

BUCKINGHAM'S TOUR IN THE SLAVE STATES OF AMERICA.*

Mr. BUCKINGHAM'S Tour in the *Southern* and *Western States*, will prove much more generally attractive, than his account of the more familiar and hackneyed route to which his previous volumes were devoted. The field is not only more comprehensive, but more varied and fresh.

This portion of the voluminous work commences with Charleston, the capital of South Carolina, to which city Mr. Buckingham and his travelling companions, (his wife and his son,) made an exceedingly disagreeable voyage from New York, in a sailing vessel. In Charleston, Mr. Buckingham remained at this time for three weeks, delivering his customary course of Lectures on the East, and enjoying frequent friendly intercourse with the most intelligent inhabitants of the place. Charleston, which he afterwards revisited, seems to have left a pleasant impression upon his mind.

As in the first three volumes of the work, the author wherever he sojourns takes occasion to give a pretty full view of the history of the particular State; compiled from the best sources, and of value as a kind of General Survey of the United States, though of less interest to the British reader, and of little or none whatever to those who merely take up the work as a book of recent travels. Of all this weighty, and to us, extraneous matter, we shall therefore steer clear.

In point of appearance, in its public buildings and general air of prosperity, Charleston is inferior to the cities of the Northern States. It more resembles a West Indian than an American town, from the prevalence of wooden buildings painted white; verandas, porticoes, and Venetian blinds; and probably also from the numerous domestic slaves, in light or gaudy dresses. Charleston is considered peculiarly unhealthy, though some of its own physicians uphold it "as decidedly one of the healthiest cities on the face of the globe."

Slavery, the actual condition of slaves in all its bearings, was everywhere an important object to the Tourist; if it was not, next to his private affairs and the Temperance cause, the most important object of his journey. But instead of following his desultory remarks on slavery, in the course of his long, zig-zag ramble, we shall endeavour, at its conclusion, to give a brief summary of the information he collected, and of his personal observations. His next station after leaving Charleston, was Savannah, in Georgia, an *old* city containing about 10,000 inhabitants, of whom the one-half are "coloured people." In manners and institutions this place as closely resembles a West India town as does Charleston:—

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 char-

acterized 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 visitors feel that they are in the society of well-bred and recognised 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.

There is inconsistency, more apparent perhaps than real, in the account which Mr. Buckingham gives of the character, manners, and attainments of the gentlemen of the South and the North; the former, under a thin crust, or exterior lackering of politeness, being in many other parts of the work described as irascible, arrogant, vindictive, and, in short, exactly such men as the masters of slaves, educated among slaves, must become, in spite of every countervailing influence. The complaint made by British travellers of the lax discipline of the North in the training of children and young people, appears to be still more applicable to the South; where the boys affect the *bravo*, carry bowie-knives, and sometimes marry at fourteen.

After visiting Augusta, the Tourists proceeded into the interior of Georgia, and passed through Alabama on their route to New Orleans. This journey, generally made in the wretched stage or mail-coaches of the South, abounds in interest and entertainment; though the complaints of disorder, filth, bad or scanty accommodation, horrid roads and miserable fare, become somewhat tiresome from their continual reiteration, not only here, but in the subsequent rambles in the Alleghanies. No doubt these privations must have been very distressing at the moment; but English travellers ought to remember that they cannot carry all "the comforts of the Saut Market at their tails," over the "corduroy roads," and into the Backwoods; and so make up their minds to two-pronged iron forks, coarse crockery, brass and tin candlesticks, and even worse afflictions, which the Americans

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bear with perfect good-humour. A *taste* of these minor calamities of life may even be amusing; and they become in this narrative piquant to the malicious, from the amount of ludicrous distress so gravely and so often and solemnly described. At *Sparta*—no country in the world equal to Yankeeland for classic names—the Travellers going by the stage to Macon, stopped to dine; but alas! for the squeamish stomachs of people from the Old Country—

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.

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 *hôtel* here at least, as the legislative 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. . . . 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.

The *hôtels* of the new and secondary towns of the South, are often little better than those above described; but that of *Macon* formed an exception. This is a city *rising* only fifteen, and already numbering 8000 inhabitants; of whom 3000 are slaves and free coloured people. In the year before Mr. Buckingham visited *Macon*, its exports in cotton alone amounted to 5,000,000 dollars, and its imports to 4,000,000; the surplus, which is stated at about 2,000,000 dollars, being expended in buildings, railroads, and other improvements. This is a good rate of progress; and one which will inevitably bring silver forks, toilet tables, and everything needful in its train. As the place is comparatively new ground, and a promising field, we copy out a part of the account of the town:—

It 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.

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.

In this manner new cities start up in the wilderness. A chartered State Bank is made to contribute to the building of the *College*, as the price of its exclusive privileges. Like every American town, *Macon* has already a competent number of Voluntary places of worship, of the usual kinds—namely, Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist, and Universalist. Roman Catholic and Unitarian chapels, though generally found in the towns of the South, have not yet made their way here.

The Baptists are of an order new to us. They are named *Hard-shelled*; though hard-shelled Christians may, we fear, be found of all denominations. They seem to be what is termed Antinomians. Mr. Buckingham has probably received his account of them from their religious *unfriends*.

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 julep or sling, when the weather required it."

"Well now," as the Yankees say, "but don't you regard your own creature-comforts pretty considerable yourself, Mr. B.?" as witness many pages of your book; only yours are not exactly of the same kind with those of the honey-dram preacher, or the smoker. We hear of a worse distinction between the Hard-shelled and the Evangelical Baptists than Teetotalism. At a place named Talbotton, in this district, there is a small chapel by the road-side, which, on a particular Sunday evening, was refused to the Orthodox Baptists by the *Hard-shelled* sect, though not otherwise occupied, and for this bad reason:—

A fact was mentioned to us here, as of recent occurrence, which will sufficiently show 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.

Young as the city of Macon is, there have already been several attempts made by the slaves to set it on fire. Incendiarism seems quite a common crime among the blacks. Three different times in the

course of this summer, the hôtels at which Mr. Buckingham and his family were stopping, were set on fire by incendiaries; and one of these times the conflagration was attended with serious consequences. The fires were, in every case, known to be the work of slaves, either domestics of the house or of the guests; but all inquiry was *prudently* suppressed, as only tending to make things worse. On one of these occasions, Mr. Buckingham's trunks were only saved by the activity and zeal of his faithful Irish servant; though he lost a good deal of property which he considered valuable. The motive of the slaves to commit this fearful and common crime, is sometimes the hope of plunder, but much oftener revenge.

The settlers, or country people around Macon, are a very primitive and rude race. Their home-spun costume is that of the petty farmers in the remote parts of England and Wales, a century ago. But this does not appear to hold of the ladies. On the journey from Macon to Columbus, in Alabama, the stage-coach stopped at a cottage to take in a lady 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.

There is hereabouts hardly a dwelling with females in it, in which there is not a pianoforte; all the girls being taught to play "a little;"—a very little. The picture of the settlers here, at their earlier stages, is not inviting:—

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 necessities. 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 weekdays, and very few places of worship; while dram-shops, under the name of confectionaries, exist in great numbers, where sweatmeats, 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.

The journey from Columbus to Montgomery proved tedious and fatiguing; but from the latter town the travellers were enabled to descend the Alabama river, by steam, to Mobile; going a distance of five hundred and eight miles in about forty-eight hours. The steamer does not set off until all the coaches from the East have arrived, and they are very irregular. Yet the wonder is not the irregularity of the conveyances, but the facilities for taking such journeys at all. The scenery on the Alabama is described as fine.

The steamer, the interior arrangements of which were comfortable, called at different places to take in bales of cotton for Mobile. Smoking, chewing tobacco, and spitting, flourished the whole way. The following are good specimens of the natives:—

Among the passengers was a planter from beyond the Mississippi, who evinced a great curiosity to become acquainted with us, as he stated that we were the first English persons he had ever yet seen. He seemed to be glad to find himself quite certain that he had now seen real people from the "Old Country," as he had passed his whole life in the interior, 200 miles beyond the great river, and would have something to say when he went back. Another of our passengers was a cotton planter, from the interior of Alabama, who was said to be worth 100,000 dollars, though his apparel certainly would not sell in any town of the United States, for five dollars. He was about seventy years of age, had lost one eye, had only three or four teeth left, a sunburnt and wrinkled countenance, like parchment, with white locks hanging over his shoulders, a pair of scarlet cotton trousers, crossed with bars of deep blue, snuff-brown cotton stockings, shoes without buckles or strings, a short buttonless waistcoat, no braces, a nondescript coat, between a jacket and a surtout, no neckcloth, and a low-crowned and broad-brimmed brown hat. He was of a merry disposition, and communicative as well as inquisitive. He was particularly impressed with the fresh and healthy appearance of myself and family, as contrasted with the generally pale complexions of his countrymen, and asked us if all the men, women, and children in England were as robust and rosy as we were. I told him that the greater number of those who lived temperately, and took a proper portion of exercise in the open air were so. . . . He admitted that drinking, smoking, and chewing, were injurious, but thought it impossible to break the habit of either, when once contracted; and when I mentioned to him successful instances of abandoning them all, he seemed incredulous, and said he had never heard so much before. He thought it a great blessing that we had no negroes in England, as he believed they were enough to destroy any country. He was going down to Mobile, to receive money for cotton sold, and to make some purchases for his people; and when I said to him he would arrive in good time on Saturday night to go to church on the following morning, he said that he had never been in any church in all his life, and thought he was now too old to begin, though he had "heard a few preachings in the woods, but didn't much mind 'em."

Mobile, the principal town, and the port of the State of Alabama, has a population of 25,000, of

whom the half are whites, and the remainder slaves, with some free coloured people. The manners of the better class of the inhabitants are nearly the same as those of the citizens of Charleston or Savannah; though the town seems as much to resemble New Orleans as the Atlantic towns of the South. Law is powerless at Mobile, and shocking outrages are frequent. The following sarcasm is fair:—

I had witnessed a Liverpool election for mayor, under the old suffrage of the freemen, and I had seen many other elections in England for members of parliament, in which drunkenness, riot, and disorder reigned; and I am bound to say that this municipal election for Mobile, was just as bad as any of them; worse would perhaps be impossible.

Mr. Buckingham was well received in Mobile, and his Lectures were numerously attended; so were they in New Orleans, in which city he remained for a month, and of which he has given the fullest account that has been published in any book of general travels. The party went by steam from Mobile to New Orleans, which thus picturesquely presented itself at dawn, as they advanced by the railroad cars, from the landing-place at Pontchartrain.

Going for about five miles over a perfect swamp or morass, through which the railroad ran, with impervious woods and thickets on either side, we reached, in half an hour, the outskirts of New Orleans. The avenue by which we entered the city was called *Les Champs Elysées*; and everything that caught our attention reminded us strongly of Paris. The lamps were hung from the centre of ropes passing across the streets, as in France women were seen walking abroad unbonneted, with gay aprons and caps; the names of all the streets and places we passed were French; the car-drivers, porters, and hackney-coachmen, spoke chiefly French; the shops, signs, gateways, pavements, and passengers moving in the streets—all seemed so perfectly Parisian, that if a person could be transported here suddenly, without knowing the locality, it would be difficult for him to persuade himself that he was not in some city in France.

After passing through the French quarter, we came to Canal Street, which divides it from the American and crossing this fine broad avenue, lined with trees on each side, the transition was as marked as between Calais and Dover.

His residence for a month in a *hôtel* in which there were about five hundred guests, gathered from all parts of the Union, enabled Mr. Buckingham to see a good deal of the American character. He was, besides, constantly in society; and a man who has hustled so much about the world, was sure, wherever he went, to meet with former acquaintances.

From the account of this singular city we take the description of one of its most striking features:—

The most animated and bustling part of all the city is the *Levéé*, or raised bank running along immediately in front of the river, and extending beyond the houses and streets, from 100 to 150 yards, for a length of at least three miles, from one end of the city to the other. Along the edge of this *Levéé*, all the ships and vessels are anchored or moored in tiers of three or four deep. The largest and finest vessels are usually at the upper end of the city, near *Lafayette*, the steam-boats lie in the centre, and the smaller vessels and coasters occupy the bank at the lower end of the city. It may be doubted whether any river in the world can exhibit so magnificent a spectacle as the Mississippi in this respect. There are more ships in the Thames, but the largest and finest of these are usually in the various docks, while in

smaller kind are chiefly seen without, and the Thames has not half the ample breadth and sweep of the Mississippi. There are as many vessels, perhaps, in the Mersey, but these are nearly all in dock, and the river is comparatively bare. The Tagus is a broader stream, but its shipping are neither so numerous nor so fine; and even New York, splendid as is the array of ships presented by her wharfs, is not so striking as New Orleans, where a greater number of large, handsome, and fine vessels seemed to me to line the magnificent curve of the Mississippi, than I had ever before seen in any one port. The reflection that these are all congregated here to receive and convey away to other lands the produce of such mighty streams as the Missouri and the Mississippi, the Ohio, the Tennessee, the Arkansas, and the Red River, including more than 20,000 miles of inland navigation, the sources of the principal streams being in the region of perpetual snows, and their outlet in the latitude of perpetual verdure, carries one's admiration to the verge of the sublime.

The *Levés** itself, on the edge of which all these ships and vessels are anchored, is covered with bales of cotton and other merchandise; and in the busy season, such as that in which we were at New Orleans, in March and April, it is filled with buyers and sellers, from every part of the Union, and spectators from all parts of the world. There are no less than 1500 drays for the conveyance of this merchandise, licensed by the city; and they seem to be all in motion, flying to and fro on a brisk trot, whether laden or empty—the horses never walking, and the drivers never sitting, either on the shafts, or in the drays, as in Europe. The bales of cotton, on their arrival in the rafts or steam-boats, from the upper country, are carried off to the numerous establishments of steam-presses, where they are compressed into about half their original bulk, and repacked, in this reduced shape, for shipment to foreign ports. All this, with the arrival and departure every day of many hundreds of passengers up and down the river, from Cincinnati, Louisville, St Louis, and Pittsburg, to the Hannahah, to New York, and to Texas, occasions such incessant bustle, that everybody and everything seems to be in perpetual motion.

The next scene is very characteristic of New Orleans. The *locale* is the splendid hôtel of St. Louis, where is the Exchange:—

In the outer hall, the meetings of the merchants take place in 'Change hours; and in the Rotunda, pictures are exhibited, and auctions are held for every description of goods. At the time of our visit, there were half a dozen auctioneers, each endeavouring to drown every voice but his own, and all straining their lungs, and distorting their countenances in a hideous manner. One was selling pictures, and dwelling on their merits; another was disposing of ground-lots in embryo cities, and expatiating on their capacities; and another was disposing of some slaves. These consisted of an unhappy negro family, who were all exposed to the hammer at the same time. Their good qualities were enumerated in English and in French, and their persons were carefully examined by intending purchasers, among whom they were ultimately disposed of, chiefly to Créole buyers; the husband at 750 dollars, the wife at 550, and the children at 220 each. The middle of the Rotunda was filled with casks, boxes, bales, and crates; and the negroes exposed for sale were put to stand on these, to be the better seen by persons attending the sale.

But public buildings, hôtels, churches, and Markets, are of less interest to those who are never to see them, than the varieties of the inhabitants of this strangely mixed city. Of these mingled tribes, those with whom we at home are least acquainted are the Creoles, who, out of the whole population of about 100,000, number 20,000. The Creoles are persons of pure race; born in Louisiana, but

of French or Spanish ancestors; and still retaining, it would seem, many of the characteristics of their origin. They are almost all Roman Catholics; and they all speak the French language; though Mr. Buckingham ascribes to them much of the romance, generosity, and chivalrous bearing of Old Spain. They seem to be a people that will soon become secondary to the more energetic Anglo-American race:—

The men are generally small, and neither robust nor active, distinguished by no particular traits of character, except it be extreme sensitiveness on points of honour, and readiness to avenge an affront by appeal to arms; duels being much more frequent with them than even with the Americans, and almost always fought with swords till one or other of the combatants fall. There being no order of nobility or privileged class, and no great wealth possessed by individuals, there is a very general equality of condition among them; and though some few of the older inhabitants live on fixed incomes, derived from rents, investments in stocks and banks, and the labour of their slaves, yet by far the greatest number are engaged in business or professions, as merchants, shopkeepers, restaurateurs, and artisans, besides engaging in the liberal professions of medicine and the law. They are, in general, devoid of ambition, and deficient in energy, being content to live a quiet and an easy life, rather than incur the toil, anxiety, and wear and tear of body and mind, which they see the Americans endure to get rich. They are somewhat lax in their manners, which their religion and colonial origin may sufficiently account for; but they are upright in their dealings, faithful in all offices of trust, and remarkably docile and manageable with kindness in all subordinate offices, as clerks, assistants, &c.

The Créole women are not so pretty as the Americans, but their manners are more interesting. They are of the most delicate and graceful forms, with a roundness and beauty of shape, figure, and tounure, which contrasts very strikingly with the straightness and regularity of American female figures generally. Their complexions are like those of the women of Italy and the northern shores of the Mediterranean, approaching to brunette, of a rich marble-like smoothness, sometimes suffused with a glow of warmth indicative of the deepest feeling; large black eyes, full of languor and expression; jet-black hair, full, soft, and glossy; exquisite lips and teeth; and countenances beaming with amiability and tenderness. They combine, in short, the attractions of the women of Cadiz, Naples, and Marseilles; and notwithstanding the admiration they excite in strangers, they are said to make faithful as well as fond wives, and excellent mothers; except, indeed, that in this last capacity, their love for their children runs into such excess, as to cause them to be too indulgent to them, and thus to injure their future happiness by excessive kindness.

The Americans of New Orleans are said to be less keen in driving a bargain, and more profuse in their habits, than those of the North. In short, New Orleans is a place in which manners change not for the better, and morals relax with remarkable rapidity. There the young New-Englander soon becomes as dissipated as the Southern.

One of the female schools of New Orleans has an interesting history:—

There is one Protestant Female Academy recently established in New Orleans, the history of which is peculiarly interesting. A young American gentleman, of religious disposition, married the daughter of a Scotch merchant here; and after their marriage, which was one of pure affection, the father bestowed on his daughter a handsome fortune. Soon after their marriage-union, the young lady died; and as the husband had not married her for her wealth, he signified to the father that it was not his intention to use it, but caused it to be trans-

* In a late newspaper, we regret to notice, that a considerable extent of the *Levé* has been destroyed by a landslip.—E. T. M.

ferred back to her parents. This the father refused to accept, saying it was the husband's, by right of marriage, and should remain in his possession. The contest was at length ended by this honourable compromise. Neither would consent to accept the sum, which was considerable, amounting to 50,000 dollars. The young widower, therefore, purchased with it a piece of ground, built a Female Academy for the education of Protestant Young Ladies, endowed it with an annual income, and called it after the maiden name of his beloved and departed wife, "The M'Ghee Female Academy." I confess that I looked on this building with feelings of peculiar pleasure, and with great veneration for its amiable and pious founder.

The Scotch have thriven wonderfully in New Orleans. One Scotch settler named Henderson, said here to have once been a steward to the Duke of Gordon, left £50,000 for the support of an orphan asylum; and another named Milne, left 50,000 dollars to the same institution.

In New Orleans, Mr. Buckingham met with Mademoiselle or Signora America Vespucci, the magnificent beggar-woman, whom the ungallant Congress would have nothing to say to. He speaks of this new Corinne, in a strain of high-flown enthusiasm, which, contrasted with the cold caution of Mr. Combe, and the obduracy of the members of Congress, is somewhat diverting.

The party ascended the Mississippi, by steam, to Natchez, where Mr. Buckingham delivered his usual course of Lectures. Instead of going farther up the mighty river, and entering the Ohio, as he had proposed, he formed the determination of returning to Charleston by the route which he had already traversed, and thence to make an inland tour through the Carolinas, Georgia, Tennessee, and the back parts of Virginia. This was accomplished, and the narrative of the interior journey forms the most interesting part of the whole tour so far as it has yet been published.

It was now early summer, and the weather and scenery were delicious as the travellers proceeded by New Orleans, Mobile, and through the different places already described. The most remarkable event on the journey, was the danger Mr. Buckingham ran at Macon, of a "tarring and feathering," the usual punishment of the avowed, or even suspected *Abolitionists*. After remaining some time at Charleston, the party set forth on their tour through the Carolinas, Georgia, part of Tennessee, and finally Virginia. In those, and the other rambles recorded in the volumes, the remarks of Mr. Buckingham are rather corroborative of what has been observed by former travellers than strikingly original; though he contributes a liberal quota of new information.

The equality of rights in America seems, according to Mr. Buckingham's theory, to have produced a general uniformity even of stature among the citizens. There are no stately lords in contrast with stunted vassals.

The men are, in general, tall and slender. . . . The arms are long, the legs small, the chest narrow, the form not so frequently erect, as slightly stooping, arising from carelessness of gait and hurry in walking; the head is small, but the features are long, the complexion pale, the eyes small and dark, the hair straight, the cheeks generally smooth, or without whiskers or beard, and the whole expression and deportment is grave and serious. The women of America are not so tall in

stature as the women of Europe generally, being oftener below five feet four inches, than above it; of slender figure, without the fullness or rotundity and flowing lines of the Medicæan statue, imperfect development of bust, small hands and feet, small and pretty features, pale complexions, dark eyes, a mincing gait, delicate health, and a grave rather than a gay or animated expression. If the men seem to be marked by a general uniformity of standard in personal appearance, the women are still more alike.

Mr. Buckingham adds his testimony to that of all travellers as to the beauty, or rather the prettiness of the women; though he denounces their thin, wiry voices, and drawling tones. Romantic love, the enthusiastic and impassioned devotion of Europe, is not more frequently found among the Anglo-Americans, than among the Aborigines race; and its absence is accounted for by the circumstances of a society, where there is no leisure for gallantry and the refined arts of courtship. Though the men of America are, in general, slender, very strong and very *fat* men are found in some localities. The robust Kentuckians have long been famed for height, strength, and bulk; but the farmers and yeomen of the interior parts of Georgia fully equal them.

Health, light labour, competency, content, and cheerfulness, are the probable agents in giving so remarkable a number of large, ruddy, and fat men to this section of the country, as I continually met with in my way. I heard, indeed, from others, that this was the case throughout the interior of the northern parts of Georgia; and I was assured that on a late occasion, in Sparta, near the capital of this State, a jury of twelve yeomen were so uniformly large, that they were weighed, as a matter of curiosity, and found to weigh thirty-six hundred weight, or, on the average, more than three hundred pounds for each person. In an amusing article in the Southern Whig of Athens, for July 5, published during our stay there, entitled "State Constitutions and Fat Men," it is alleged that the State Constitution for Florida was principally framed by "Jenckes, the fat man, of Florida, who weighed from 450 to 500 lbs.;" and the amended State Constitution of Georgia was chiefly carried by the influence of "Springer, the fat man of Georgia, who is fully as large as Jenckes." Dixon Lewis, the representative of Alabama, weighs nearly 600 lbs.

The inns in the interior parts of the southern States, and even those in places of considerable pretension, unite every kind of discomfort,—exorbitant charges too often included. At Sparta, in Georgia, one of the many Spartas, the new *hôtel* was not quite finished; but the national taste for show and finery was already conspicuous in all its appointments.

Though the rooms were small and mean, both in material and execution, the furniture was at once costly and tawdry; beautiful mahogany chairs, variegated marble tables, and rich mirrors, were seen in the same rooms with broken lamps, brass candlesticks, and common prints, in black frames, as pictures, such as might be had of hawkers and pedlars in England for a shilling a-piece. On what was called the ladies' drawing-room, though without a carpet, there was seen, on an Italian marble table, two gilded French lamps, a hair-brush "kept for the use of the company," and a dirty ivory small-tooth comb, for general use also, full of grease and hairs; yet the servant, a negress, when desired to remove it, said this was its proper place, as it was always left there with the brush for those who wanted it!

The Curraghee *hôtel* was not more inviting. The windows were without glass, and the greater part of the beds were placed in one large room,

where all the male guests slept, two or three in a bed. The servant did his work with one hand, lighting himself by carrying a piece of pitch-pine in the other :—

If some operation required the use of both hands, his lighted torch was deposited erect in some part of the room where he could fix it, and his hand relieved. As a special favour to us, who were declared to be "mighty particular," a candle was *made* while we waited for it, some threads of cotton serving for a wick, and this being enveloped in a mass of bees' wax, was brought to us quite hot from the melting. Washstands and looking-glasses were luxuries here unknown ; and the travellers whom we saw in the house appeared neither to undress, shave, or wash, but simply to lie down just as they alighted, from their horses or carriages, and rise up in the same manner. In our confined cell, there was not room for a single trunk, and the smallest cabin of a ship at sea, was more comfortable than this for sleeping.

We rested but little, therefore, during the night, and were stirring with the earliest dawn ; there was a common wash-basin of tin-plate placed in the veranda, with a piece of coarse yellow soap, and a rough rolling-towel hung on a roller, for general use. To this some of the inmates repaired in succession for washing, but the greater number came to the breakfast-table, as early as six o'clock, as dirty as they went to bed, and the whole scene and establishment seemed hardly a single remove beyond the rudest condition of the Indians which these settlers had displaced.

When the travellers reached Talbotton, they found the whole community in a state of excitement, from an occurrence which resembles, in character, a border bridal foray of past ages :—

It appears that there was a lady who had been settled for a few months as a teacher of music at Talbotton, but not having obtained many pupils, she had contracted more debts than she could pay, and went on to Columbus, to seek better fortune there. At this place, she wished to hire or rent a house, but the owner would not let it without some guarantee for the payment of the rent ; and some resident of Talbotton became her security for this. As it was not paid, however, in due time, and as other debts were also unliquidated, the lady was arrested at Columbus by process of law. This the inhabitants of Talbotton chose to interpret as an insult to their town, from whence she had come ; and accordingly, a large number of the young men of Talbotton mounted their horses, armed themselves with weapons, and rode off to Columbus, where they effected her release, and assumed such an attitude, that it was thought at one time nothing short of a civil war between the two towns must follow. It had gradually cooled down, however, into a state of peace ; but no legal authorities interfered to stay the proceedings of these young cavaliers, who carried their point, and made what they called " public opinion " completely triumph over the laws.

This is *lynching* of its own kind. Dancing, " promiscuous dancing," which was not tolerated by several denominations of dissenters in Great Britain so late as about fifty or fewer years ago, is still under the ban of the ministers in Georgia ; but they must submit. Temporizing and compromise are creeping in, and the matter will soon end in the good people of Augusta, the town referred to below, being, in this respect, as great sinners as their neighbours. The clergy have an instinct when to stand out, and when to give way. Church members in Augusta must not only not dance, but

It is deemed their duty not to countenance this amusement, even by their presence. No members of churches, as heads of families, therefore, ever give a party for dancing ; and if any such exercise is enjoyed, it can only be by the unmarried. But of late, a curious evasion of

this prohibition has been practised with success in this manner :—The family give what is called " a social party," to which a large number are invited to take tea, and spend the evening. When tea is over, some young lady places herself at the piano, and strikes up a quadrille. Presently a few couples rise, and speedily a " spontaneous and unpremeditated dance " is got up, and continued with great spirit till midnight. This point has been submitted, it is said, to the judgment of the clergy ; who have decided, that if the carpets were taken up, and violins employed, and ball-dresses used, then it would be unequivocally " a dance," and, as such, clearly sinful. But the carpets being down, no music used but that of a pianoforte, and the ladies not in ball-costume, it could not be considered anything more than a " social party," and in this all might innocently join.

On the subject of religious revivals, also, we heard some curious particulars. There are fixed periods of the year in which these are regularly got up, in Georgia and the Carolinas, as in a prescribed circuit. The periods chosen are those in which there is the least business doing in the towns or on the plantations. The ministers, among whom those of the Methodist and Baptist persuasions take the lead, then organize the proceedings in such a manner as to produce considerable effect ; and thus add every year to the number of their communicants. It is said that this is sometimes done in schools and colleges, where youths of nine to fifteen are so wrought upon as to proclaim themselves converts, and make public profession of a new birth ; but it is doubted by the less zealous and enthusiastic, whether the instances in which these conversions are permanent are so numerous as those in which the parties fall off, and, by a reaction, oscillate to the opposite extreme of indifference, or something worse.

Mr. Buckingham witnessed some *revivals*. Of one at Athens, in Georgia, he observed nothing remarkable. It did not, in short, succeed, and a lady present told him,

That the ministers, who took a lead in this matter, were not good " Revivalists ; " that is, not skilled in the art of drawing forth the vehement expressions and passionate exclamations, the tremblings, and sobbings, and struggles, which a true revival requires. There were many, indeed, both male and female, among my informants, who thought this a failure, and attributed it to imperfect or unskillful organization :—the time of the year was thought to be too early ; the elders and members had not exerted themselves sufficiently in the private circles of their acquaintance, to bring in hearers ; the members were too few ; the preachers were too cold, and the spark could not be fanned into a blaze. Other similar meetings in the town during the last year, and at a later period, were referred to as " better managed," and therefore more successful. That of the Methodist church lasted eighteen successive days and nights, with singing, preaching, and prayer, three times each day, without intermission ; and fifty new members were added to the church by open profession of religion. The Presbyterian revival was nearly as long, and quite as productive of converts. The pastors and the elders usually determine the period at which it is proper to begin the work of a revival ; and everything is duly arranged, prepared, and organized, to make it as effective as possible.

However free from objection was all I saw or heard at the meetings here, I was assured, by members of the church, and persons of undoubted piety and veracity, that such meetings elsewhere were not always so. One gentleman mentioned to me, that in the State of New York a meeting had been held for forty days and nights in succession, in imitation of the fasting and temptation of the Saviour ; and that he had attended several of its sittings. But though the quarantine was observed, as to the number of its days, there was nothing else in which the resemblance was complete. The ministers employed in this revival were very numerous, and many of them young and handsome men. When they saw a female under excitement, they would leave the desk beneath the pulpit, and go to her in the pew, take her by the hand, and squeeze it with ardour, look steadfastly in her eyes,

stroke her on the neck, and head, and back, with the palm of the hand, give her spiritual consolation, and sometimes kneel down with her to pray on the same cushion. One of these was a married lady of great personal beauty, who was attending with her two daughters, but there was no husband or brother with them. The minister was so attracted by her beauty, and overwhelmed by her state of excitement, that after the prayer he placed his head beneath her bonnet, and attempted to "salute her with an holy kiss." She drew back, and refused his embrace. Her friend, my informant, saw this; and was in the act of rising to proclaim the offence, and to resent it on the spot; but the lady prudently prevented it, by a timely intimation with her hand, of her wish for him not to move or notice it; and assigned as her reason afterwards, that if made public at the time, it might have broken up the meeting, and brought a scandal on revivals generally, whereas this was but the offence of one man. The gentleman assured me, however, that this was not a solitary instance of such attempts, many of which were more successful, and that the moving of the ministers to and fro from pew to pew, their seizing the women by the hand, pressing and fondling various parts of their bodies, melting into tears with them, holding their hands together for a long period, and sometimes sustaining them in their arms from falling, were quite common.

By such means as these, many hundreds of converts were brought into the church, the chief portion of whom were females, some not more than seven or eight years old, but the greater number were between fifteen and twenty years of age. My informant further added, that not long after this, he was at Ballston Spa, near Saratoga, at which, towards the close of the gay season, there had been a Revival of more than usual intensity, both as to the time of its duration, and the fervour that existed through the whole period; and among the fruits of this excitement, he saw a public document in the hands of a legal gentleman, containing the affidavits of several young females, who had been prematurely made mothers of illegitimate children, some by clerical and some by lay-members of this great body of Revivalists! The churches of America, of course, no more approve of this, than do the churches of England the backslidings of her occasionally amatory preachers. There are, unhappily, wolves in sheep's clothing in all flocks; and "black sheep," as well as white, among the number.

It is quite true that Christianity should not be charged with the blame of these excesses; and equally true that its sincere and genuine disciples may preserve their integrity and chastity in the midst of such temptations. But that unprincipled men, and weak women, brought into close contact under such excitements as these, may and do create a great deal of suffering to themselves, and scandal and odium to the very cause of religion, no man can well doubt.

Mr. Buckingham, in short, is very doubtful about this kind of spiritual agency.

Our traveller repeatedly expresses surprise at the meekness, indifference, or insensibility, which the Americans display in the same circumstances which set an Englishman a-fretting and grumbling. At a watering-place in North Carolina, named Flat Rock, where fifty opulent persons of the best families in the State were residing for health or pleasure, the accommodation was, in every respect, of the most wretched kind. Mr. Buckingham has advanced, from "native authority," a theory for the ladies being so fond of gadding about, that they willingly submit to every inconvenience: this is, unhappy, or, at least, uncongenial marriages, which render every spot on earth more supportable than home. Or if not unhappy, yet listless and unoccupied, their idle life becomes a burthen; and thus, according to Mr. Buckingham,

They visit these springs and watering-places, where,

as a gentleman truly observed to me, they do not "kill time," for that implies a battle with the enemy, or at least an active struggle, by energetic and lively amusement of some kind or other—but where they rather "lose time" in so complete a manner, by listlessness and trifling, that they are unable to give any account to themselves or others what has become of this, to them the most worthless of all possessions—since their great aim is to devise new modes to get rid of it.

This is miserable work, and much of it is to be attributed to the existence of slavery, the ill effects of which are visible in the domestic habits of all ranks. In North Carolina,—nor can the observation be limited to this State,—

In every farm-house you pass here, you see eight or ten lazy men and boys lounging idly in the veranda or piazza, in front of it, with their legs thrown up higher than their hips, their hats on, doing nothing, because the negro slaves can do the work; and what they do, though done badly, contents them. The white women are seen at the same time in groups of five or six at another part of the house, rocking in their chairs, with their loose cotton bonnets and deep hind-curtains hanging over their shoulders, wasting their time in the merest gossiping; their clothes dirty, their hair loose, and their whole persons most untidy; the children without shoes or stockings, filthy apparel, uncombed silvery hair, and unwashed pale faces; because the negroes do the household work, and look after the children; and what they do not do, is left undone, for the mothers seem to make no effort to assist them. The slave-system is, no doubt, one powerful cause of this general indolence and dirtiness of the whites, among the farmers and peasantry of the South; but we thought perpetually, that if an English farmer and his wife, with their sons and daughters, could be suddenly transported to some of these farm-houses, and told they were to be their homes, they would so change the face of things in a month, by their industry, cleanliness, and order, that the original occupants would hardly know them again in their improved dress; the English farm-houses, in general, being as superior to those of this part of America in cleanliness and comfort, as Mr. Baring's or Mr. Greig's beautiful dwellings are, to those of persons of similar wealth, but less love of order, and less taste, by whom they are surrounded.

The Mr. Baring referred to is a cousin of Lord Ashburton's. He has a pretty villa, or mansion, in this neighbourhood, of which the grounds are kept in trim order; though his English example seems to lead to no improvement among the slovenly natives. From Mr. Buckingham's work, many traits of manners, and various anecdotes, might be selected to show, that extreme niceness, or *prudery*, are no guarantee for real delicacy of mind and feeling, among the Americans, any more than among other folks; and also that long public prayers and graces are no proof of true religion. At the Warm Springs of Asheville, where, sometimes, so many as 500 visitors assemble, he saw, in the bar-room of the hôtel, persons

Playing at cards at ten o'clock in the morning, surrounded by others who were drinking spirits and water, and betting on the game. In this respect, there is that same inconsistency observable in the American people, as in their affectation of extraordinary delicacy; and while they make professions of great piety, have public prayers, and say long graces over their meals, they, at the same time, often indulge in practices that in most other countries would be thought wholly inconsistent with the profession of religion.

In the advertisements, to attract visitors to this place, it is first announced, that there will be Divine Service on every Sunday: and then, "Sportsmen" are informed, "that the race-course

is the best in the State; and that horses will be in training for three months before the races commence. From a disgusting anecdote related, Mr. Buckingham draws the conclusion—

That though the Americans affect to be much more delicate in their horror of certain associations than the people of any other nation, and scrupulously avoid the utterance of certain words in common use in England in the best society, without the slightest idea of impurity being attached to them by us; yet that, in reality, the men, of the South especially, are more indelicate in their thoughts and tastes than any European people; and exhibit a disgusting mixture of prudery and licentiousness combined, which may be regarded as one of the effects of the system of Slavery, and the early familiarity with vicious intercourse, to which it invariably leads.

From among many *Trollopian* scenes we select the following, which occurred at Athens in Georgia, upon the occasion of the meeting of a Debating Club, consisting of the leading persons of the place:—

It was held in a spacious room over the Post-office, which served also for the reading-room of the club, and was amply supplied with newspapers from all parts of the Union. The meeting commenced at three o'clock, and continued till seven. The members in attendance were few, but they were all above forty years of age, and nearly all had titles, as general, colonel, major, &c. The appearance of the room when we entered it, was more like some of the scenes described by Mrs. Trollope in the West, than I had ever before seen. The floor was of newly-planed pine-wood, without mat or carpet, and it was covered with saliva and tobacco juice, from the chawers of the club, for whom no spitting-boxes appeared to have been provided, and, therefore, every minute at least, some member was seen and heard to project his contribution to the floor, which was spotted over like the leopard's skin.

The chair was taken by the President, a General, and the Secretary called the meeting to order, but this did not produce the least alteration in the aspect of the meeting. The few members who were scattered about the room, sat each after his own fashion. One gentleman placed his legs on the table, and exhibited the soles of his boots to the President. Another hung back in his chair, while it stood on its two hind legs only, with his feet placed on the upper front bar of the chair, in which attitude he rocked himself to and fro like a nurse hushing a baby to sleep, and everything was marked by the greatest indifference to decorum.

The question for debate was "Ought the State to have the right to educate the children of its citizens?" The first speaker was, by the rules of the club, the gentleman who placed the question on the books for discussion. He spoke for about an hour, in support of the affirmative of this question; and argued the case closely and well; but being a more than usually copious chewer of tobacco, he spit on the floor at the end of almost every sentence, rolling his quid from side to side in his mouth during the interval. Once, during his speech, he asked for a tumbler of water, which one of the members brought him from a wooden bucket, placed in the centre of the room, with a wooden ladle to drink and fill the glass with; and he then threw away his quid, stopped to rinse out his mouth four or five times with the water, which he projected out of the window, near which he was speaking; he then took a fresh quid from a large black square mass of compactly pressed tobacco, which he carried in his waistcoat pocket, and resumed his discourse, spitting on the floor until a large pool had been formed before him; and at the close of his address, the rinsing of the mouth, and the renewal of the quid, was repeated.

This gentleman, who we understood was a man of fortune and leisure, not engaged in any business or profession, was followed by three speakers in succession, who maintained the negative of the question; and, very much to my surprise, nearly the same arguments that are used against the adoption of any measures by the State for

the promotion of general education in England, were repeated here. Each of these gentlemen spoke about half an hour, and delivered their sentiments with great force and in accurate language. They all copiously loaded the floor with tobacco-juice, so that the odour began to be extremely disagreeable, especially as the afternoon was warm; the thermometer being at 90° in the shade. The fifth speaker at length took up the affirmative of the proposition, as to the right and duty of the State to educate the children of its citizens, or, in other words, to provide funds, and establish a system of National Education, by which the children of all those who were either unable or unwilling to confer on them the advantage of primary instruction, at the expense of the State.

On the evening of the same day, Mr. Buckingham and his family attended a "very brilliant party," given by Dr. Church, the President of the University of this Athens, for there are many towns in the United States so named, to the principal families in the neighbourhood, and the senior students:

The party was very elegant, and highly intellectual. There were about 200 persons present, who remained together from eight o'clock till midnight. I do not remember ever to have seen a greater number of beautiful countenances than among the young ladies of this party; their ages ranging between fifteen and twenty. The style of beauty was like that of Charleston, Savannah, and New Orleans: small delicate figures, fair complexions, but not so deadly pallid as at the North; great symmetry of features, brilliant black eyes, finely-arched eyebrows, and full dark hair. The style of dress was not so stiff and formal as at the North, and more quiet, or less showy: white muslin being almost the only material of their robes, and pearls and white ribbons, with here and there a few delicate flowers, being the only ornaments seen. A young bride of fifteen, with her husband, were of the party, though their marriage had only taken place three days before; and many were surprised when I stated that English brides rarely mingled with large parties till a few weeks after their nuptials.

No doubt, many, or all of the squirting orators of the morning were present; and private parties never seem, in any degree, to arrest the perennial flow of tobacco-juice:—

Each young man carries in his waistcoat pocket, not in a box, but open, a flattened square mass of black compressed tobacco, like a piece of Indian rubber. From this he cuts off, from time to time, whether in the company of ladies or not, a large piece, and, taking the expended quid from his mouth, he flings it out of the window, or in any near corner, and replaces it by the new one, which he forthwith begins to roll about like any ruminating animal. Their practice is literally that of "chewing the cud," though they want the "dividing the hoof," to take them out of the class of "unclean beasts."

Once more, the traveller, who is as intolerant of tobacco, as of spirits or opium, raises his "*counter-blast*." But we have enough of it.

Mr. Buckingham has collected some of the peculiar phrases or idioms of the Americans; but we are now so familiar with "a pretty considerable fix"—"a bad fix," "sun-up," and "sun-down," to "*tote the plunder*" of a passenger into his apartment, and so forth, that we prefer the following anecdote, which, in the revenge of the neglected young citizens, carries a deeper meaning than even the grand phrase used by the lady:—

Sometimes there is extreme reluctance to use particular words, because they are supposed to convey associations that ought to be avoided. For instance, I heard that on the night of the party given at the University, the president, Dr. Church, had received a slight injury

in the head, by a stone being thrown in the direction where he stood, by one of the younger class of students who were dissatisfied with their not being included in the invitation, though it was never usual to extend it beyond the seniors. But the lady who mentioned this incident to me, said, "The little boy threw a rock at the president;" on which I expressed my surprise, thinking he must be an infant Hercules to hurl a rock; when she replied, "Oh! no, it was a very small rock, and therefore the injury was very slight." I found afterwards that it is thought indelicate to use the word stone; and that they say a house is built of rock, the streets are paved with rock, and the boys throw rocks at sparrows, and break windows by throwing rocks. To speak of the tail of a horse, or any other animal, is deemed most indelicate, and the words hip and thigh must not be mentioned. This fastidiousness is carried to such a length, as to lead to alterations in the prayers of the Episcopalian service, and even in the language of the Bible. The passage in the Litany, "When thou tookest upon thee to deliver man, thou didst not abhor the virgin's womb," is thought too shocking for the public ear; and the passage in which prayer is offered for "all women labouring with child," is also thought too gross to be uttered. In the mutilations of Scripture, these two cases were mentioned to me by a clergyman who had himself heard them. In the passage of Genesis, in which the curse is pronounced on the serpent, "On thy belly shalt thou go," the preacher read it, "On thy stomach shalt thou go;" and in the passage of the Evangelist, where the Saviour says to Peter, "Verily, before the cock shall crow, thou shalt deny me thrice," another preacher read it thus, "Before a *certain fowl* shall crow, thou shalt deny me thrice."

At their public celebrations the Americans are most gallant and ingenious in their *toasts* and *sentiments*. The following are happy specimens:—

"By *Oliver P. Copeland*.—The Ladies: The fairest part of God's creation—The mainspring that impels man to action: While our arms are able to bear arms, we will protect their charms."

"*Woman, lovely Woman*.—Ever useful and dear to us, whether in prosperity or in adversity. Without her, life would be insupportable."

"*The Fair*.—The beauty of a fine woman is the only tyranny to which a man should submit."

Sometimes, the ladies themselves send toasts, to be proposed by gentlemen present; and of these the two following will be regarded as curious, as well as the one by a bachelor which succeeds it.

"By a *Lady*.—Phrenology: May our children abound in bumps of discretion, and be free from all bumps of dissipation!"

"Sent by a *Lady*.—The Bachelor, 'solitary and alone in his glory.'"

"By an *Expectant Bachelor*.—Women and wine-presses: Sacred sources of sympathetic joy."

"By *O. P. Copeland*.—Success to Mulberryism, Silks, and all other kinds of isms—except Abolitionism."

We have left ourselves little space to notice the specific facts illustrative of the teeming and complicated evils of Slavery, which Mr. Buckingham has diligently collected in the course of his travels. The arguments he held with the interested and prejudiced, always ended as might have been anticipated; but the reluctant admissions of those persons who acknowledged the evils of the system, while they were unable to devise any means of reformation, go in reality to the surrender of the entire question. In travelling from Charlottesville, in Virginia, to Richmond, the following conversation occurred:—

About five miles beyond this we passed the house and farm of Mr. W. C. Rives the Virginia senator. Nothing could be more slovenly than the state of the husbandry all along this road; and the neglected state of the farms

gave evidence of great inferiority in their mode of management. We had with us in the coach a senator from Pennsylvania, who expatiated on the contrast presented by the appearance of the farms in his State; and I ventured to ask him what he considered to be the cause of so remarkable a difference in two districts or countries so nearly adjoining, with so great an equality of advantages in soil and climate. He replied, "There is no other intelligible cause for this difference, than that Pennsylvania is cultivated by freemen, and Virginia by slaves: the freemen have every motive to labour, because they enrich themselves by their toil, and enjoy what they produce; the slaves have every motive to be idle, because no toil enriches them, and nothing beyond bare subsistence ever rewards their exertions: therefore, the freemen do as much as possible, and the slaves do as little." He further expressed his belief, that there was many a farmer owning 500 acres in Pennsylvania, without a single slave, who was rich; while there were many planters in Virginia who were poor with 5000 acres, and as many slaves as were requisite to cultivate the whole; because the farmer of Pennsylvania, with such an estate, would lay by money every year, while the planter of Virginia, with so much ampler means, would get every year deeper and deeper into debt! Such is the difference in the results of freedom and slavery, according to the sober judgment of a native of the country. When I asked him, whether the Virginia planters were themselves aware of this difference, he replied, "The greater number of them undoubtedly are; but a spirit of false pride prevents them from acting on it." Many years ago, the Legislature of Virginia entertained the proposition of emancipating the slaves; and the public opinion of the majority of the State was in favour of such a step. Every one here, indeed, believes that if nothing had occurred to interrupt the progress of this sentiment, the abolition of slavery in this, and the adjoining State of Maryland, would have happened long ago. But they allege, that because the Abolitionists of the North wished to force them on faster than they chose to go, they would not move at all; and since these Abolitionists have increased their pressure, the slave-holders have actually receded backward, out of a sheer spirit of opposition, because they would not be driven even into the adoption of a measure which they approved. They seem, therefore, to be now in the position of a froward child, who takes delight in doing just the contrary of what he is desired to do—to show his independence.

It is remarked, that the *democratic* newspapers of the South, are uniformly those found the most violent against Abolition. To such a length does the tyranny of opinion go, that Mr. B. affirms:—

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 denounce Mohammedanism at Constantinople, as it would be for him to proclaim himself, either by his pen or by his tongue, an abolitionist in the slave-holding States south of the Potomac 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.

O'Connell is the object of the peculiar and violent hatred of the Slaveholders of the South.

Mr. Buckingham admits, that the condition of the domestic slaves in respectable or opulent families is, physically, exceedingly comfortable. The mere selfishness of their owners guarantees their comfort in food, dress, and appearance. As the influence of enlightened self-interest must ultimately be the main instrument in abolishing Slavery all over the world, arguments of the following kind cannot be made too familiar:—

Of the false economy of employing slave-labour in the

activation of land, everything 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 land-owners themselves. At present, if a planter wishes to purchase an estate for cultivation, he can get 1000 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, 5000 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 combined, 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 making 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 is now with £20,000; and consequently not half or a fourth of the mills now in operation could be established. If a ship-owner, 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 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 already 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.

Besides encouraging idleness, recklessness, and

all manner of extravagance, among the whites, Mr. Buckingham justly imputes the arrogant and tyrannical temper of the gentlemen of the South to Slavery. From it arises—

The universal irritability of temper, impatience of contradiction, and constant readiness to avenge every imaginary insult with instant and deadly punishment of the offender. Hence the frequent affrays, duels, street-fights, shootings, stabbings, and assassinations, of which every part of the South, but more especially the newer States, is so full—producing, it is believed, five times as large a proportion of these crimes to the population, as is witnessed in the North, and ten times as large a proportion as is seen in any of the free countries of Europe. So long, indeed, as the slaves continue to increase in numbers beyond their masters, and coercive measures towards them may seem to be more necessary, because of such increase augmenting the danger of their revolt, so long the state of things will get worse; and as fear is a prolific source of cruelty, the very fears of the whites, which are continually increasing every year, will cause a greater exercise of tyranny than ever. How these fears ooze out in almost everything they say or do, may be seen by the following circumstance. The most religious and moral of the Southern population, have been long awakened to the cause of Temperance, and are very desirous of promoting it in this State, but as almost all the Temperance publications are issued in the North, they are literally afraid of their encouraging their circulation here, lest, by any oversight or inadvertence on the part of the editor, some paragraph favourable to Abolition should appear.

Many of the Americans have got it into their heads, that the English abolished Slavery in the West Indies merely to encourage the negroes of the South to revolt; and thus revenge England upon America for having "whipped" her! That slaves are the happiest of God's creatures is the constant assertion, in the face of all the floggings, sales, and runnings away that the newspapers daily set forth.

A citizen of Georgia has got a new key to the mystical Book of Revelations, and asserts, that *the Beast*, the Great Beast spoken of, means neither Catholics nor Protestants, but black niggers; and that there will be no hope for America, until the whole of the descendants of Ham are expelled!

In a large American war-ship, the Brandywine, which Mr. Buckingham examined at Norfolk, 40 of the crew of 470 were free negroes. He says:—

I was much struck with the fine, and even noble appearance of these men; their erect and muscular forms no longer crouching under the influence of forced servitude, nor their heads hung down under a consciousness of inferiority, but leading a free, bold, independent, and active life, their appearance partook of these new influences, and they were among the finest-looking men in the ship. In answer to my inquiries of the first-lieutenant, who had been upwards of thirty years in the service, I learnt that they received exactly the same bounty, the same wages, the same rations, and the same privileges as the whites; and that in their arrangements and classification for duty, as fore-castle-men, top-men, waisters, and after-guard, no distinction was made between black and white, but each were mingled indiscriminately, and classed only by their relative degrees of seamanship. In this, he said, the blacks were not at all inferior to the whites, either in their skill, readiness, or courage. Nor did the white seamen evince the slightest reluctance to be associated with them on terms of the most perfect equality in the discharge of their duties, or make their colour a subject of antipathy or reproach. The cooks and stewards were chiefly coloured men, because they stand the heat better, and fall into these occupations more readily; and from the negro sea-

men, the launch for wooding and watering, and for anchor duty, was generally manned, because the African constitution could stand the heat of the sun, and the atmosphere of swamps and marshes, better than the American. In point of health, however, they were quite equal; and while the service was rendered more efficient by this arrangement, neither party objected to the classification. It was really to me a most agreeable sight to see forty or fifty of these fine athletic Africans holding up their heads like men, and looking as if conscious of their independence and equality, though at the same time respectful, obedient, and less frequently subjected to punishment for neglect of duty, than their white brethren.

One of the most amusing traits of the American general character, is the national vanity, or vain-glory, which breaks out with great *naïveté* on the most trifling occasions. A Yankee hearing an account read of the part which Lord Brougham had taken in an important debate, remarked:—

“Well, then, I expect that this Lord Brougham comes the nearest to our Daniel Webster, of any man the English can produce.” To which the others signified their assent; but no one seemed to think that he did more than approach him “at a considerable distance.” One of the party, and in his general conversation an intelligent man, said that Henry Clay had electrified the English Members of Parliament when he spoke before them in the House of Commons; and that Daniel Webster, who was now gone to England, would astonish them still more, and give them a sample of what true American oratory really was. I asked when Mr. Clay had spoken in the English House of Commons, and was told that it was when he was resident as American minister in London. I assured them that on no occasion did foreign ministers or ambassadors appear in either House of Parliament in England as speakers; but the gentleman who made this assertion really believed that in his diplomatic capacity he had appeared before the House, and excited the astonishment and admiration he described! He still thought that an opportunity would be afforded to Daniel Webster to do the same. When they were informed, that among the Tory peers, Lord Lyndhurst was the most equal match for Lord Brougham, they felt this to be a confirmation of their confidence in their national superiority, as they claimed Lord Lyndhurst as an American, though they would rather have had him to be a Virginian than a Bostonian.

An Albany paper, speaking of Mr. Webster, while he was in England, after indulging in a lofty strain of panegyric, says:—

Such a man is a *sublime spectacle*, in these days of political corruption and misrule. But such is Daniel

Webster. Unlike some of our foreign functionaries, he knows no difference among his countrymen, so far as they have merit to recommend them. He is alike beloved and respected by all; and be he at the table of the rich, or on the floor of the House of Lords, he is the attraction, *the charm, and the admiration of all who behold him!*

Mr. Buckingham confirms what all travellers allege of the overweening admiration of fashion, connexion, and wealth, displayed by the sturdy Republicans of America:—

The talk about “old families,” and being “highly connected,” and “moving in the first circles of society;” and the looking down with contempt upon “people whom nobody knows,” or who are “not in society;” is nowhere carried to a greater extent than here; and the very children are found making these distinctions. This will account for the amazing eagerness with which the greater number of Americans who go to England and France, seek to be introduced at Court, and affect to be patronized and received by the nobility and fashionable world there. This has been carried to such an extent of late, as to have become the subject of just ridicule among themselves; and especially since the “Victoria fever,” as it is popularly called, has prevailed so extensively in this country, where the name of Victoria has been appended to almost everything, from Mr. Sully’s portrait of the Queen, down to the last new oyster-shop opened in New York.

Notwithstanding the strong prejudice of colour which exists throughout the breadth and length of the land, and especially in the North,—where free people of colour are, from their intelligence and wealth, becoming marked objects of envy and hate,—the few families who can claim any admixture of Indian blood, are as proud of the distinction, as if it were old Norman blood that flowed in their veins, and probably with as good cause for pride.

These extracts will sufficiently indicate the nature of this addition to Mr. Buckingham’s voluminous work, and the kind of entertainment which may be expected from it. Our own opinion of its merit may be significantly understood from the circumstance of our having spoken of the first three volumes merely in general terms of commendation; and regretting that we cannot afford more space to a fuller analysis of the portion of the work now before us.

TYTLER'S HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.*

THE history of Scotland, as an independent kingdom, properly terminates at the Union of the Crowns, by the accession of James VI. as the legitimate heir of the throne of England on the death of Elizabeth. To this natural close of our national annals, Mr. Tytler’s work is hastening on; great events accumulating, and interest deepening, as the end draws nigh. Another volume will finish what is by far the most comprehensive and elaborate examination of the Scottish national annals which the world has yet received, independently of the literary merits of the work.

The preceding volume was devoted to those momentous transactions of which the consequences are developed in this new volume; to the rise and progress of the Reformation; the reign of Mary queen of Scots, with its romance, vicissitude, and disaster; and the Regency of Murray. The flight and imprisonment of Mary by her jealous and vindictive kinswoman, and the assassination of the Regent, were included in the seventh volume.

The new portion of the History opens with the Regency of Morton, a period which, notwithstanding the many bad points in the character of the Regent, was, from the vigour and energy of his government, one of prosperity to the country. Faction had exhausted itself in the tumultuary period of the

* Volume VIII. of the original edition. 8vo. Tait, Edinburgh.