everywhere else that we had yet seen throughout the South, the state of the peasantry in Ireland, and of the children in the manufactories of England, and of the free States of the North, were continually pointed at, as worse than that of the slaves engaged in cultivation; forgetting, that supposing this to be true, one wrong can never justify another, and that all these conditions equally demanded reform. An article which appeared in one of the Georgia papers during our stay here, the "Daily Georgian," of Savannah, expresses this sentiment so fully and unequivocally, that it may be given entire, as an exact index of the general feeling here on this subject. The article is headed, "White Slavery," and proceeds thus:—

"The factory system which flourishes in the Eastern States, under the very auspices of those who are most fanatical in their

zeal to emancipate the African race, and give them all the rights enjoyed by the white citizens of this republic, is one fraught with abominations. Yet these zealous reformers overlook what is at their own doors, and stretch forth their organ of vision, to penetrate that which their disordered fancy pictures as existing at a distance.

"We, of the South, know comparatively little of the sufferings of the countless number of poor infants who toil from year to year, in these establishments, deprived in a great measure of both the air and light of heaven. The subject, however, is better understood in England, where the heartless system of inuring weakly children to perpetual labour originated. When we reflect that these innocent babes are, by the improvidence or poverty of their parents, let out to hire, at a period of life when they should, by right, be imbibing the principles of Christianity, and receiving at least the rudiments of an English education, we may well say that this system is at once subversive of morals and religion. Is it not, then, strange, that when the *soi-disant* philanthropists of England, and of America, were searching for blemishes in the face of society, and busy in endeavouring to uproot what they considered the great evils of the social system, they should be blind (not to say culpable) enough to pass over the worse than Egyptian bondage of so large a portion of their own race and colour, and be entirely destitute of charity for the tender and youthful beings, who, for a miserable pittance, were wasting their infant strength in adding to the store of luxuries for the opulent. No—all the tears flowed for the imaginary sufferings of the well-fed and contented descendant of Ham, whose life rolls on without care or sorrow, and who works with cheerfulness his daily task, happier in many instances than his master,—is well clothed in health, well nursed in sickness, and well taken care of in old age. Could our words reach the ears of the misguided people who are so much imposed on by the arch-leaders of the abolition movement, we would beg them to free the *White Slaves* of Great Britain, and of the manufacturing States of the North, before they interfere in the domestic institutions of the South. All the evils they complain of, as existing amongst us, may be found in bold relief, by examining the state of thraldom in which the factory

children are held, from the cradle to the tomb. Education is to them a dead letter—and religion can afford them little consolation. The ignorance in which they are brought up renders them almost incapable of appreciating the divine lessons of the gospel—even if their weary limbs, aching from the incessant work of a week, enables them to visit the temple of God on the Sabbath day. Ye who are Christians, and call yourselves philanthropists, look to this. Here is work for you. Commence to plough the stubble of this field, and all those who are lovers of rational freedom will cheer you on, and you will exhibit a convincing proof of your sincerity.

"We were induced to make these remarks, on perusing, in an English paper, the following article. It is peculiarly acceptable at the present time, and shows the great misery of the labouring classes, as well as the pharisaical spirit that animates the Abolitionists generally."

An article is then given from an English paper, entitled "Infant Labour in English Factories;" and because this blot stains the picture of English humanity, therefore it is sought to be inferred that slavery in America is no blot at all! Such are the delusions which prejudice leads men to practice—first, on themselves, and then on each other! How much more would the true freedom and happiness of the human race be advanced, if, instead of clinging to abuses, because they are practised by our own country, and denouncing evils because they belong to some other, we followed the more catholic practice of calling evil, evil—and good, good—wherever either existed; thus placing the Inquisition of Spain, the bow-string of Constantinople, the knout of Russia, the conscription of France, the impressment of England, the white Slavery of the factory, and the black Slavery of the field—all on the same footing; condemning all, because oppressive, and seeking

to remove all, as obstacles to the happiness of the great human family, without stopping to inquire by what nation they are practised, for the sake of palliation if by one, or for severer censure if by another. Instead of this, there are many who can feel the highest admiration for liberty, when they are themselves in the enjoyment of that blessing, but think nothing of the wrongs of those that are without it; and as a specimen at once of Georgia talent, and Georgia feeling of this description, I subjoin the following lines from the "Augusta Mirror:"—

GEORGIA.

My native State! my cherish'd home!
Hallow'd alike by smile and tear,
May glory o'er thee build her dome,
And fame her temples rear:
I love thee for thy burning sky,
'Neath which my feet have ever trod;
I love thee for the forms that lie
Cold, cold beneath thy sod.

O! gladly do I see the light
That hovers round thy fortunes now—
The spirit that must soon unite
The sea and mountain's brow—
The iron ties that soon will bind,
In one indissoluble band,
Place unto place, and mind to mind,
Within thy wide-spread land!

In vain doth wild fanatic zeal
*Thy institutions all condemn:**
On us be every wo or weal
That emanates from them;

* Slavery is usually called here "our peculiar institutions."

To those who would thy ways molest,
Who'd gladly spoil thy verdant scene,
Be this response: "What God hath bless'd
That call not ye unclean."

Art thou not bless'd, my cherish'd home?
Thy sons are true, thy daughters fair;
From mountain's crest to ocean's foam
Thy land is free from care:
Wealth glitters in thy golden mines,
Health lives amid thy hills of blue,
Religion's light above thee shines,
And Plenty smiles here too.

Ay, there are hearts within thy land
As warm, and brave, and pure, and free,
As throbb'd among the Spartan band
Of old Thermopylæ;
And like that band, should foes invade,
*To seek thy rights from thee to tear,**
Thy sons will lift the sheathless blade,
And bid them come who dare!

As cluster'd in the days of yore
Thy heroes 'neath the "stripes and stars,"
Unmindful of the sea of gore,
And heedless of their scars:
So evermore that banner round,
In hours of peace, or days of strife,
Shall be thy gallant children found,
To guard it with their life.

God bless it! may its spangled wreath
Be ne'er disgraced by sons of thine;
Still may they cling its folds beneath,
In one unbroken line:

* Meaning "the right to hold others in slavery."

And still in ages yet untold
As brightly beam its glory's sheen
As when it waved, with scanty fold,
Above the old Thirteen!

My native State! my cherish'd home!
Hallow'd alike by smile and tear,
May glory o'er thee build her dome,
And fame her temples rear;
One hope is to my heart most dear—
One boon at Fortune's hand I crave:
Fate made me date my being *here*—
Let fate make here my grave.

Savannah. R. M. C.

Let us do justice, however, to that large portion of the American people, who are as hostile to the continuance of Slavery in any portion of their country, as this poet of the South is for its continuance. Such are all the Abolitionists of the North, numbering in their ranks many men and women who would be ornaments of any country on the globe. Among the first, it is enough to name Dr. Channing, whose reputation is as high in Europe as it is in America; and among the second, it is sufficient to name Mrs. Sigourney, the poetess of New England, whose lines on Slavery may be fitly introduced, as a pendant to those of the young Georgian bard:—

SLAVERY.

"Slavery is a dark shade on the map of the United States."—*La Fayette.*

(Written for the Celebration of the Fourth of July.)

We have a goodly clime,
Broad vales and streams we boast,
Our mountain frontiers frown sublime,
Old Ocean guards our coasts;—

Suns bless our harvest fair,
With fervid smiles serene,
But a dark shade is gathering there—
What can its blackness mean?

We have a birthright proud,
For our young sons to claim—
An eagle soaring o'er the cloud,
In freedom and in fame.
We have a scutcheon bright,
By our dead fathers bought:
A fearful blot distains its white—
Who hath such evil wrought?

Our banner o'er the sea
Looks forth with starry eye,
Emblazoned, glorious, bold, and free,
A letter on the sky—
What hand with shameful stain
Hath marred its heavenly blue?
The yoke, the fasces, and the chain—
Say, are these emblems true?

This day doth music rare
Swell through our nation's bound,
But Afric's wailing mingles there,
And Heaven doth hear the sound.
O God of Power? we turn
In penitence to thee,
Bid our loved land the lesson learn,—
To bid the Slave be FREE.

The scenery of the northern parts of the State is described, by those who have travelled through it, to be as beautiful as anything in Vermont, and as romantic as anything in the Alleghanies; but the roads are as yet so imperfect, and the houses of

accommodation so few, that the district is but rarely visited by mere tourists. About sixty miles from hence, in a northerly direction, is a mountain called the Stone Mountain, which rises abruptly in a perpendicular cliff on its northern front, and with a very steep ascent on all its other sides, from a perfectly level plain. It is said to present a perpendicular cliff of more than two thousand feet in elevation from its base; and from its summit a prospect of the surrounding country may be enjoyed for more than fifty miles in every direction; while in one part of the horizon, the Alleghanny mountains are visible at a distance of a hundred miles. The Tulloola and Tuscoa Falls, within this State also, but distant from this nearly two hundred miles, are said to be beautiful scenes, especially the former, where a great chasm, or rent, between two perpendicular cliffs of more than a thousand feet high, exhibits all the grandeur of the deep gorges of the Alps, and the cataract greatly adds to the beauty of the picture.

We attended worship in the Presbyterian church, on the last day of our stay in Macon; and heard, from the pastor, one of the most able and impressive sermons I had yet heard from an American pulpit. The text was from the epistle of Paul to Timothy, in which he warns him against the sin of covetousness, and uses those emphatic words—"For the love of money is the root of all evil." It was a composition that would have done honour to the most accomplished divine in Europe; but what added to its effect was, that it was preached with as much sincerity as fervour, the preacher's whole life being, it was said, in harmony with his doctrine; while there

is no country on earth in which such warnings against too eager a desire for riches are more required than in this. The service was admirably conducted; the music and singing good; and the whole deportment of the congregation attentive, orderly, and becoming. In no country, indeed, are places of worship entered or occupied with more respect and reverence than in this, where every one seems to come, not as a matter of weekly ceremony, or habitual custom, but to the performance of a solemn duty, to which they give themselves up wholly during their stay there. Such are the workings, in this country, of the plan of supporting religion by the voluntary system.

This church, which would accommodate more than 700 worshippers, was built by twelve gentlemen, at a cost of about 30,000 dollars, or £6,000 sterling; they taking upon themselves the reimbursement of their outlay by the sale of the fee-simple in the pews to resident families, each pew being considered worth 400 dollars; and they were nearly all taken or bought before the church was completed. There were certain free seats reserved for strangers or visiters, but not for the poor, as there are none so poor in towns like this, as to be unable or unwilling to pay for a pew, if resident in the town. A moderate assessment, made by the elders and trustees, on the pews, provides the minister's salary, which is cheerfully paid; and never could there be a more striking proof than that exhibited of the sermon of to-day, that such dependence on the payment of his hearers does not prevent the pastor from speaking boldly to them, reproving them, and warning them against their

most prevalent sins. The organ, which cost 1,500 dollars, was built at Philadelphia, and was the gift of a single individual. It is thus that the churches of America are voluntarily built, supported, and supplied, without the bitter contentions which divide the churches in England, arraying the flock against the shepherd, and the shepherd against the flock, in contentions about tithes, oblations, first-fruits, church-rates, and other claims.

CHAP. XIII.

Departure from Macon for Columbus—Anecdote of negroes—Extravagant charges—Hospitality and kindness of the people of Macon—Break-down of a coach—Road to Knoxville—Negro Meg Merrilies, more than a century old—Peach orchards German emigrants—Swiss girls—The river Flint—First steps of settlers—Appearance and condition of backwood families—Schools—Churches—Dram-shops—Animals—Birds—Post-offices—Executive patronage—Southern drivers—Use of tobacco—Aversion to labour—Value of negro slaves—Varieties of slave traffic—Daughters of American farmers—Cotton-gins and cotton-presses—Value of land—Bears on the rivers—Mount Sinai—Methodists—Orthodox and "Hard-shelled" Baptists—Commotion on amalgamation—Obliquities of moral views dependent on colour—Proportions of blacks to whites in Georgia—Alabama and Mississippi—Night scene in the woods—Arrival at Columbus—Discomfort of the large American hotels—Stay at Columbus—Falls of the Chathahooche—Confectionaries—Dirks and bowie-knives sold by druggists—Story of a negro female slave.

THE inconvenient hour at which the regular stages pass through this town to the west, from 12 to 4 in the middle of the night, had induced us to seek for an extra coach in which to perform our journey from hence to Columbus; but, as none were to be had, we were obliged not only to start at this inconvenient period, but to sit up, in order to ascertain whether there was room for our party of four in the coaches running through, as no places could be secured to us beforehand. When the first arrived, which was near four o'clock, there were as many persons congregated around it, to see it come in and go out, as if it had been the first time of its passing

through; so long has the curiosity to see, outlived the novelty of the object to be seen.

On this head we were told some curious anecdotes of the country people and the negroes of the town. It is not long since the first church-bell was erected in Macon; and when it rang for the hour of worship on the sabbath, crowds of persons from the country would assemble in groups to see it, and watch its upward and downward motions with all the eagerness of children witnessing for the first time the movements of a new toy. The river of Macon, the Ocmulgee, is navigable by steam-boats of light draught of water, up to the bridge; its length, by the circuitous windings of the stream, being about 600 miles. When the first steam-boat arrived here from Darien, it was in the middle of the night, so that the letting off the steam was heard with great distinctness, from the absence of all other sounds. The negroes not being informed of the expected arrival, and never having heard any similar noise before, arose in great alarm, and hurried to the spot to see what was its cause; when perceiving the intense lights from the furnace, and observing the sparks vomited forth by the wood fires from the large chimney, accompanied with the violent hissing of a column of steam, or as they called it, "white smoke," some of them thought the last day had arrived, and deemed this the summons to judgment. Their ignorance and fear soon causing this impression to spread, in a short time it became general, and created the greatest consternation among the coloured multitude, which was only allayed by the return of daylight, and the sight of the boat in a state of quiet and repose.

In paying our bill at the hotel of Macon, before we left, we had reason to find that the charges were in the inverse ratio of the quality of the fare and accommodation. The table was miserably furnished; the beds dirty and ill-provided; yet for this wretched accommodation, we had to pay at the rate of twelve dollars, or two guineas and a half, per day, for a family of three persons and a man-servant. Every one assured us that the farther we proceeded onward in this direction, till we got to Mobile and New Orleans, the tables and beds would get worse and worse, and the charges be higher and higher. We therefore followed the advice of our friends, in laying in a stock of biscuits and other simple food, to be used on the road, in all cases in which the fare at the public tables should be revolting, which was likely often to happen; and the hospitality of some of those friends having furnished us with the necessary materials for this, we were rendered, to a great extent, independent of inns, except for beds, a matter in which we were obliged to resign ourselves to our fate.

I may add, that here at Macon, as at some few other places, we had been urgently invited to take up our abode with private families, who expressed a great desire to receive us as their guests; but, from a wish to preserve ourselves as free as possible from obligations of this nature, we made it an invariable rule to decline such invitations, and to visit only as occasional guests. In the small towns of the country, however, we found the hospitality of the residents all that we could desire, and more than we could enjoy, mingled with the most genuine and cordial kindness.

At 4 o'clock on the morning of Monday the 11th of March, we took our seats in the mail for Columbus, with no very pleasing anticipations of our journey; as the companion-coach, the Telegraph, which started from the same point at Augusta and had run all the way with the mail, was upset about two miles before reaching Macon. Its passengers, wounded and bruised, were brought on in the mail in which we were about to set forward; the coach being left broken to pieces on the road. Our way until daylight was over an undulating surface, the road being as rough as before, and passing directly through a dense forest of pine-trees, the aspect of which was gloomy and monotonous in the extreme.

At twelve miles from Macon, we passed an inn, kept by Mr. Lachaise; and this having the reputation of being one of the best on the road, we requested the driver to let us stop here for breakfast, it being near eight o'clock. But though there was only one passenger in the coach besides our party, and we were unanimous in our request, we could not prevail on him so far to accommodate us. We drove on, therefore, to Knoxville, a small village about thirteen miles beyond this, and there breakfasted at half-past ten. The fare was as rude as we had been taught to expect; coffee weak and cold, tea without taste, eggs scarcely warmed through, and no bread but hot cakes of Indian corn. There was so evident a desire, however, on the part of the young landlord and his "landlordee"—as here, for the first time, we heard the mistress of an inn called—to meet our wishes, that their cheerfulness rendered the rudeness of the fare less disagreeable.

Soon after leaving Knoxville, while slowly ascending a hill, we overtook a very aged negress, well mounted on a beautiful horse. She was dressed in a fantastic manner, with an old black beaver bonnet, tied down with a dirty white handkerchief, like the gipsies of Europe, a plaid mantle, rather the worse for wear, floating over her shoulders, and a large crooked branch of a tree in her right hand, as a whip. Though her features were African, her complexion was not quite black, but a sort of reddish brown, such as characterizes the mixed offspring of the Negro and Indian races, of which class she probably was. She had not a tooth left, and her voice was loud, hoarse, and croaking; though her dark eye was full of fire and expression. As she drew up to the coach-window and accosted us, we thought we had never seen a more perfect picture of the Meg Merrilies of the Northern Wizard. On her salute of "good morning" being returned, we asked her how she did; and her reply was, "I'm a young girl yet, though over a hundred years old, and this morning I'm going a frolicking." We thought she must be crazy; but the stage-driver and our fellow-passenger, who knew her well, said she was an old slave of a planter in this neighbourhood; that she was born at Newburn in North Carolina, and that she was undoubtedly more than a century old, though vigorous enough to ride on horseback several miles a day. Her owner, ever since she had passed her hundredth year, had allowed her a fine horse, with a handsome saddle and bridle, to ride about the country. This she decorated, as well as herself, with the most fantastic ornaments, and calling herself

"The Sheriff," she rode from one plantation to another, hearing and telling the news, delighting in gossip, always finding something to eat and drink, and some one to help her on her horse when she departed.

On each side of our way, in patches from which the forest trees had been cleared, were peach orchards, the trees of which were now in full blossom, and their beautiful pink colour enlivened the deep green of the never-ending pines. The peach of these orchards is smaller, redder, and more acid than the English peach. It is chiefly used to distil a liquor from it, called "peach brandy," great quantities of which are consumed in the State.

We passed also a party of German emigrants going farther west, bivouacking in the woods. A little covered cart, with tattered awning, conveyed all their moveables, but the people themselves went on foot, except an occasional ride for the women and children; and their mode of life was perfectly gipsey-like through all their journey. Being among the most sober of the emigrants from Europe, they are the most successful, and their services are always preferred to those of the intemperate Irish, whose lives are thought here to be not more than three years on the average, after their landing; the abridgment of their natural term being caused wholly by drinking to excess.

Some of the German and Swiss broom-girls find their way here also, and gain a handsome livelihood and a surplus on which to return home, after a few years. We saw a party of half-a-dozen remarkably handsome young females, in Macon, who travelled

in company with their two brothers, of men's age, and a younger brother, quite a boy; and by singing, dancing, and selling brooms, they had accumulated, it was thought, a handsome little fortune, or what at least would be so considered among the peasants of Germany and Switzerland. The boy, though not more than ten years of age, was an excellent performer on the pianoforte; and one mode by which he ingratiated first himself, and the nall his party, into the good graces of the American families, was by asking if there was a piano in the house, and offering to play them some German music, at his skilful execution of which they were usually astonished, and rewarded him accordingly. As there is scarcely a dwelling of the most ordinary kind containing American females, in which there is not a pianoforte, almost all the female children being taught to play a little on it—though very few indeed evince either taste or skill, or make any progress beyond the few first lessons—so the instrument itself is found everywhere; and any good performance on it by a stranger is regarded with surprise.

About seven miles beyond Knoxville, we crossed the Flint river on a raft, on which the stage and four horses were drawn across by a rope. The stream is narrow and shallow here; but it becomes navigable for boats of large burden farther down, and joins the Chatahoochee river on the northern borders of Florida. These united streams then form the Apalachicola, which empties itself into the bay of that name, on the northern shore of the gulf of Mexico.

From this point onward the marks of settlement were more frequently seen in all their various stages.

The first is the "girdling of trees," as it is called, which is the process of cutting round a girdle or hollow band near the root, by which all the bark of the tree is removed, and the vessels for the ascent of its sap are destroyed. The tree thus perishes in a few years, by losing all its bark and leaves; and it is impossible to imagine anything more dreary and desolate than the sight of a large number of trees in this state of death and decay. Another process is that of setting fire to the underwood, and charring the trunks of such trees as are dry enough to bear the operation of fire. The flames sometimes, however, spread faster and farther than is intended, especially if the wind is high; and it was said that within the past week only, more than 100,000 rails of fine wood, recently used up in fences for the adjoining lands, had been destroyed by fire, and consumed so rapidly that no effort could arrest its progress. A third process is, the cutting down the trees with the axe; but this is often left till the ground has been ploughed, and sown with corn, and yielded two or three crops; because, as the greater number of trees are fit only for fire-wood, pitch-pine being the most numerous, it is desirable to let these remain erect till they are wanted, and not to cumber the ground with their presence.

It sometimes happens, however, that when a tornado, or whirlwind, sweeps over the forest, which it often does in May and June, when the ground is wet and loose after heavy rains, many of the trees having but a slender hold with their roots, it tears up hundreds of them at a gust; and we saw many thousands of such trees, right and left, in our journey

of many miles, so prostrated, some with all their branches and leaves on, but the greater number bare and bleak, lying in heaps on the ground, to the great injury of the owner, as it was impossible to plough the land on which they lay, and to burn, or to remove them, was equally slow and expensive.

Along the whole of the road, for nearly all the distance from Knoxville to Talbotton, log-huts and rising settlements, hardly yet amounting to villages, were seen, the edge of the road being favourable for sending produce to market, and receiving supplies. But the soil here is not so good, as the road runs along the summits of ridges, where the ground is high, and hard or sandy, the rich lands being in the bottoms or water-courses on each side. The settlers' first dwelling, however, is usually erected near the road, and the low lands are brought into cultivation as they can be cleared afterwards.

It is difficult for any one living in England to appreciate the difficulties, toils, and privations which a settler and his family have to undergo in clearing land, and surrounding themselves with even the barest necessaries. Every member of the family must work hard, from daylight to dark, the women as well as the men, and the children as well as the grown people. We saw many boys and girls, of not more than six or seven years of age, some using small axes, others carrying wood, and others assisting in domestic duties. In general they were very dirty in their persons, the mother being too weary to wash them; ragged and ill-fitted in their clothes, there being no tailor or dressmaker to make them; and some of the boys especially reminded me of

Cruikshank's ludicrous sketch of a "boy wearing out his father's garments," for many of them had the coats and hats of grown men, so that the former came down below their ankles, and the latter covered their eyes, and required constant lifting. They were all apparently unhealthy, parents and children looking pale and haggard, over-worked in body, and over-pressed with thought and anxiety in mind. What adds greatly to the disadvantage of their situation is, that there are no schools, Sundays or week-days, and very few places of worship; while dram-shops, under the name of confectionaries, exist in great numbers, where sweetmeats, cordials, and spirits are to be had so cheap, that the poison is abundant and the remedy scarce; so that the border population, surrounded by such circumstances, can hardly fail to be reckless and unprincipled.

Among the animals in use, we saw many fine oxen, some few cows, still fewer sheep, and a very few goats. Mules are more numerous than horses, they are bred here for draught, and imported also from Kentucky, being worth on an average 100 dollars each. Hogs are the most abundant of all, their flesh constituting almost the only animal food used by the settlers. In the woods, the turtle-dove was the only bird we saw in any numbers; a solitary mocking-bird was occasionally seen; but though it was now the season in which it might be said, "for, lo! the winter is past, the rains are over and gone, and the time of the singing of birds is come," we were never once cheered, in all our journey, by the sounds of the feathered choir, that make the woods of "merry England" redolent of song. Of course,

the noise of the wheels would prevent our hearing birds while the coach was in motion, but it was the same dead silence everywhere that we halted; though perhaps, in the depth of the forest, and remote from the public road, it might have been otherwise; this at least we had not experienced.

As we were journeying in the mail-stage, we had to stop at every post-office; and these are so numerous, one occurring every ten or twelve miles, that it was impossible to have a separate bag for each; so that at each office the great mail-bag had to be opened, the letters examined to see if there were any for that station or district, and then it was necessary to make up the bag again, repeating the same process at every office. As this took half an hour at least, and our rate of travelling never exceeded six miles an hour, the mail was frequently overtaken and left behind by the ordinary stage-coaches. The rate of charge for fare is the same, however, in each, being about a dollar for every ten miles as the cheapest, and a dollar for every eight miles as the dearest on the road.

The post-offices, which are very humble buildings, and often mere sheds, are more numerous, it is said, than the correspondence of the country requires; but as the appointment of the postmasters rests with the president, this forms a large branch of executive patronage. Since the days of General Jackson, it is well known that the only qualification required for such appointment, has been the advocacy of the politics of the ruling party; there is thus an army of political postmasters arrayed on the side of the Administration. The post-offices in the country and districts here

are like the old barbers' shops in English villages a century ago — places for the idle and the gossiping to assemble and discuss the news. To add to the attractions of the post-offices here, many of them are also "confectionaries," at which liquors of all kinds are freely sold; and the class of persons usually assembled to hear the news on the arrival of the mail, were among the most dirty, dissipated, and reckless in their appearance.

The drivers on this road were very inferior to those of the Northern States in deportment and language; they were often insolent, always unaccommodating, and frequently most profligate in their oaths; while, having no fee to expect from the passenger, they appeared to me to be studiously disrespectful, as if they sought that mode of displaying their independence. We sometimes hoped to get a better, by their frequent change, as each driver went only the one stage with his team, usually from ten to twelve miles, but there was a great uniformity in their worthlessness. These, as well as most of the men of these parts, that we had yet seen, had tall gaunt figures, wanting firmness and compactness, though not deficient in strength. They were all ill-dressed, scarcely a garment fitting them well, being more like ready-made clothes bought at a venture, than fitted by any tailor. The greater number went without neckcloths, some without coats, and a good hat was a rarity. Instead of woollen cloths, a kind of grey, or blue-and-white cotton cloth, of domestic manufacture, was used for coats and trousers. Tobacco was in almost universal use, and the youngest of boys were seen chewing and smoking;

while the number of idlers lounging about as though they had nothing to do, could only be accounted for by the fact, that here the negro slave does the greatest part of the labour, while his white master receives the profits of it.

As we passed a spot where some negroes were cutting up the wood for rails or fences—all the divisions between different properties being made here by the zig-zag, or snake-fence—our fellow-passenger, who was himself a slave-owner, said that such negroes as these, stout healthy men, were worth in the market from 1000 to 1200 dollars, or from £200 to £250 each. On asking him the cause of this high price, he said it was owing to several circumstances, but especially the following: first, a demand for slaves to clear the new lands in Texas; secondly, a demand for slaves to cultivate cotton in Alabama, and sugar in Louisiana; and thirdly, a demand for slaves to work on the many new railroads now making all over the country. These new sources of demand had given, he said, great increased value to negro property; and more money, he thought, was at this time made by trading in slaves within the United States, than by almost any other occupation. Many speculators travelled over the older States of Virginia and Maryland, bought up the surplus stock found in the hands of the slave-breeders there, and brought them to the South, for a profitable market. Others purchased slaves within the State, and hired them out to work on the railroads, making, as interest on their investment, from 30 to 50 per cent, while capital invested in planting did not yield more than 20 per cent on the average.

In the course of our ride, we stopped at a log-hut, to take in a young lady as passenger. She was apparently about 14 or 15, and, like almost all the American females at that age, was remarkably pretty, with as much feminine delicacy as would be seen in the highest circles in England, though with less of polish or of grace. Though coming from so humble a dwelling, her apparel was of silk, while the gold rings on her white and taper fingers, and the green veil hanging from her Leghorn bonnet, showed that her hands had not been much inured to labour, or her complexion much exposed to the sun.

There is a great difference between the condition and appearance of young females in the humbler ranks of life in England and America. In the former, they labour to assist their parents, by which they get an air of roughness, and rude health, accompanied with a plainness of attire, such as is thought becoming in persons of inferior station. Here, except it be among the emigrants and first settlers, who are mostly foreigners, few females assist their mothers in household or any other duties. They are brought up to be waited on by a negro girl, who does all that is required; and every white woman's daughter, begins from the earliest years to think herself a lady. Fine dress and delicate appearance, with an imitation of genteel manners, are the business of her life, until she gets married, which is here often at 14 and 15; and then her utter inefficiency as a mother may be readily conceived.

On the road we passed a few cotton-gins, for separating the seed from the cotton. Each crop produces about four times as much seed as is necessary

to plant the same space on which it was produced; and the residue is sold for seed-cotton, to supply new plantations. We saw also several cotton-presses, in the fields, for pressing the cotton when it is packed into bales, though the greatest number of these are under cover. Cotton and Indian corn are the chief productions of all the cleared lands here. The value of such land was estimated at from ten to twenty-five dollars an acre, according to its position, before a single tree was cleared. The whole of the land in this State being now appropriated as private property, none remaining any longer in the hands of either the general or the State governments, large fortunes will be made by such as can afford to hold their possessions, (nearly all having bought at a dollar and a quarter per acre,) as every year adds considerably to its value, and some few patches in the bottom lands are already deemed worth fifty dollars an acre at least.

We crossed many running brooks, sometimes passing through the water, but more frequently over a corduroy bridge, composed of round trunks of trees with the bark on, laid side by side, sometimes close to each other, but often with spaces of two or three inches between them; and the shaking, in passing over these, was such as to twist every muscle in the body. In those bottom lands, and along the banks of the streams, wild bears are sometimes seen, but these are getting fewer every year, though along the borders of the Flint river they are said to be still very numerous.

The only place of worship we passed in all our day's ride, was a new clap-board meeting-house, just erected on the edge of the woods, near the road-side,

but not yet opened. It was named Mount Sinai, and might truly be called a "tabernacle in the wilderness." It was built by the Methodists, who are here, as everywhere, the pioneers of religious instruction, as their system of circuits and itinerant preaching peculiarly fit them for going into the rude and untrodden paths, to open a highway for those who are to follow after them. A fact was mentioned to us here, as of recent occurrence, which will sufficiently shew the necessity of more churches and more preachers, to correct the present state of things. In this quarter there are two descriptions of Baptists: the orthodox, or evangelical, who are practically as well as theoretically pious, and disposed to assist in all benevolent undertakings; and the Antinomians, or, as they are here called, "hard-shelled" Baptists, who preach the doctrines of unconditional election and reprobation in their severest forms, and whose practice shows how little importance they attach to good works. In the neighbourhood of the road between Knoxville and Talbotton, was a small chapel, which belonged to the latter; and one of the preachers of the former wanted to occupy it on a Sabbath evening, when the others had no service, but it was refused. There was then a great question agitating the public mind here, whether Christianity should be preached to the slaves, and missionaries be permitted to go among them for this purpose or not. The evangelical Baptists desired this; but the "hard-shelled" order opposed it. In this they were supported by the majority of the whites here, who conceived that preaching to slaves would only make them more dissatisfied with their condition, and encourage them

to rebel against their masters. The "hard-shelled" minister denounced missions and missionaries, from his pulpit, and was applauded and caressed by his hearers. The evangelical minister commended missions and missionaries, from such elevated stumps as he could find among the trees to preach from, and he was insulted and driven off the ground; since which the "hard-shelled" Baptists are said to have had everything their own way, in this quarter.

A competition or rivalry of a different description took place here recently, and has but just ended, among the proprietors of the three lines of coaches running on this road. The fare from Macon to Columbus, a distance of ninety miles, was twenty dollars, while the mail-stage had the monopoly. A second line was set up, and reduced it to ten dollars. A third line followed, and brought it down to five dollars. The two former reduced their rates to one dollar; and the new adventurers absolutely carried their passengers for nothing, while the hotels furnished them with dinner and champaigne at the cost of the coach-proprietors! This could of course last but a little while: all parties soon saw the folly of such a career of mutual loss, which must end in the ruin of one or more, if persisted in, and they settled on a compromise of all running at the same hours, and the same rates, ten dollars per ninety miles. As, however, there are rarely more than enough passengers to fill one coach, they are all losing money, even at this rate, yet fear to raise it, lest a higher fare might tempt some new competitor into the field.

It was five o'clock when we reached Talbotton, a pretty little place, forming the principal town of the

county of Talbotton, and having a good brick court-house, a large inn, many shops and stores, and some very neat and tasteful private dwellings. The place was in a great commotion about a piece of scandal that had set the whole community by the ears; though, at first, the story was unintelligible to us. A young girl of the neighbourhood had been recently married, at little more than twelve years of age, and the rumour had gone abroad that the first offspring of this young mother, produced after seven months' gestation, was "a mule!" This tale, which at first shocked us by its grossness, and then became incredible from its absurdity, was rendered more intelligible by an explanation that this was a cant phrase to denote a "coloured child." The inference intended to be drawn from this slander was, not only that the child was not the husband's, but that its real parent was a coloured person; an offence which, in the language of some of those whom we heard speak of it, "all the waters of Georgia would be insufficient to wash out." It had been already ascertained that the child was no browner than many white children are known to be at birth, who get fairer afterwards; and there was nothing in its features or hair to indicate African blood, even in the second or third degree; so that public indignation was now beginning to be turned from the innocent mother, to the criminal originator of the scandal; and it was thought that if he or she could be discovered, and the proof of guilt be brought home to them, nothing short of their assassination would appease the incensed community.

Many were the exclamations uttered on this occasion against the Abolitionists, and the horrors of

amalgamation; but when I endeavoured indirectly to draw from some of the speakers their opinion as to the frequent amalgamation, by African mothers having offspring by American fathers, no sort of censure was thought due to this. It was not denied that there were many instances in which white men became fathers of offspring by their own negro women, and as the children follow the fate of their mothers, such offspring would be his slaves, and might be lawfully sold by him as his property, and often were so disposed of! Such is the obliquitous morality of those who are loudest in the expression of their horror at amalgamation, when imputed to the Abolitionists!

From one of the residents of Talbotton, who was our fellow-passenger here, I learnt, what I confess surprised me, yet he assured me it was true, that though in the large towns of Georgia, and particularly those to the eastward, such as Savannah, Augusta, and Macon, the white population and the blacks were nearly equal in numbers; yet, taking the State all through, the proportion was at least ten negroes to one white; the number of negroes employed in the cotton plantations causing this great difference. In Alabama, where I expected the disproportion would have been greater, he said it was less, being not more than four negroes to one white; but this he accounted for by stating that a great many poor white families were settled in Alabama as cultivators, and did the work there, which negroes perform here. The most startling part of all was, however, that in Mississippi, the next adjoining State, the number of negroes was at least fifty to one white person; though even here, he said, they were

not in such constant apprehension of danger as they were in Charleston. This he attributed to the circumstance that in Alabama nearly all were slaves, and so scattered and employed incessantly in labour, that they had not the means of combination; whereas, in Charleston, the number of free blacks was very considerable; and as many of these had leisure and means, and communicated freely with the slaves, a union and concentration of their sympathies made them much more dangerous, though their numbers were so much fewer, and their proportion to the whites so much less, than in the State of Mississippi. The gentleman who made these statements was himself a slaveholder, an anti-missionary man, and a great hater of the Abolitionists.

On our way from Talbotton to Columbus, there were many log-huts near the road, and much ground fenced-in for clearing; but our way was through endless forests of pine, under the varied aspects already frequently described. When the sun had set, and the night was fairly closed in, the fires, still burning in many parts of the woods, glared, from various points, and exhibited a wild and romantic picture; the red glow of light in the heavens reflecting the blaze below, and adding much to the impressiveness of the scene. Every now and then we passed by a log-hut, through the open chinks of which, the light could be so well seen, as to form horizontal lines of red, alternating with the dark logs of wood between, while here and there, in the very deepest recesses of the forest, would be seen the twinkling taper of some distant cottage, dimmed by the blue haze which usually follows the close of

a sultry day, as this had been. The thermometer at noon was above 70°, though on this day week, it had been down to 20°: and while the forest trees on each side presented a dark mass of foliage at their summits, and the tangled grape-vines and creepers, mixed with the smaller trees, formed impenetrable thickets below, the sky above our heads was of the brightest azure, and spangled with stars that shone out with more than ordinary lustre, making the whole scene a mixture of the solemn, the beautiful, and the sublime.

It was midnight before we reached Columbus, where we found accommodation, such as it was, at the Oglethorpe Hotel, and here we determined to remain for the night, as the roughness of the roads, the violence of the motion—which had twice broken down our coach, and obliged us to halt for its repair on the way—and the wretchedness of the fare at all the tables we had seen, made us anxious to rest and recruit for a day. The hotel was very large, and the rooms more spacious than usual; but though not built more than four or five years, it had all the defects of a much older building. The doors of the rooms were many of them shattered, hinges and locks out of repair, windows broken, and sashes and blinds out of order, without any attempt being made to remedy all this. It seems quite characteristic, indeed, of the Southern hotels to have almost everything in need of repair. When the building is once erected and finished, no one seems to take any pains to keep it in good condition; but when things get injured they are suffered so to remain till they are altogether worn out.

All the servants here being slaves, and no master or mistress of Southern hotels appearing to take the least interest in the reception or accommodation of their visitors, those who arrive are entirely dependent on these slaves for whatever they require. Though three coaches stopped at the door, no one was ready to receive them. The negroes belonging to the house were all lying huddled together on the floor, none of them being provided with more than a blanket, which they rolled round them, but without bedding or pillow. They sleep so soundly that it is a matter of the greatest difficulty to wake them; and even then, it requires a long time to make them understand what you wish. Not a single bed-room that we were shown into was ready, the beds being unmade, the rooms unprepared, and all in disorder and confusion; the reason alleged was, that it was quite time enough to get rooms ready, when they were sure they would be wanted. Everything being in disorder, therefore, it took an hour, at least, to put the room in decent condition; and even then it was most uncomfortable.

The usual practice of putting the bed up close to the wall, so that one side of it only can be got at, and this in the largest rooms, as well as the smallest, makes it impossible to adjust the bed-clothes comfortably. When attempting to draw the bed farther out to do this, the whole bedstead fell to pieces, though it was nearly new. It was merely put together, without nails, screws, or cords, and was never intended to be moved from the position in which it was fixed, either for washing, sweeping, airing, or any other purpose; and accordingly the

servants never attempted it. No bells are ever found in these hotels, though they are so large, and the servants are so far off and so stupid, that there is more need of bells here than in any other country; no curtains to the beds, broken wash-stands, basins without jugs, or jugs without basins, a dressing-glass shifted from room to room as required, no clothes' pins or pegs to hang a great coat, cloak, or any other garment on, and no closets or wardrobes to supply this deficiency—in short every thing is so rude and imperfect as to excite one's astonishment that the keepers of such establishments should ever suffer them to remain so a single day, until it is remembered that the masters of American hotels, being generals, colonels, and majors, are too much of gentlemen to superintend anything except receiving the money; while their wives are still more disinclined to trouble themselves with household affairs; so that everything is left to the bar-keeper or clerk, and the slaves under his direction; and these last, having no interest in the matter, neglect everything but what they are actually compelled to do; and therefore all things fall speedily into disorder.

In this hotel, the out-door accommodation for gentlemen (water-closets being a luxury here unknown) was worse than I had ever before found it, bad as this is in every part of the United States; but it would seem that as the traveller goes South, where the increased warmth of the climate would require greater attention to personal comfort and purity, as well as to cleanliness of apartments and food, everything gets worse; and we thought that we

had here arrived at the *ne plus ultra* of disorder, neglect, and dirtiness; though we were told, in the ordinary phrase, that we might "go farther and fare worse," and moreover be obliged to pay more and more extravagantly, as the accommodations grew less acceptable.

We remained at Columbus during the whole of Tuesday; and though much fatigued, had an opportunity of seeing something of the town, and some of its most respectable citizens, to whom I had letters of introduction. The town is only ten years old, being one of the newest places of any size in this part of the country, yet it already contains about 8,000 inhabitants, in nearly equal proportions of black and white; and both its public and private buildings are substantial, commodious, and ornamental.

The river Chatahoochee, on the eastern bank of which it is seated, has, opposite to the town, some romantic ledges of dark granite rock, forming rapids, or falls, and interrupting the navigation of the stream above this point, except for small boats and canoes; but from hence downward, for 600 miles, steam-vessels navigate easily to the sea, in the bay of Apalachicolo, at the north eastern head of the gulf of Mexico. It has a covered wooden bridge, like a closed tunnel, crossing the stream, reposing on two piers, and lighted by windows at the sides.

In the town itself, we observed a more than usual number of the places called "Confectionaries," where sweetmeats and fruits are sold; but the great staple supplies of which are peach-brandy, whiskey, rum, and other ardent spirits, of which the consump-

tion here, by all classes and in various forms, is said to be considerable. We observed also, what to us was a novelty, the open sale of dirks, bowie-knives, and a long kind of stiletto, called the "Arkansas toothpick." These are sold by druggists, in whose shops or stores these deadly weapons are hung up for public inspection, and sold by them as part of the legitimate wares of their calling; thus plainly indicating, that weapons to kill, as well as medicine to cure, could be had at the same shop; and placing, beside the deadly poisons of arsenic, laudanum, hemlock, and hellebore, the deadly weapons of no less fatal power.

In the hotel in which we stopped, was a fine full-length portrait of General Mackintosh, the Indian chief of the Creek nation. Though the people of America seem anxious to get rid of the actual presence of the Indian people, and have them transported to the westward of the Mississippi, they have great admiration for their principal warriors, as if their names and exploits formed part of the national history of their country. Accordingly, no pictures are more popular than portraits of such men as Black Hawk, Keokuck, Red Jacket, Osceola, Mackintosh, and others; and their varied and richly-coloured costume, make them good subjects for pictures.

It was a peculiar fancy of the hotel-keeper with whom we lodged, to call his children after the names of the several States, and we had accordingly a morning visit from four young ladies of the family, whose names were Georgia, Carolina, Virginia, and Louisianna. We learnt, during our stay here, a fact res-

pecting the state of social life and morals among the slave population employed in domestic servitude, which, as it came to us in the most authentic shape, is worth noticing, as a specimen of what we were assured was of very common occurrence. A female slave, born in Georgia, had been brought up in the house of her white master, and had given birth to a child, of whom one of the white master's visiting friends was the father. When the child grew up, it was thought desirable, for the father's sake, to send both the mother and child away to some other State, and as both were the property of the white master, (for offspring in this country follow the fate of their mothers, so that the coloured child of a white father becomes the property of the master to whom the slave-mother belongs,) it was proposed to send them both into Alabama for sale. As all the slaves have a great horror of being sent to the south or the west, —for the farther they go in either of these directions, the harder they are worked, and the worse they are used—great objection was made to this, and the mother declared she would "sulk," so that nobody should buy her, and she would rather kill her brown boy than let him go to Alabama. As either of these steps would lessen the value of the master's property, and as the negroes have often resolution enough to put such threats into execution, the master began to hesitate, and the matter was compromised, by the mother being sold into the western part of the same State, and removed from Augusta to Columbia, while the child was sent farther east, to Charleston in South Carolina, and there is very little probability of their ever seeing each other again.

Such separations as these are quite common, and appear to be no more thought of, by those who enforce them, than the separation of a calf from its brute parent, or a colt from its dam. As the mother was an excellent house-servant, so large a sum as 1200 dollars, or nearly £250 sterling, was given for her by her present owner; and he hired her to the master of the hotel, for a fixed sum in monthly wages, the amount of which was 20 dollars, giving the owner, therefore, an interest of 20 per cent. on his investment; out of which he had no deduction to make for her maintenance, as the person hiring her undertook to feed and clothe her. For the latter, however, she was entirely dependent on any little presents received from travellers visiting the hotel; though this was very trifling, as it is not the custom to give fees to the servants in America: indeed, the charges are generally so high, as to indispose persons to add gratuities to the attendants. The condition of a large race of unfortunate dependents, among whom such instances as these are common, may therefore be better imagined than described.

CHAP. XIV.

Leave Georgia for Alabama—Contrast of scenery and condition—Wildness and solitude of the forest—Reach Tuskeegea—Story of the landlady—Rising village—Excellent school in the woods—Halt for the night at a log-hut—Vindictive spirit of the Indians and their breed—Cubahatchee—Improved aspect of the country—Fine houses—Large and productive plantations—Corduroy roads—Break-down of the coach—Negro-repairs—Village of Mount Meigs—Second breakdown—Wretched appearance of the plantation slaves—Express mail from New York to New Orleans—Arrival at Montgomery.

We felt so much fatigued by our rough journeys from Augusta to Macon, and Macon to Columbus, that we were unwilling to encounter another night's travelling in the same way; and as the regular stages all pass through here at night, there was no way of escaping the evil we desired to avoid, but by taking an extra coach for our exclusive use, and giving two days to the journey of little more than ninety miles. After considerable negotiation, we were enabled to effect this, but at the extravagant charge of 120 dollars, or about £25 sterling.

In this coach we left Columbus at eight o'clock on the morning of Wednesday the 13th of March; and crossing the river Chathahooche a little below the falls, by the wooden bridge described, we entered on the state of Alabama, the river being the dividing line or boundary between the two.

The change of aspect in scenery and condition was very striking. The woods, into which we were entering, seemed more wild, the road being a mere

pathway through and around standing trees, the tops of which touched our heads in many places; the land was poorer in quality, but being more undulated in surface, the swamps in the bottoms were more abundant; the brooks ran with greater impetuosity, and the bridges over them were more rude than any we had yet seen. Rough corduroy roads occurred for many hundred yards at a time, and loose planks laid across horizontal beams, supported on single pillars, but neither nailed nor fastened, served for bridges; while frequently the coach would have to go through water deep enough to come close up to the coach-door, and threaten us, by the slightest false step, with immersion. The stations, where we changed horses, were mere log-huts, used as stables: and all the way, for miles in succession, we saw neither a human being, a fence, a rood of cleared land, nor anything indeed that could indicate the presence of man, or the trace of civilization, so that we felt the solitude of the woods in all its fulness.

This description applies to all the tract of land for many miles beyond the river Chathahoochee; and it was said that whoever came as far as that towards Georgia, were more disposed to go on and fix their settlement in that State, than in Alabama, which seems to have a bad name even among those who reside in it. Beyond this belt, signs of settlement began gradually to appear, but even these were of the rudest kind. A blacksmith's shop, a few log-huts, and a "confectionary," with the ever-ready poison of strong drink, constituted a village; and for forty miles of our road we saw only one instance of a store where any other goods could be procured; this being

a log-house recently devoted to the purpose of a general drapery and grocery warehouse.

It was five o'clock, or nine hours after our setting out from Columbus, when we reached the little village of Tuskeegea, forty-five miles from Columbus; and here we should have halted for the night, but that there were yet two good hours of daylight, and we were desirous of making the second day's journey as short as practicable. The inn, at which we changed horses, was one of the neatest and cleanest we had seen in the South; and though very humble in its appearance and furniture, there was such an air of neatness, cleanliness, and order about it, that it excited our warm commendation. The landlady, having her sympathies touched by our praise of her management and arrangement, entered voluntarily into conversation with us, and told us the outline of her history.

She said that her husband and herself had both been brought up without having been taught the proper value of money, so that they had not been long married before they had run through all they possessed. In this extremity they had only a choice between two evils, one of which was to go to Texas, where people who were unfortunate had land given to them, and could get on fast, by industry and care; the other was to purchase a small piece of land in some rising village nearer home, and, by a little harder labour and more rigid economy, get on quite as well, though not quite so fast, as in Texas. They preferred the last, and came here about three years ago; it was then that the first tree was cut down to form the village of Tuskeegea, where some

Creek Indians of that name had just vacated a settlement, to go beyond the Mississippi. These Indians, she said, had been a terror to all the whites of the neighbourhood, and massacred many families in cold blood; and her statement was confirmed to us in many quarters. Among other instances of their ferocity and cruelty, we heard at Columbus, that some years ago a stage-coach had been attacked by them in the forest, and after securing the horses for their own use, the Indians broke up the coach, and burnt it in the middle of the road. They then made the passengers prisoners, and scalping them all, men, women, and children, they placed them in a small wigwam, to which they set fire, and burnt them all alive! In Florida, to the present hour, the Seminoles commit similar outrages on the whites wherever they can find them; and we heard from two ladies going to St. Augustine, that within the last two years, nearly every white family living within two or three miles of these towns, had been put to death by the Indians.

Since the settlement of this landlady and her husband, who was a general, at Tuskeegee, they had prospered exceedingly, were every year adding to their substance, and surrounding themselves with comforts and means of enjoyment. A good population had been attracted near them, comprising upwards of 300 persons; and there was now an excellent school, in which more than 100 youths of both sexes received the best education given in the country, from a male teacher from Mobile, and a female teacher from the celebrated seminary at Troy, in the State of

New York. The teachers were said to be very competent, and received 1000 dollars, or about 200*l.* a year each; and music, drawing, and languages were taught, as well as the ordinary branches of an English education. No village of 300 persons in England could certainly produce the parallel of this, more especially a village only three years old.

Our next stage from hence was a distance of twelve miles, through the same description of scenery as that passed in the morning, but the soil was more clayey, and the road better, though all our drive was performed through a deluge of heavy rain, which was very acceptable to the country, as more than a month had passed since any rain had fallen.

At the end of this stage we reached a log-house, where we were to sleep for the night. The beds and interior accommodations were most uninviting; but we had no choice, so, lighting a large wood-fire, and preparing some tea, which our kind friends at Savannah had furnished us with, as none was to be had in houses of this description, we enjoyed it, and retired early. During the night, the rain poured down with great violence, and as the roof of the log-house was not water-proof, we had streams entering at different parts of it, which made our position very uncomfortable. The partitions between the several small apartments into which the house was divided, were so thin, and the beds were placed so close to them, that the slightest noise or sound made in one room could be distinctly heard in the next; so that it was like sleeping with a dozen persons in the same apartment. The cries of some young children, the

snoring of the negroes scattered about lying on the floor, the constant barking of several large dogs, saluting and answering each other in alternate volleys, and the incessant croakings of the frogs, with which every part of these woods abound, made it almost impossible to sleep. We therefore got out to trim the fire, and see the hour, several times during the night, and were extremely glad when the daylight broke on us, our first perception of this being through the chinks of the roof, as there was no window whatever in the room in which we slept.

In the morning a very rude breakfast was prepared; and happening to converse with the old woman who served us, on the state of the country, and asking whether the removal of the Indians was not considered a blessing by the settlers here, I remarked that she made no answer. We afterwards learnt, that the man by whom the house was kept was himself a half-blood Indian, and his rage was said to be so great when this question was repeated to him, that he was "perfectly mad," in the language of our informant, and declared his regret that he had missed the opportunity to shoot me for so saying. Such is the vindictive spirit that seems to flow through Indian veins, and which loses but little of its original nature, even by mingling with gentler blood than its own.

We left this log-house at half-past eight, in the same coach that brought us from Tuskeegee; and proceeded onward for Montgomery, reaching, after a few miles, a new village settlement called Cubahatchee. The soil now became richer on each side, and the woods were much more variegated, as, besides the ever-succeeding pine, there was a thick under-

wood of various flowering shrubs and trees, including magnolias, yellow jessamines, the dogwood, and the grape-vine, with a very beautiful tree called the willow-oak. The brooks of water were also more frequent, though the bridges over them were still of the rudest kind; and across one, the only road for foot-passengers was along a series of high-legged benches or forms, ranged in line, or end to end, elevated a few inches only above the water's-edge, and never more than eight or nine inches wide.

A little beyond Cubahatchee we passed one of the most spacious and best-built houses that we had yet seen on the road, with portico and verandas, an excellent garden surrounding it, and the whole enclosed with a regular paling of uniform upright pointed rails, smooth and painted white: pride-of-india trees were abundant, and a peach-orchard near was in full blossom. In the centre of an adjoining field, was seen the family burial-ground, railed in with a paling like the garden, with this difference only, that while the body of the rails was white, the pointed terminations above the horizontal band were black, as well as the arch over the entrance-gateway; giving it thus the air of a place of mourning.

Immediately beyond this large mansion, the road was lined on each side with extensive fields of the richest soil, perfectly cleared of all timber, and even the stumps of the trees rooted up and removed. Some of these fields appeared to be from fifty to eighty acres each in extent; and we here saw the first instance of hedges and ditches around the enclosures. These lands had been devoted to corn in all previous years, but the present high price of cotton

had tempted the greatest number of the planters here to cultivate this plant, and they were "all going into cotton mightily," as our informant expressed himself, this year, in the hope of making their fortunes by it in the next. Cotton pays the landholder a return of twenty per cent. for his capital, when it sells even at ten cents per pound; and it is now sixteen cents. In ploughing the land, on which the negroes were now engaged, each plough had one horse and one man only, the same person holding the plough and guiding the horse with a rein. For manure, small heaps of the cotton-seed were spread at regular distances, and then scattered over the surface. Many planters appropriate the whole of the seed of each crop to this purpose, and get new seed every year from South Carolina; but some reserve a sufficient quantity of the old seed for sowing the land for the new crop, and either use the surplus as manure, or sell it.

Excellent as the soil was here, and rich and productive as all the fields around us seemed to be, the roads were even worse than usual, the corduroy ridges of round logs extending sometimes for upwards of a mile in continuity, and so violently shaking the coach, that though it was nearly new, and built with great strength, it broke down with us in the middle of the road. We were therefore obliged to get out, and walk about half a mile to a farm-house during the rain, while it was repairing. This was done by the assistance of negroes sent from the farm, with poles of wood, and such rude tools as they could obtain for the purpose. A very little labour from each adjoining plantation would put

these roads in excellent condition; but the reason assigned for this not being applied is, that every planter considers himself only a temporary occupant of the plantation on which he is settled; he thus goes on from year to year, racking it out, and making it yield as much cotton or corn as he can in each year, without considering the future, holding himself ready to sell at a day's notice to any one who will give him what he considers to be the increased value of the estate. With the proceeds of this he is ready to go farther west in quest of another lot of land, which he is ready to clear, plant, improve, and then sell as before. Under this system of perpetual movement, every planter is averse to lay out money or labour in improving the roads of his particular district, as it is extremely improbable that he will live long in the same spot, to enjoy the benefit of such improvements. Added to this, a railroad is now in progress from Columbus to Montgomery, and is expected to be finished in the course of a year, when the ordinary roads will be abandoned for all but merely local conveyances.

Our coach being set up again, we proceeded on our way, and soon passed a very spacious and elegant mansion, with large verandas all round, a beautiful and extensive garden, with vineries, arbours, and alcoves; and shortly after we halted at a small village called Mount Meigs, of still more recent origin than Tuskeegee, but, like it, flourishing and increasing rapidly. The fields in all this neighbourhood appeared larger, cleaner, better cultivated, and more productive, than any we had seen on our way; and the whole of the farming operations seemed on a

better scale than usual; but the roads were still so bad, that before we had gone far we had a second break-down, and thought, for some time, we should have to walk the rest of the way to Montgomery; but by the aid of the negroes from a neighbouring plantation, we were once more set up, and enabled to proceed.

During the interval, and while the coach was under repair, we had an opportunity of seeing the great bulk of the labourers on the plantation. These were all negro slaves; and their appearance and condition were not at all superior to those we saw at Savannah; the few garments they had being almost wholly in rags, and their persons and apparel so filthy, that it might be doubted whether either the one or the other were ever washed from one end of the year to the other.

While we were halting here, patching up our broken vehicle, and lamenting our frequent delays, we were passed by the "Express Mail," established between New York and New Orleans. Letters, printed slips of news, and prices of goods, of sufficient importance to warrant the extra expense in their conveyance, are sent by this mode between the two cities. A relay of horses is posted all the way at intervals of four miles, for which it requires a stud of 500 horses, in motion or in constant readiness for mounting. Each boy rides only twenty-four miles, twelve onward and twelve back, changing his horses twelve times in that distance; and for this purpose, and to supply vacancies by sickness and accidents, about 200 boys are employed, who gallop the whole way, and make good fourteen miles an

hour, including all stoppages. The expense of this conveyance is so much greater than its return, that it will probably be given up.

About three o'clock in the afternoon we reached Montgomery, having been seven hours performing a distance of thirty miles, with two break-downs on the way; and glad enough we were to terminate this long and tedious land-journey, in which, for a distance of more than 400 miles, we had scarcely seen anything but interminable forests on either side of our path, except in the small spaces occupied by the few towns and villages in the way, and the inconsiderable portions in which a few patches of corn or cotton cultivation bordered the mere skirts of the road.

At Montgomery we found excellent quarters in the best hotel we had seen since leaving New York, superior even, as it seemed to us at least, to the hotels of Charleston and Savannah; and, being desirous of proceeding onward without delay, we embarked in the steam-boat, "Commerce," to go down the Alabama river to Mobile, a distance of nearly 500 miles, which these fine vessels perform in about forty-eight hours, their rate of speed exceeding ten miles an hour all the way