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ART. I.—INTRODUCTION.

In legal phrase, we would prefer being judged by our acts—and in commercial parlance, being credited with our performances—to making promises in advance of our publication. But custom having rendered it necessary, on the appearance of a new work, to accompany it with some indication of the plan upon which it will be conducted, and the objects it is intended to subserve, we comply with the requisition.

In the first place, as an excuse for its appearance at all, we may say, that such a publication as the present is imperiously demanded by the wants and wishes of the commercial part of the community, and we believe that such a work, conducted upon enlarged and liberal principles, is calculated to be eminently useful, and will prove highly acceptable, not only to the Merchant, but to all who feel an interest in promoting information on subjects deeply identified with the wealth, the greatness, and the happiness of our common country. Commerce is not only a business, but a science, extremely intricate in some of its developments, and calculated to elevate the mind, and enlarge the understanding, when pursued upon legitimate principles, and with high and honorable views.

Essentially and practically a trading people, the commerce of the United States has been pushed, by the enterprise of her citizens, to every part of the habitable globe—her ships penetrate every ocean, and her canvass whitens every sea, bringing home the varied productions of every soil and climate, and while rewarding individual enterprise and exertion, adding to the storehouse of general knowledge, and increasing the prosperity of the country.

The questions which arise in such extended intercourse with the world, are multifarious and diversified. The knowledge and information necessary to guide the adventures to a successful termination, is often complex and difficult of solution; the sources whence it is to be obtained are not always accessible; and operations are often begun in a reckless spirit of speculation, and end, as might have been anticipated, in defeat, simply

because some element necessary to success, or some piece of information essential to the adventure, had, in the ardor of pursuit, been disregarded.

One of our prominent objects will be, to raise and elevate the commercial character—to point out the requisites necessary to form the thorough and accomplished merchant. An expensive education, and a long course of study, is necessary to form the statesman, the physician, or the common lawyer; but every clerk seems to think he can at once assume the practical merchant, and spring, ready armed and equipped, into the active business of life, like Minerva from the head of Jove; forgetful that as pretenders in one case soon sink into oblivion and disgrace, he cannot expect otherwise than loss and discomfiture, if wanting the elementary information necessary to success.

We shall, therefore, from time to time, point out the headlands in the commercial chart, and endeavor to mark the quicksands where oftentimes shipwreck has been made, not only of property, but of probity, and that high sense of honor, wanting which, however abounding in every thing else, a man may assume the name, and be totally deficient in all that forms the high and honorable merchant.

With these views, it will necessarily be inferred that we are the strenuous friends and ardent supporters of the Mercantile Library Associations of this and of our sister cities.

Wherever the minds of the young are to be formed, and an incentive given to those who, after the present busy actors in our crowded marts of commerce are removed, are to occupy their places, they will find us inspiriting them in their career, and doing all in our power to aid the incipient merchant in his high and honorable avocation.

We say high, because commerce is now the most honorable pursuit in which a man of talent and enterprise can engage. Commerce is now the lever of Archimedes; and the fulcrum which he wanted to move the world, is found in the intelligence, enterprise, and wealth of the merchants and bankers, who now determine the questions of peace or war, and decide the destinies of nations. An adaptation to commercial pursuits does not, in our acceptation of the term, mean the mere accumulation of dollars and cents, which may be gained without merit, or lost without reproach, by disastrous reverses, which may baffle the most sagacious and well directed operations, and the most skilful combinations; not that ingenuity or tact which is directed to overreaching and circumvention, and to which the frank and the honorable oftentimes fall victims; but a profession embracing and requiring more varied knowledge, and general information of the soil, climate, production, and consumption of other countries—of the history, political complexion, laws, languages, and customs of the world—than is necessary in any other; and honorable, because a merchant, formed on our ideas of commercial character, would be fitted and qualified to act a part which would not only do himself, but his profession and country, honor.

Inseparably connected with commerce, are its handmaidens, agriculture and manufactures, and we shall endeavor to point out how they mutually assist and sustain each other—Agriculture and manufactures being the circular segment, and commerce, as it were, the keystone of the arch, which renders every thing secure, and wanting which, they would want the incentive to production.

With these objects and views, it will be seen that our plan is something like that laid down by Chief Justice Blackstone for himself, in his admi-

rable commentaries on the law—with this difference, that ours will require time before it can be fully developed, while his was at once laid before the public perfect and complete.

Every subject that can be interesting or useful to the merchant, will be embraced from time to time; for it is our intention to render the *Merchant's Magazine* and *Commercial Review* a standard work on the subjects to which it will be devoted, so that it may be referred to with certainty and confidence, for counsel and direction in the various questions arising in commercial affairs. Currency, exchanges, banking, commercial and marine law, partnerships, agencies, and statistical information, commercial and manufacturing, will have our special attention, as well as the domestic trade of the United States; and we are happy at being enabled to say, with confidence, that we have secured able and talented assistance in the various departments of our work, and the whole will be under our immediate supervision.

Well written communications will be received with pleasure, and inserted as far as our limits will permit, reserving to ourselves the right of abridging or excluding, as far as circumstances may render it necessary; and it will be at all times grateful to us, as proving an interest in our success, to receive communications from practical and scientific men; for as by the collision of flint and steel light is extracted, so from the intercourse between mind and mind, truth is elicited, an impulse given to examination, and an incentive applied to research, which may produce valuable results—for thought is the germ of action.

ART. II.—COMMERCE, AS CONNECTED WITH THE PROGRESS OF CIVILIZATION.

[We are satisfied that we cannot present our readers with any thing more acceptable than the following able lecture, read before the "Mercantile Library Association of New York," on the 4th of December, 1838, by the HON. DANIEL D. BARNARD, and furnished by him, at the request of the Association, for publication in our Magazine. It needs no comment from us, in ushering it into the world; for the subject is so ably treated, and so happily discussed, that it will be read with interest and advantage. We may be permitted, however, to remark, that it is peculiarly gratifying to see so many highly gifted minds turning their attention to commercial inquiries, and illustrating the importance of trade. No nation on earth is as eminently qualified, as the United States, by geographical position, internal resources, the spirit and indomitable enterprise of the people, for running a proud and successful career; and in proportion to the attention paid to these advantages by those who wield the destinies, and develop the resources of our young, but giant republic, will be the impulse given to our onward march in wealth and national greatness.]

THE subject with which it is proposed to occupy the present hour, is—commerce, as connected with the progress of civilization. And it is proper, and perhaps necessary, to a right understanding of the subject, that I should begin with a word or two of explanation.

What is civilization? In its ordinary acceptation, it denotes a condition of society, freed from the rudeness and ignorance of the savage or barbarous state, instructed in the arts, and practising the rules and customs of regular and polished life. I mean this by the word, and I mean something more. Besides the idea which it conveys, of settled homes, and regular employments; of country, and government, and laws; of protection to life, limbs, and liberty; of property, and its securities, and the comforts and

conveniences which represent and result from property—besides all this, I employ the word, at present, to denote a high degree of social prosperity, abounding in wealth, without which the advance of any people in knowledge, in positive happiness, or in the exercise of the nobler qualities and virtues of our nature, will be retarded and uncertain; a high degree of personal refinement; superior cultivation, physical, intellectual, and moral; a superior acquaintance with the art of living generously and well, with all the accommodations thereto, “the means and appliances to boot;” in short, a condition of dignified enjoyment—of substantial happiness to the human being—such as we know to be within the capabilities of his nature.

I suppose that, from the creation, mankind have been tending, on the whole, towards excellence—towards the exaltation of the human character, and the bettering of their earthly condition and prospects. A candid appeal to history, I think, would demonstrate this fact. I suppose that the world has been man’s school of improvement, furnished and fitted with every requisite and means of culture, carefully adapted to his nature, and affording precept upon precept, and lesson upon lesson, of instruction, and varied according to his age and according to his progress. I suppose that men always have been improvable, that they are so now, and probably always will be. And I suppose that they have been actually improved—that they have from the earliest ages made an actual, though not an invariable, advance; and that that advance is not likely to be arrested, but accelerated rather, so long as the means of improvement on the one hand, and the capability of improvement on the other, are found to remain undiminished or unexhausted. On this topic, I rely upon facts, and I discard all speculations. I believe what I see, and I make all the past a credible and an accredited witness for the truth. I have no opinions, and I indulge in no conjectures, about the perfectibility of human nature, or of human happiness. Progression, improvability, is all that I insist upon; and this, I think, rests on the strongest proofs and the clearest demonstrations. It is demonstrable, I think, as the existence of God is demonstrable, from the evidences of design and adaptation. It is shown as a result, in the actual history of the race. And to the deep and contemplative student and observer of events, it is plainly discernible in the rise and fall of nations, and the wonderful way in which each has been made to serve the cause of human instruction and improvement, in its turn, and then to give place to its legitimate and appointed successor—appointed to carry forward a work to which the other was no longer competent; or perhaps to introduce a new system, or subject, of instruction and improvement, of which the other was ignorant, and must forever have remained so; and which, so far as we know, could have been introduced in no other manner. Of course, I reject the fanciful and atheistical notion, that nations start into accidental existence, mature, grow old, and then fall into decay, all equally without cause and without consequence. And I have as little faith in the idea entertained by some, that there must needs be, after a general intellectual progress and advance, a general decline, either periodical or otherwise. Such notions are contradicted by abundant fact and abundant experience. I reject them all. I look back, and I think I discover, bridging the long tract of time, since the morning of man’s existence, a regular graded plain, of gentle and constant, though not uniform ascent, along and upon which his pathway has been made, and by which, almost without perceiving it, he has reached already—at least, the van of the host has reached—a creditable and com-

manding elevation. And I look forward, through long and misty years to come, and think I discover the same broad plain, stretching away into the mighty future, rising gradually as it runs on, until it is lost in obscurity, marking the way of man's onward and upward tread in the sublime and appointed track, whither time and destiny seem to call him.

But I have one word more to say on this subject. There is nothing so true and indisputable, that some may not be found to doubt and cavil about it; just as there is nothing so absurd and impossible, that some may not be found to believe it. Happily for the object I have at present in view, it is quite unnecessary that the faith of others, in regard to the progress of civilization, past or to come, should square exactly with my own—should be neither greater nor less than that which I entertain. There is a common ground, on which we may all meet. Nobody doubts—every one admits and understands, that there is a broad distinction between the savage, or barbarous state, and the civilized—as between the Romans, in the fifth century, and the Northern hordes that swept over and trampled them down; and between our own Indian tribes, and the swelling tide of white population, before which they are fast melting away. As little is it doubted by any, that civilization admits of comparison and degrees—that one people may be more or less civilized than another—just as civilization in the East, though once in advance of the rest of the world, is at this day behind the civilization of Europe and America. And there are none, I think, among us, at the present day, who pretend to doubt that a state of civilization is the preferable state for any people, and by the same rule, that the higher the degree of civilization, the better and the happier.

So far, then, we are all agreed, that civilization is a desirable thing, and that it cannot be carried to too high a pitch, any more than it is possible for this people to be too wise, too virtuous, too prosperous, and too happy. It may be admitted, moreover, that we are already highly civilized—and if this was the fourth day of July, instead of the fourth day of December, we might, without spoiling our present argument, one and all, admit and insist, that the sun never shone on so glorious a country and people before, and never would again. So much, I say, we might admit and insist upon, without spoiling our present argument; for still it would be true that, as wise men, it would do us no harm to look a little to the sources of our prosperity and glory;—that if we could do nothing to enhance the advantages of our position, we might, at least, take care that we should not begin to decline prematurely, and, by what we should do, or omit to do, precipitate our own inglorious fall.

Every one must be aware, that there exists at this day, as in times past, and in this country, as elsewhere, more or less distrust of commerce—more or less prejudice against commercial operations and commercial men. Ancient Egypt began to be civilized with beginning to be commercial. Her merchants were the first who found their way to the great Indian continent, which they did by the way of the Red Sea; and with bringing in the commodities of the East, they brought in also, and diffused, a taste for the arts, and especially for that style of heavy and massive architecture, which finally constituted about all there was of civilization in Egypt, and which, I think, there can be no doubt, was borrowed from the models of Indian architecture then existing, and of which some remarkable specimens still remain. But it did not suit the policy of the political priests of Egypt, to tolerate trade. They desired to encourage agriculture exclusively, and

they made their restrictive measures effectual, by fortifying their harbors, forbidding strangers to enter, and teaching their own people that the sea, to which their river flowed, was a monster, which only waited an opportunity to swallow up bodily their God, the Nile, and leave them a deserted, ruined, and starving people. Now, some of the prejudices excited against commerce in modern times, have been worthy of this elder example. Napoleon knew well enough where the strength of Samson lay; but when he wished to render England odious to a nation of soldiers, and make his own continental system acceptable, or at least endurable, he stigmatized the English as a nation of shop-keepers. The expression had its effect; but the catastrophe which Napoleon had the sagacity to dread, and which he endeavored to avoid, was not thereby averted. The shops of England, in that most memorable controversy, eventually proved too powerful for the military genius and resources of the greatest captain of any age. For to the eye of the philosophic observer, it must be apparent, that it was commerce that triumphed on the field of Waterloo.* That battle would probably never have been fought, much less won, as it was, had it not been for the outpoured and exhaustless resources of England—resources which clearly had their foundation and their growth in commerce. I shall not deem it necessary, nor would it be discreet, to allude with any particularity whatever to the prejudices with which rival interests sometimes, and mistaken views and opinions always, have, to a greater or less extent, imbued and warped some minds amongst ourselves, in regard to commerce—in regard to its interest, its objects, its real character, and its mighty, but little understood operations and influence. It is no part of my business or purpose to vindicate the mercantile interest from any petty aspersions, of which it may, at any time, have been the subject. My plan, I trust, is a broader and more comprehensive one. I desire to do what little can be done by me, and in so brief an opportunity as this must be, towards placing commerce on its true foundation—towards giving it that position of importance and high consideration which really belongs to it—especially in the estimation of mercantile men themselves, the younger and more inexperienced members of the class particularly. I desire that the first claims of commerce, and of the class of merchants, shall be understood and felt, at least by themselves, if not by others; for out of this proper appreciation, it is reasonable to hope, that some valuable results, as well to the country and the world, as to themselves, may chance to flow. In short, I desire to show that commerce always has been, that it now is, and always must be, especially and most closely connected with the progress of human improvement—that this is a capital element among the means and instruments of a thorough and complete civilization—and that it is quite within the power, as it is both the interest and the duty, of those having the charge of commerce, either conducting its affairs, or exercising any control over it, to wield the vast influence which naturally belongs to it, in a way to make it productive of a much greater amount of benefit to themselves, to the country, and to mankind, than could be expected from ordinary, neglected, and accidental results only.

And in the first place, a brief recurrence to the well-known records of the rise and progress of commerce, will show how exactly it has kept pace

* To say nothing of the nature and principal cause of the continued struggle between England and France,—a war for mastery between the Colonial and the Continental systems.

with the rise and progress of civilization — or rather, it will show, I think, that civilization has followed almost uniformly in its train.

I have already alluded to the early incipient trade of Egypt, as having lasted just long enough, before its suppression, to introduce, along with the productions of the East, such an acquaintance with learning and the arts, then existing in the East and nowhere else, and so much taste for them, as enabled the Egyptians to maintain, through several centuries — in the midst, however, of an essential barbarism in manners and morals — a degree of intellectual cultivation, of which no other example was found, at the time, among the western nations. The Egyptians cultivated the natural sciences and architecture, and by colonizing Attica, lent to Greece the torch-light of the knowledge possessed and cultivated by them.

The first example of an extended and flourishing commerce was set by the Phœnicians and Tyrians; and, for a long period, the whole Western World was barbarian, compared with them. They traded with Asia, Africa, and Europe, and with the Islands of the Atlantic. They made territorial discoveries, and obtained a knowledge of geography, of which the Greeks themselves were wholly ignorant at a much later period. They may be said to have invented, rather than improved, ship-building; and they carried the art to some degree of perfection. They discovered the manufacture of glass, and that of woollen cloth; they prepared the inimitable purple dye; and they executed mechanical works in great variety. They built cities, which were enriched by trade, and refined by the arts. They cultivated astronomy; and the invention of letters, and of arithmetic, and their introduction into Greece, is commonly attributed to them. They were not warlike, because their occupations were peaceful; and they extended a peaceful dominion, by colonization and alliances, over a considerable part of the then known world; much of it, indeed, known only to themselves, or through themselves. Wherever they went, they carried with them knowledge and the arts. The first notions of civil society in Greece came from them. Asia Minor, several of the principal islands in the Mediterranean, Carthage, and Cadiz, received their first population, and their first impulse towards improvement and knowledge, from this commerce-loving people.

The spirit of commerce, and with it, that intellectual activity and enterprise which distinguished the Tyrians, were transmitted to the Carthaginians. As the Phœnicians had engrossed the trade with India, the Carthaginians struck out boldly into the Atlantic. Passing the gates of Gades, they pushed their adventures along the coast of Spain, and of Gaul, and finally penetrated to Britain. Nor were the voyages of this people merely those of trade or private adventure. Voyages for discovery only were made, and fleets were fitted out for the purpose by the Republic, and at the public charge. That Carthage was a leading state among the ancients in cultivation and civilization, we all know. Of her wealth, her prowess, and her power, let her early conquests, her successful commercial wars, and her commercial treaties, speak. She was finally crushed beneath the ponderous weight of her great rival; but her overthrow was only accomplished after she had been gradually stripped of the best part of her possessions and her property, and reduced to poverty and abjectness, by the interruption and destruction of her trade.

A fact which tends to show that both the Phœnicians and Carthaginians had made a creditable advance in civilization, is this: that they were enabled to establish and maintain their governments under republican forms. And the Carthaginian constitution was very remarkable, for a period so

early, in one important particular—I mean the complete separation of the civil and military power. It was the union of these that led to the downfall of freedom in Rome.

Several of the states of Greece pursued commerce with considerable success; and her maritime and naval power was respectable, and even formidable. But the Greeks were in no degree distinguished as a commercial people. Their trade was confined almost entirely to the Mediterranean, and they knew little of the science of navigation. The truth is, that the Greeks seem to have had committed to them a peculiar trust in regard to civilization. It was time that the human mind should begin to be turned in upon itself, and opportunity afforded it to try the strength and the elegance of its own powers. It seems to have been put to the Greeks, to show what the human being is capable of, when allowed, under favorable circumstances, to devote himself to the cultivation of the intellect and the taste. Hence, they contented themselves with being shut up in almost total ignorance of the earth beyond their own narrow precincts. They despised every other people, and every other language. And they set themselves assiduously, and of course, successfully, to the cultivation of letters, of philosophy, and the fine arts. Their mission was an important, though a limited one, and it was most faithfully executed; but it has been rather in opposition to them than through them, against their exclusiveness and through other and very different agencies, that the world has been put in possession of the results and benefits of their labors. If the world had waited for the Greeks themselves to diffuse the light they kindled, it is hard to say when its general illumination, through their means, would have commenced.

The Greeks were finally led forth to foreign conquests by Alexander; and it was under him, the great Macedonian hero, and by the force of his wonderful genius, that commerce began a new and splendid reign. It is remarkable that Alexander, whose march through hostile countries was scarcely impeded by his successive victories, was obliged, in his rapid career, to sit down for seven months before the peaceful city of Tyre; and, finally, made a conquest of her only after the most incredible exertions. It was, probably, this very resistance on the part of the Tyrians, with the vast resources which they were enabled to command for their defence, which first led the conqueror to comprehend something of the superior advantages of commerce; and, finally, prepared the way for the foundation of that great commercial emporium, in lower Egypt, which bore his name.

The city of Alexandria was founded and located expressly with a view to its commercial advantages. It commanded the trade both of the East and of the West, and it never lost its ascendancy, at least not beyond recovery, let what revolutions would come, as the centre and mart of universal trade, until near the close of the fifteenth century, when the Portuguese discovered, perhaps re-discovered, a new route to India, by way of the Cape of Good Hope.

But the city of Alexandria, be it remembered, became as much the centre of the arts and the learning of the world, as it was the seat of commerce and dominion. This was the theatre of the learned labors of the Hellenists; the seat of the celebrated academy and museum, where the greatest scholars of the age lived, studied, and instructed; and here was collected that celebrated library, designed to preserve and perpetuate the whole body of ancient learning, and embracing the entire circle of Grecian and Roman literature. *Elegantia regum curaque egregium opus.*

The next great event in the order of time, to be regarded as affecting the

condition and advancement of the race, was the accession of Rome to universal dominion. In all the western world, there was one central empire; every thing else was provincial only. Carthage was a province; Greece was a province; Egypt was a province; all subject to the sway of imperial Rome. Now, the proud and soldierly citizens of Rome despised commerce. Commerce, navigation, mechanical arts, and, indeed, for a considerable time, and to a considerable extent, letters themselves, were regarded by the haughty Roman as fit only to occupy the slave, the freedman, or the provincial. His business was to follow the trade of glorious war; the conquest of arms, and to delight himself with bloody pastimes. At a later period, stimulated by the learning and the example of the conquered Greek, the Roman cultivated letters successfully, and he carried one department of human learning, the department of law, to a noble and unexampled perfection. And his haughty disdain of commerce, as a personal employment, did not make him utterly blind to its merits and advantages as a business in the state. Commerce was suffered to remain in original hands; and it was so much the more active and successful, as it was now every where under the control and direction of one central power, and was freed from the injurious restrictions and obstructions to which it had been before subject, from the mutual jealousies and hostilities of rival states. The city of Rome, as the seat of supreme power, and the capital of universal empire, was the grand point and reservoir to which the wealth of the provinces, and the chief profits and productions of all their trade and business, were made to flow. For this purpose, were these countries conquered; for this purpose, they were made provinces. Commerce increased the importance and the wealth of such of them as had been, or were, maritime states, and made them, of course, the more desirable and valuable, because richer subjects, to their imperial and plundering masters. Commerce, therefore, was fostered and encouraged by the Romans. They were made richer by it; they were enabled to indulge in a growing taste for the rare luxuries of the East; and they found in it a powerful ally and coadjutor in their great business of war and conquest.

Now, the agency which commerce, during all this period, had in furthering human improvement, is evident enough. It was the means of establishing and preserving an intercourse between Rome and her provinces, and between the various countries themselves subject to Rome, on a footing very different from that which otherwise must have existed. It was an intercourse, in some degree, of reciprocal advantage; it softened hostile feeling; it caused men to begin to regard each other as friends and brothers, who might be better employed than in robbing and murdering one another; it enlarged, at once, the desires and the capacities of men; it improved their tastes, their manners, and their habits; and, by opening channels of more easy and general communication, it made an extension and diffusion of knowledge and the arts, and of the light of learning, possible, which was quite impossible without it.

But now the time was at hand, when Rome must fall. Her mission had been fulfilled; her work was done, and she must give place to new races of men, who, though at first of most unpromising appearance, should, in time, take up improvement where she should leave it, and carry it on to a perfection which she was, and must forever have been, incapable of giving it. The first effect of the great Northern inundation, which swept over the Western Empire, was to quench, at once, the light of science, of arts, of letters, and of civilization in Europe. Europe returned to primi-

tive barbarism. Her territory cut up and parcelled out into small states, always independent and generally hostile; there was a sudden and utter end of the union and intercourse which had existed under the Roman power. Learning was despised, as leading to effeminacy; and universal ignorance, rudeness, and barbarism prevailed. "The names of stranger and of enemy," says Robertson, "became once more words of the same import. Customs every where prevailed, and even laws were established, which rendered it disagreeable and dangerous to visit any foreign country. Cities, in which alone an extensive commerce can be carried on, were few, inconsiderable, and destitute of those immunities which produce security or excite enterprise. The sciences, on which geography and navigation are founded, were not cultivated. The accounts of ancient improvements and discoveries, contained in the Greek and Roman authors, were neglected or misunderstood. The knowledge of remote regions was lost; their situation, their commodities, and almost their names, were unknown."

But, after some ages of settled gloom and darkness, symptoms of revival began to appear; and it is worth remarking, that these symptoms first showed themselves among those tribes of barbarians who had possessed themselves of Italy, and were favorably situated to commence operations in trade. Commerce had not been at any time wholly neglected in the Greek empire. Constantinople had all the while preserved a taste for the productions of the East, and kept up the intercourse necessary to bring them in, even when compelled to resort to the tedious and difficult route, inland, by way of the Indus, the Oxus, and the Caspian and Euxine seas. These productions were also brought by way of the Persian gulf, and the Euphrates and the Tigris, to several cities on the Syrian coast of the Mediterranean. And the Arabians, in possession of Alexandria, revived and carried on the old trade between that city and India, by the route of the Arabian gulf and the Indian ocean. With all these marts of trade successively, the Italians established and maintained a commercial intercourse. They began this intercourse so early as the age of Charlemagne, and by the time the Crusades commenced, several of their cities had risen to considerable opulence, and already, through the channels of their trade, they had communicated to Spain, to France, to the Low Countries, and to England, some valuable ideas of manufactures and arts. The holy war, as it was called, gave a new impulse to the trade and business of the Italian cities; and Venice, particularly, became a powerful state, with great personal wealth, and extensive and valuable territorial possessions. The profits of trade stimulated the Italians to attempt the production and manufacture of various commodities, for which they found a growing demand in every quarter of Europe. Companies of Lombard merchants were settled in the various kingdoms, under the immediate protection of the governments, and a special suspension made in their behalf of the absurd customs and enactments against strangers, for the purpose of receiving, vending, and distributing the productions of Italian trade or Italian skill. And it was through these means chiefly that the European nations were first led to value or desire the useful and elegant arts and luxuries of life.

Following the efforts and successes of the Italians, the spirit of trade and enterprise was aroused in the north. The famous Hanseatic League was formed, and became a powerful and formidable association. The cities of the League concerned themselves as well with politics as with trade, and they conducted with equal skill and success the transactions

of commerce and the operations of war. Between them and the Lombards, an active correspondence and exchange took place; supplies became more regular and abundant, and had a more extended and general distribution. In the mean time, a new spirit of industry was excited; manufactures flourished, especially in the Netherlands. Flanders, through her trade in woollens, became populous and opulent. And finally, England, by the wise conduct and policy of Edward III., following the example of Flanders, and aided by Flemish artisans, adopted the manufacture of woollens, and thus, by this simple beginning, set out in a commercial career, which she has since run with unexampled credit, advantage, and success.

The effects of the revival and prosecution of trade in Europe, were too plain to be mistaken. It aroused and liberalized the minds of men. It subdued their mutual animosities. It softened their manners. Laws and governments were greatly modified by it. It fostered the genuine spirit of liberty and personal independence. It stimulated to activity, industry, and enterprise. It produced wealth; and this led, first to indulgence, and the adorning of life, then to ease, leisure, and finally, to study and intellectual cultivation. The first attempts to revive literature were made in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. They were begun in Italy, where trade was begun; and instruction was first derived from the Greeks at Constantinople, and the Arabians at Alexandria, as commodities had been. And when literature really revived, at a later period, it was still in Italy that her light was kindled; and it is believed, that wherever the illumination spread in Europe, commerce had preceded it.

I need not dwell on subsequent events, marking the grand outline of the modern history of commerce. They are familiar to all. A safe and intelligible path was found on the broad ocean, by the discovery of the mariner's compass. The Cape of Good Hope was discovered, and passed. A new world was found.

"The 17th century was the period in which the principles were adopted, and most of the establishments formed, which have contributed to advance the commerce of Europe to its present astonishing height. The interests of nations became better understood than in any former age; the utility of commerce had become evident to every one, from the wealth and power it had conferred on the states which had encouraged it; and commercial treaties became frequent between the different nations. Navigation was improved, new settlements were formed, and many of those before made were rising into importance; manufactures were advancing in many parts of Europe; shipping was increasing; and the intercourse between distant places, from the accumulation of knowledge and experience, becoming more expeditious and secure."*

Since the period just named, commerce has steadily gone on, improving, and enlarging, both in Europe and America; while, within the few short years of the present century, it has acquired an actual increase, and a prospective activity and advantage, which give to it a value and an importance which have never been felt as belonging to it before. Now in all the progress it has made, in modern as well as in former times, it is impossible not to see, that the enlightenment and civilization of mankind have made a general and equal advance along with it. It is impossible not to discover that its influence, on the whole, has been as salutary, as it has been powerful and commanding. It is identified every where with im-

* Rees' Cyclopaedia.

provement — improvement in mind and manners — improvement in arts and letters — improvement in knowledge, in morals, in legislation, in laws, in liberty, — and in all this improvement, it has led much more than it has followed; it has been the pioneer, much more than the fellow and companion of human advancement and civilization.

But no adequate justice can be done to the claims and merits of commerce — to the great influence it has exerted, and is destined to exert, on human affairs, — without a recurrence to some particulars. It is important to understand how commerce operates, and by what instruments and agencies — what results it produces, or is capable of producing, and by what means it produces them — in order to comprehend, in any fit degree, the eminent service it has rendered, and may be expected to render, to mankind. The limits of this occasion will not allow me to do more than to glance, in a cursory and hurried manner, at some of these particulars.

The direct object of commerce is the exchange of commodities. Of course, there must be commodities to be exchanged; and the more of them there may be, the more considerable will be the business and the profits of exchange. Commerce, then, is concerned to favor production, to favor industry, to favor ingenuity and invention. She stands between the class of the producers and the class of consumers; and her interest is to encourage both production and consumption. To encourage consumption, she labors to create a taste for commodities; she persuades her customers, that their comfort will be promoted, and their happiness increased, by the possession of these commodities. In the early periods of commercial operations, whether the object be to sell, or to purchase, intercourse takes place always between those who are in diverse or different states, in regard to improvement, usually by the visits of the more civilized to the less civilized. The object is to induce the savage to exchange the skins in which he wraps himself, for the coarse but more comfortable cloths of the merchant — to induce the barbarian to give up his bow and arrow for the rifle, and the rifle in turn for the plough and the sickle. As improvement goes on, the articles of the trade improve in texture, in value, and in variety; until, finally, nothing is satisfactory short of productions formed of the most costly and precious materials, and wrought with the most exquisite skill and workmanship. Wants have been increased with the increase of supplies, while the ability and means to satisfy them all, if circumstances have not been unfavorable, are certain to have increased faster and faster still. Whatever can save or facilitate labor; whatever can gratify the taste or the intellect; whatever can promote comfort, safety, ease, enjoyment, is sought after and had for the asking and paying for. And these very wants, and this very consumption, are indicative of refined and polished life.

But while commerce has been creating all this taste, and all this desire, for the arts, the conveniences, and luxuries of civilized life, she has of necessity put in operation, or encouraged, other agencies of human improvement, in order to enable her to meet the demands she has thus created. The mechanic, the artisan, the agriculturist, and the manufacturer, have been stimulated to new industry and new effort. Production has increased. Division of labor has taken place. Invention and ingenuity have been at work. The ocean and the earth have been explored for materials. Agriculture has been roused to activity, to give subsistence to labor in other departments. And thus, on the side of production, immense good has been effected. Those who produce are enabled to consume; and the more, the more they produce. As production swells, profits increase; the

elements are set to work, instead of muscles; machinery comes in substitution of labor; wealth abounds; leisure is gained; and enjoyment, refinement, and cultivation, follow.

This is the process, and this the progress, of communities under the lead of commerce. Production and commerce, as grand departments of industry, are indeed interests of mutual and reciprocal advantage. But there is that in the spirit of commerce—in her activity, her daring, her enterprise and energy, which puts her, almost always, on the advance. She it is who points the way, and beckons skill and labor on. It was the class of merchants who caused the manufacture of silk to be undertaken in Italy, and that of sugar in Spain; whence it was transferred to our own side of the Atlantic; and those of woollen and flax, in the Netherlands. Manufactures, as well as natural products, are their stock in trade, the grand capital and basis of all their operations. The establishment of particular manufactures, in particular localities, may sometimes be opposed by portions of the mercantile interest, as when attempted under an unjust application of the restrictive policy. Freedom of trade is the motto of the class. But, as a whole, the world cannot be too busy with manufactures—with production—to suit the merchant. As long as a market is left, or can be found, on the face of the globe, to be supplied, he cries to the producer and the manufacturer for more. He is never satisfied till the world cries enough.

A service of incalculable importance which commerce renders to the interest of production and manufactures, and thence to the cause of human improvement, is in making a territorial division of labor possible, which would otherwise be impossible. By the operations of commerce, every separate country, and each particular section of every country, is enabled to prosecute, with undivided attention and devotion, the peculiar business for which it is exclusively or best fitted by position, soil, surface, or climate, by the physical and mental condition or genius of its population, or by the prevailing state of production, of trade, or of markets, in other places and other parts of the world. Through commerce, it becomes possible to devote one region to the culture of tea, and another to coffee and sugar; for one people to grow cotton, another rice, another wool, and another grain; for one community to engage in the manufacture of cloth, another of leather, and another of iron; for marble to be quarried in this mountain, and coal dug out of that, and gold picked out of the earth that washes down from a third. Indeed, without a territorial division of labor, there would be a narrow and impassable limit to the personal division of labor. And if it were possible now to conceive of the sudden arrest, from any cause, of the operations and business of commerce—the ceasing of the now ceaseless flow of commodities from one country to another, and between different parts of the same country—we could not fail to see that production must at once be arrested, and almost entirely cease over the world, and that, of necessity, the world must return to a primitive condition of simplicity, ignorance, rudeness and barbarism.

But as commerce deals with commodities, buys and sells and transports, its constant desire and effort has been, as I have already intimated, to widen and extend the sphere of its active operations. This has led to territorial discovery and to colonization. The direct object has often been to find new commodities and new markets for the uses of trade; but, from the beginning, as a general thing, commerce has pursued adventure with a liberal, enlightened, and noble spirit—with a desire to enlarge the boundaries of human knowledge, and spread the light and blessings of religion and civi-

lization over the broad earth. In obedience to a principle wisely planted in our common natures, the first promptings to adventure and discovery, as in the classic expedition to Colchis, have no doubt usually been the desire and the prospect of obtaining possession of the golden fleece. The first anticipation of some direct and substantial reward must usually be found necessary to sustain and encourage adventure, where difficulties and perils are to be encountered more dreadful and appalling than those which were involved in the three memorable labors of Jason. But, as in the very case of that bold and skilful navigator and hero, other and loftier motives and aspirations are soon found to mingle themselves with the spirit of gain. The adventurer finds himself engaged in an enterprise which, if successful, must result in incalculable benefits to his country and his kind. His imagination is kindled. There will be glory as well as gain in the achievement. He becomes fired with that noblest and strongest of all passions, when once it takes possession of the human breast—the desire of doing some great good to his race—of working out some mighty and glorious result in human affairs; and he expects, as he has a right to expect, that, as it happened to the Argonauts, the time will come, when the very ship in which he sails will shine as a constellation among those bright and light-giving objects which men love to gaze and wonder at, and his name be enrolled with those to which the earth pays a willing tribute of veneration and praise.

The history of discovery and of colonization is nearly identical with the history of commerce; and the march of improvement and civilization has been, by an equal step, in company with discovery and colonization. It is curious to observe how uniformly these important movements have had their origin, or their chief conduct and agency, among commercial nations, or with commercial men. When Necho, an Egyptian king, at a very early period, sent out an expedition, with the view of ascertaining, if possible, the form and termination of Africa, he was fain to trust its execution to Phœnician navigators. It was the Tyrians who founded Carthage and Cadiz. And it was Carthage, in her turn, that sent out Hanno, with sixty ships and many thousands of emigrants, of both sexes, to pass the pillars of Hercules, to seek out new and unheard-of territories, and found new colonies. Rome contented herself with making discoveries on land, and by the march of her conquering armies; and it was at once, perhaps, a cause and a consequence of the want of commercial enterprise among the Romans, that they religiously believed to the last, with Pliny the naturalist, and the learned and philosophic Cicero at their head, that, of the zones of the earth, two only, namely, the temperate zones, were habitable; that these two were antipodal, and all the communication between them forever impassable, by the interposition of a tropical region, which was perpetually burnt up with heated vapors and unquenchable flames! Since the period when extended navigation became possible, by the use of the magnetic needle, discovery and colonization have been almost exclusively in commercial hands. Portugal was a maritime state, and led the way. The Spaniards, the Dutch, and the English, all engaged in these enterprises. The connexion of discovery with commerce is traceable, indeed, in every direction. Americus Vesputius was a native of Florence, where he was thoroughly instructed in natural philosophy, astronomy, and geography—three branches of learning which engrossed attention at the time in Florence, expressly on account of their importance to commerce. John Cabot was a Venetian pilot, of great skill in navigation, and Sebastian Cabot was his son. Columbus, too, had his origin in commercial Italy. He was a native of Genoa. So it is with discovery, and attempts

at discovery, in more modern times. The hand of commerce is in it all. The efforts to break through the ice of the poles, early began, long continued, and still persevered in; and the formidable South-Sea expeditions of our own times—the resolution to penetrate every sea and every clime—to leave no portion of the earth unexplored, or unvisited, by the foot of civilized and christian man,—all this is the work and the mission of commerce—comes of commerce—belongs to commerce—and will finally be accomplished by commerce.

But there is another department of human action and enterprise, in which the agency of commerce has been, and must continue to be, exerted with the happiest effect—leading, indeed, to results of the highest interest, and of the last importance to mankind. I allude to the matter of the improved and improving means and facilities of intercommunication, for transit and for transport, whether by water or by land. I set down, without hesitation, to the account and credit of commerce, about all that has yet been done, and by anticipation all that may be done, in this sort of improvement; because, without pretending that whatever has been done in this way has always been begun and prosecuted by commerce—yet commercial intercourse has always been the direct object in view—and so it must be in future. The interests of trade are apt to be the first to prompt to these improvements; and, whether that be so or not, all other interests, agriculture, manufactures, mechanic arts, and trades, with ten thousand incidental benefits, are favorably affected and promoted by them, according as trade is advanced through their instrumentality.

In speaking of these improvements, I mean to include every thing that affects navigation and transport by sea, or on rivers and canals, or carriage by land. The science of navigation itself, with the various sciences and branches of learning more immediately connected with it—the art of building ships, as well as the art of sailing them—the discovery of the magnetic needle, made by a navigator—the progress which has been made in the knowledge of meteorology; of climates, currents, winds, and storms—the discovery and establishment of channels, harbors, and roadsteads, with the various artificial works relating to them—the method of propelling vessels by steam, destined, no doubt, to effect new and mighty revolutions yet in maritime and naval operations—the increased protection afforded to ocean navigation and to trade, not more by an adequate show of naval force, than by the prevalence of sentiments and doctrines at once more humane and more just—the establishment and growth of commercial tribunals, conducted on the principles of equity, and the advance which has been made in building up a system of international and commercial law, on the foundations of justice. Add to all this, improved river navigation, the construction and use of canals, road-making on new and improved plans, and finally, the adoption of railways, with the employment of steam-power upon them, for draft and for speed. Here is a most lame and imperfect enumeration of particulars, in regard to which, the agency and the interests of commerce have been exerted and wielded, not for the purposes of general utility and advantage merely, but for the rapid and substantial advance of the race of men in knowledge and wisdom, in civilization and power.

Improvements in the means, securities, and facilities of transports, considered in two principal divisions, have reference either to ocean navigation, or to carriage by way of the land. In regard to ocean navigation, if any one would understand the progress it has made, and the progress of mankind along with it, for want of a better mode of arriving at the truth, and comprehending the whole of it, he might take a single instance

or example. Let him look at a ship of Grecian construction, and compare it with some specimens of modern naval architecture. Certainly one of the most celebrated maritime expeditions in the world was that undertaken by the Greeks to Colchis—not, I suppose, by any means, wholly fabulous. The ship in which the adventurers sailed was the *Argo*, described as magnificent in her proportions, as well as exquisitely finished, and altogether of such worth as finally to attain the distinction of having her name, as if for a perpetual memorial, written on the heavens among the stars. This stately ship was forced to make a tedious circuit on her return home, after the immediate objects of the voyage had been accomplished; and it is remarkable, that a part of this circuit was a journey on solid ground, or over the mountains and valleys that lie between the Danube and the Adriatic. Of course, the carrying was equitably divided between the parties to the enterprise. The ship bore the navigators by water, and the navigators bore the ship by land. So, too, one of the most famous naval battles recorded in history was the fight between the Greeks and Persians at Salamis, into which the Greeks brought three hundred and eighty ships—all, of course, mighty men-of-war, but not a deck, nor a quarter of a deck, among them all. “Look on this picture, and then on this.” Think of the moving mountains of wood and iron which compose one of our ships of war of the larger class—the *Pennsylvania*, for example—her lofty decks, rising tier upon tier—her enormous length—the fearful height between her top-mast and hold—the batteries she carries, and the army of men that musters within her walls. Or take an instance from our commercial marine—one of our own beautiful liners, for example—or, if you please, the *Great Western*, as a specimen of her class, and typifying the latest triumph of human skill and human power, over those most formidable obstacles, which broad oceans, capricious gales, and raging tempests, have always interposed to the intercourse of distant nations and peoples, and thence to the progress of mankind in general cultivation and improvement.

But not to dwell on this point, and considering navigation as now in the act of approaching all the perfection of which the imagination can conceive it to be capable; let us recur, for a moment, to the consideration of the subject of internal improvements—of improved facilities for intercourse and communication through or by way of the land.

The agency of commerce, in this department, has been conspicuous from the beginning. We have an instance or two, in its early history, to illustrate the promptness with which it lays hold of the idea of internal improvements, as essential to the success of its own enterprises. To say nothing of the celebrated canals of ancient Egypt, when Alexander the Great had opened the trade of India to the Greeks, and the Europeans generally, at the city of Alexandria, to be carried on by way of the sea and the Arabian Gulf, his next concern was to open the same great magazine of supplies, by some convenient route, to his Asiatic subjects, situated about and above the sources of the Tigris and the Euphrates. For this purpose, he commissioned his officer Nearchus, in command of a competent fleet, to explore and examine the coastwise course of navigation, between the mouth of the Indus and the entrance to the Persian Gulf. One serious obstruction he knew existed in another part of the proposed route, namely, at the mouth of the Euphrates, in the cataracts, so called, which the jealous and narrow-minded Persians, in their time, had caused to be constructed, as an effectual barrier against the approach of strangers to their territory, in that direction. Now this obstruction

Alexander proposed and was prepared to remove, however difficult—the first example, it is believed, on record, of a plan to free the channel of a river from impediments to its navigation, whether natural or artificial. This was, comparatively, in the infancy of the world, as well as of commerce. At a later period, after the race in Europe, which, in the lapse of time, had grown up to the stature of incipient, though uncouth and awkward manhood, had been struck back again into mere childishness, ignorant, stupid, and ferocious; and when the first glimmerings of returning intelligence and civilization began to appear, another instance occurred of a grand conception for a work of internal improvement. This was the conception of Charlemagne, who, by subduing, and uniting together, under his own sway, a large number of hitherto independent, and jealous, and jarring tribes and nations, prepared the way for a renewal of the intercourse and commerce between various points and places in Europe, which had existed under the dominion of Rome. To favor the interests of commerce, and the improvement of his people still more, he formed the magnificent project of opening a direct communication between the German ocean and the Black sea, by uniting the waters of the Danube and the Rhine. Unhappily, the low state of scientific attainment and skill at that day would not allow of the execution of the work.

It cannot be necessary to allude to other cases of the like kind, with those just referred to, in ancient or early times, to show what was then the tendency and spirit of commerce; and this lecture has already been drawn out to too great a length to admit of any thing more than a naked reference to the wonderful progress which works of internal improvement have made, and are making, in modern times, in all the civilized quarters of the globe. The improvement of natural river channels, and the construction of artificial ones; with the more recent device of reticulating the broad surface of extended territories and districts of country with railroads, are leading to consequences of which the first and faintest effects only are beginning to be felt; but which, in their ultimate and grand features, have as yet been but most imperfectly imagined. Foreign commerce, from the very necessity of things, is greatly dependent upon, and limited by, domestic and internal trade. And as domestic and internal trade must always depend, for its extent and its prosperity, on means and facilities which can only be afforded by liberal and enlightened systems, and works of internal improvement; so may these systems and works be deemed secured and guaranteed to the world, by the very interests of commerce, as well as by the generous and enterprising spirit which is commonly known to actuate it. What has been already done in this matter in the several countries of Europe, and in the United States—the more commercial communities among them being always on the lead—is the pledge and earnest of the efforts and the successes which are certainly to follow. The command of Heaven to man, that he should *subdue the earth*, will never have its answer in complete obedience, till he shall have conquered, and all but annihilated, the spaces that intervene between the seas and the centres of territories and continents, and between the various extremities of the land, and points of departure and approach, for the population and the business that must swarm and swell upon its surface. That this consummation must sooner or later be realized, it would be most unreasonable to doubt, in the face of all the enterprise, activity, energy, and skill, which so eminently characterize this age of the world. The human intellect is awakened and aroused—and nowhere more thoroughly than among our-

selves—its condition, in general, is becoming freer every day, and with freedom, it gains power—a power which is learning to display itself in acquiring a just dominion over material things, and asserting and vindicating a proud superiority and mastery over physical obstructions, difficulties, and disabilities, placed, for obvious and wise reasons, in the plain pathway of his advance towards that point of dignity and excellence, which is clearly attainable, but only so through severe discipline and patient cultivation.

No one, I am sure, can be more sensible than I am, how very limited and imperfect is the view I have presented of the advantages and influence of commerce, and its connexion with the past, and the anticipated progress of civilization. The subject, as all must have seen by this time, is quite too vast and gigantic in its proportions to admit of compression, with any show of justice, within the proper boundaries of a single occasion like the present. There are several considerations of deep interest connected with it, to which no allusion even has been made—while the topics which have been touched upon, have only been touched, not handled. The influence of commerce, not only as it is the source of liberal profits, and generally of great aggregate wealth, to the class of merchants themselves—the use of which is always distinguished by singular generosity; but also as it stimulates to industry and enterprise in the other grand departments of business—opening the way and the only way to wealth in them, by opening markets to them—by affording them a vent for surplus commodities, without which there would be no surplus production, no profits, and no accumulation. The influence of commerce, in enabling men to congregate in large towns and cities, which otherwise could not possibly be subsisted and sustained, leaving to the fields only such portions of the entire population as are essential to their profitable cultivation, instead of crowding those fields with herds which, without commerce, would occupy only to crop them, as the beasts do, for a present and bare subsistence—enabling men, I say, to congregate in cities, which, with all the vices and impurities that necessarily yet belong to them, always have been, and must be, the chief seats of refinement and civilization in every land where wealth aggregates and centres—where literature, polite learning, and the fine arts flourish—where manners are polished—where intellect is alive and active—where sympathy and benevolence have an ample field for untiring exertion, and in which exertion never tires—where virtue is of vigorous growth, because it is obliged to flourish in spite of the tainted atmosphere it dwells in, or die—where morals have a strong cast, because they exist in the very presence of seduction and crime—and where piety, and faith, and honor, and manhood, and nobleness, and generosity, all put on a positive and resolute bearing and quality, because they are called to occupy their spheres and exercise themselves in the face of the boldest infidelity, and before the sworn enemies of all the orderly, decent, and legal institutions and customs of civil society. Again; the influence of commerce in favor of human liberty, as its whole history, if examined, would show, in resisting the exactions, and breaking down the artificial and oppressive distinctions of the feudal system—in demonstrating, as it did in Italy, and in the free cities of Germany, and elsewhere, the power and capacity of men to establish and maintain independent communities, to form confederacies, and to govern themselves,—in raising up a new class in society—men who could carve out fortunes for themselves without the sword—men who could command without being born to command—men who were competent to business, to public business, because they were brought up to business—men who showed that there was some value in other things, as well as in

lands—that the lord of manors was no better or wiser than the lord of ships, of money, and of merchandise, and that the world might be benefited quite as much by industry and noble virtues, as by idleness and noble blood—in short, that the world, after all, was not made for kings and barons, but for generations of free-born men to dwell in and to enjoy. And again; the influence of commerce, in favor of the gentle virtues and arts of peace, and against the trade and the calamities of horrid war, an influence which has been felt, first, in teaching men that they may have a better and more profitable occupation, by turning their thoughts to productive industry, and acquiring the means of surrounding themselves with the comforts, conveniences, and luxuries of quiet life; then, in rendering wars of territorial conquest or personal ambition, at least in countries highly commercial, difficult if not impossible; then, in showing that negotiation is better than blood in composing disputes, and that treaties and compacts between nations are quite as rational and effectual a way of defining accurately their mutual rights and obligations, and bringing them to a good understanding with each other, as ramparts and bristling cannon, lines of circumvallation, sorties and attacks, the tramp of armies, the shock of battles, the desolation of homes, habitations, and countries; an influence, in short, on the part of commerce, which, as it increases in power and importance, and in an intelligent understanding of its own great interests, and the higher interests of government and society, is more likely than any thing else I am acquainted with, short of the universal sway of the simple and unaffected spirit of christianity, to put an end to all wars—such only excepted, perhaps, as may be waged for the only cause that was ever worth fighting for—the independence of nations, and the freedom of mankind. All these topics, and others that might be adverted to, which are a part, and an essential part, of the subject in hand—all of which, it would be necessary to investigate and develop, in order to show how intimately and essentially commerce is connected with the progress of civilization—all must be passed by with the slight and very unsatisfactory notice of such as have been named and referred to at all. I can do no more, in conclusion, than to commend them all, with the whole subject, to such attention and thought as they may seem to deserve. I think it must be seen, that commerce, while it has done much, very much, already, to benefit the world, is still in commission as the minister and apostle of other benefits and higher advantages—that there is not an interest in the whole range of life and society to which its influence does not, or may not, reach, in one way or another, and to which it is not, or may not, in some degree, be of essential service. Education, religion, freedom, morality—the diffusion of wealth—the diffusion of the useful and ornamental arts—the diffusion of knowledge—the dissemination of religious light and truth—the extension and cultivation of taste and refinement—a free, happy, and improving personal intercourse between country and city, between different parts of the same country, and between different countries—these things are all of them more or less within the province of commerce—at least, none of them are wholly beyond its power and influence. Let its influence be felt, then, not as it must be in spite of itself, but as it may be by exerting it. The carrying-trade of the world is in the hands of commerce; but let her carry as she has done, and more abundantly, other commodities than those which are bought and sold—in her broad beak, let her carry the olive, to drop it among men, wherever there are victors over moral degradation to be crowned, or wherever there is strife or contention to be healed; and under her strong white wings, and in the volumes of vapor which she breathes forth, let her bear ample stores of ripe seeds, like the down which

is borne on the wind, to scatter them broadcast wherever she moves; seeds which shall spring up in green plants, in bud and blossom, in flower and fruit, to feed the growth of improvement in all forms—the growth of virtue and intelligence, of taste and civilization, in all lands.

Nor are other departments of life and industry, as all are to participate in the humanizing advantages of a growing and extended commerce, without a deep interest in its successes and its prosperity. Of course, commerce, as I have said, cannot flourish without their aid. That aid, however, is to be supplied through increased activity and enterprise in their own proper spheres. It is the beautiful order and arrangement of Providence, that those who labor assiduously in their own callings promote in the end the general advantage much more effectually than could be done by any direct interference with the proper pursuits of others. The prosperity of a community, and its advance in improvement and happiness, are not committed exclusively to single hands, or to particular classes. Every profession and every employment has its share assigned it in so great a work. Eloquence has its share; instruction has its share; invention has its share; literature has its share; and labor, in its thousand forms, has its full share. The same great end is always in view, or it should be, to make men at once wiser and happier. And, though he may not know it, the workman with the hammer, and the smith that smites the anvil, labor effectively—it may be in an humble degree—for this same cause of human advancement; and the pale student and the learned doctor can do no more, and do no better, than labor for the same cause. No people can become and continue refined and intellectual, unless their physical wants and comforts are fully provided for; and hence, the very ditcher himself is no unimportant actor in this universal drama. And, perhaps, there is no one lesson in life more necessary to be learned than this: that men are every where mutually dependent on each other, and so are trades and occupations; that they deserve each other's respect, however widely separated their spheres of action, and need each other's sympathy, confidence, countenance, and support; that all are embarked in the same broad bottom—borne on the same heaving tide—the same bending sky over them all, and the same port and haven forever before them all; that those who work the ship, and those who command—those who tug at the ropes and set the sails, and those who calculate her latitude and hold the tiller, are all, and equally, indispensable to the success of the voyage; and that the prosperity and the happiness of the whole company will be promoted and secured, just in proportion as all, in their own proper spheres, shall perform their own proper duties, with resolution, with promptness, and with scrupulous fidelity.

ART. III.—ACCUMULATION, PROPERTY, CAPITAL, AND CREDIT.

An Address, delivered before the Mercantile Library Association, at the Odcon, in Boston, September 13th, 1838. By EDWARD EVERETT.

THE association, the celebration of whose eighteenth anniversary gave occasion to this address, is, we believe, the oldest of the kind in our country, though, as might be expected, from the relative extent of the two cities, inferior in its resources and in the number of its members to that which has been so successfully established here. We cannot allude to these institutions, without expressing our admiration of the spirit and manly

feeling to which they are indebted for their origin. Their purpose, and it is an elevated one, is to withdraw the members from the influence of the feeling and habits which are the natural result of the routine of all professional pursuits; to illustrate those pursuits by philosophical observation and inquiry; to take up the conduct of education at that stage of its progress where our ordinary guides leave us at our own disposal. In the mercantile profession the advantages of such institutions are more obvious than in any other; under their influences, the merchant, if he be not numbered among the princes of the earth, may become what is still loftier and better—the intelligent friend of social advancement, the benefactor of his race.

We are persuaded that we cannot better instruct and gratify our readers, than by transferring to our pages the greater portion of this admirable discourse. No intelligent reader in our country would willingly confess himself unacquainted with the writings of Mr. Everett, nor require any description of the beautiful power by which he illuminates every subject that he touches. It is one of the finest characteristics of his eloquence, that, fervid and lofty as it is, we never see it employed to throw a seductive coloring over extravagant positions or wild theories; the reader is not compelled to condemn what he admires; and if he wonders, it is only at the wide and various learning with which every topic is treated, and the originality which all assume beneath a master's hand.

In this address Mr. Everett has done that for the science of political economy, which its professors have too generally failed to do; he has shown the direct, immediate, indispensable application of its principles to the ordinary business of life. It will be well for those who have been led to regard this science as unsettled in its principles, and unsatisfactory in its results, to study the illustration which is here given of the importance of those principles, in relation equally to the individual, and to the society of which he is a member. Many of them may be surprised to find that what they have been in the habit of regarding as fraught with danger, or deserving only of reproach, is but the seeming evil from which good may be educed.

In the beginning of the address, the author declares its object to be the discussion of a few of the elementary topics connected with commerce; in reference to which, there are some prevailing errors, and on which it is important to form correct judgments. These topics are, accumulation, property, capital, and credit; and they are successively treated in a manner which would be spoiled by an attempt at abbreviation. Certain we are, that no reader will complain of the copiousness of our extracts.

I. Some attempts have been made of late years to institute a comparison between what have been called the producing and the accumulating classes, to the disadvantage of the latter. This view I regard as entirely erroneous. Accumulation is as necessary to farther production, as production is to accumulation; and especially is accumulation the basis of commerce. If every man produced, from day to day, just so much as was needed for the day's consumption, there would of course be nothing to exchange; in other words, there would be no commerce. Such a state of things implies the absence of all civilization. Some degree of accumulation was the dictate of the earliest necessity; the instinctive struggle of man to protect himself from the elements and from want. He soon found—such is the exuberance of nature, such the activity of her productive powers, and such the rapid development of human skill—that a vast deal more might be accumulated than was needed for bare subsistence.

This, however, alone, did not create commerce. If all men accumulated equally and accumulated the same things, there would still be no exchanges. But it soon appeared, in the progress of social man, that no two individuals had precisely the same tastes, powers, and skill. One excelled in one pursuit, one in another. One was more expert as a huntsman, another as a fisherman; and all found that, by making a busi-

ness of some one occupation, they attained a higher degree of excellence than was practicable, while each one endeavored to do every thing for himself. With this discovery, commerce began. The Indian, who has made two bows, or dressed two bearskins, exchanges one of them for a bundle of dried fish or a pair of snow-shoes. These exchanges between individuals extend to communities. The tribes on the sea-shore exchange the products of their fishing for the game or the horses of the plains and hills. Each barter what it has in excess, for that which it cannot so well produce itself, and which its neighbors possess in abundance. As individuals differ in their capacities, countries differ in soil and climate; and this difference leads to infinite variety of fabrics and productions, artificial and natural. Commerce perceives this diversity, and organizes a boundless system of exchanges, the object of which is to supply the greatest possible amount of want and desire, and to effect the widest possible diffusion of useful and convenient products. The extent to which this exchange of products is carried in highly-civilized countries, is truly wonderful. There are probably few individuals in this assembly who took their morning's meal this day, without the use of articles brought from almost every part of the world. The table on which it was served was made from a tree which grew on the Spanish Main or one of the West-India islands, and it was covered with a table-cloth from St. Petersburg or Archangel. The tea was from China; the coffee from Java; the sugar from Cuba or Louisiana; the silver spoons from Mexico or Peru; the cups and saucers from England or France. Each of these articles was purchased by an exchange of other products — the growth of our own or foreign countries — collected and distributed by a succession of voyages, often to the farthest corners of the globe. Without cultivating a rood of ground, we taste the richest fruits of every soil. Without stirring from our fireside, we collect on our tables the growth of every region. In the midst of winter, we are served with fruits that ripened in a tropical sun; and struggling monsters are dragged from the depths of the Pacific ocean to lighten our dwellings.

As all commerce rests upon accumulation, so the accumulation of every individual is made by the exchanges of commerce to benefit every other. Until he exchanges it, it is of no actual value to him. The tiller of a hundred fields can eat no more, the proprietor of a cloth factory can wear no more, and the owner of a coal mine can sit by no hotter a fire, than his neighbors. He must exchange his grain, his cloth, and his coal, for some articles of their production, or for money, which is the representative of all other articles, before his accumulation is of service to him. The system is one of mutual accommodation. No man can promote his own interest without promoting that of others. As in the system of the universe every particle of matter is attracted by every other particle, and it is not possible that a mote in a sunbeam should be displaced without producing an effect on the orbit of Saturn, so the minutest excess or defect in the supply of any one article of human want, produces an effect — though of course an insensible one — on the exchanges of all other articles. In this way, that Providence which educes the harmonious system of the heavens out of the adjusted motions and balanced masses of its shining orbs, with equal benevolence and care furnishes to the countless millions of the human family, through an interminable succession of exchanges, the supply of their diversified and innumerable wants.

II. In order to carry on this system of exchanges, it is necessary that the articles accumulated should be safe in the hands of their owners. The laws of society for the protection of property were founded upon the early and instinctive observation of this truth. It was perceived, in the dawn of civilization, that the only way in which man could elevate himself from barbarism, and maintain his elevation, was by being secured in the possession of that which he had saved from daily consumption, this being his resource for a time of sickness, for old age, and for the wants of those dependent upon him, as well as the fund out of which, by a system of mutually beneficial exchanges, each could contribute to the supply of the wants of his fellow-men. To strike at the principle which protects his earnings or his acquisitions, — to destroy the assurance that the field which he has enclosed and planted in his youth will remain for the support of his advanced years — that the portion of its fruits which he does not need for immediate consumption will remain a safe deposit, under the protection of the public peace — is to destroy the life-spring of civilization. The philosophy that denounces accumulation, is the philosophy of barbarism. It places man below the condition of most of the native tribes on this continent. No man will voluntarily sow that another may reap. You may place a man in a paradise of plenty on this condition, but its abundance will ripen and decay unheeded. At this moment, the fairest regions of the earth — Sicily, Turkey, Africa, the loveliest and most fertile portions of the East, the regions that, in ancient times, after feeding their own numerous and mighty cities, nourished Rome and her armies — are occupied by oppressed and needy races, whom all the smiles of heaven and the bounties of the earth cannot

tempt to strike a spade into the soil, farther than is requisite for a scanty supply of necessary food. On the contrary, establish the principle that property is safe, that a man is secure in the possession of his accumulated earnings, and he creates a paradise on a barren heath; alpine solitudes echo to the lowing of his herds; he builds up his dykes against the ocean, and cultivates a field beneath the level of its waves, and exposes his life fearlessly in sickly jungles and among ferocious savages. Establish the principle that his property is his own, and he seems almost willing to sport with its safety. He will trust it all in a single vessel, and stand calmly by while she unmoors for a voyage of circumnavigation around the globe. He knows that the sovereignty of his country accompanies it with a sort of earthly omnipresence, and guards it as vigilantly, in the loneliest island of the Antarctic sea, as though it were locked in his coffers at home. He is not afraid to send it out upon the common pathway of the ocean, for he knows that the sheltering wings of the law of nations will overshadow it there. He sleeps quietly, though all that he has is borne upon six inches of plank on the bosom of the unfathomed waters; for even if the tempest should bury it in the deep, he has assured himself against ruin, by the agency of those institutions which modern civilization has devised for the purpose of averaging the losses of individuals upon the mass.

III. It is usual to give the name of capital to those accumulations of property which are employed in carrying on the commercial, as well as the other business operations of the community. The remarks already made will enable us to judge, in some degree, of the reasonableness of those prejudices, which are occasionally awakened at the sound of this word. Capital is property which a man has acquired by his industry, or has, under the law of the land, become possessed of in some other way; and which is invested by him in that form, and employed in that manner, which best suit his education, ability, and taste. No particular amount of property constitutes capital. In a highly prosperous community, the capital of one man, like the late Baron Rothschild, at London, or of Stephen Girard, at Philadelphia, may amount to eight or ten millions; the capital of his neighbor may not exceed as many dollars. In fact, one of these two extraordinary men, and the father of the other, passed from one extreme to the other in this scale of prosperity; and the same law which protected their little pittance at the outset, protected the millions amassed by their perseverance, industry, and talent.

Considering capital as the mainspring of the business operations of civilized society — as that which, diffused in proportionate masses, is the material on which enterprise works, and with which industry performs its wonders, equally necessary and in the same way necessary for the construction of a row-boat and an Indiaman, a pair of shoes and a rail-road — I have been at some loss to account for the odium which at times has been attempted to be cast on capitalists, as a class; and particularly for the contrast in which capital has been placed with labor, to the advantageous employment of which it is absolutely essential.

I have supposed that some part of this prejudice may arise from the traditions of other times, and the institutions of other countries. The roots of opinion run deep into the past. The great mass of property in Europe, at the present day, even in England, is landed property. This property was much of it wrested from its original owners by the ancestors of its present possessors, who overran the countries with military violence, and despoiled the inhabitants of their possessions; or, still worse, compelled them to labor as slaves, on the land they had once owned and tilled as free men. It is impossible that an hereditary bitterness should not have sprung out of this relation, never to be mitigated, particularly where the political institutions of society remain upon a feudal basis. We know from history, that after the Norman invasion, the Saxon peasantry, reduced to slavery, were compelled to wear iron collars about their necks, like dogs, with the names of their masters inscribed upon them. At what subsequent period, from that time to this, has any thing occurred to alleviate the feelings growing out of these events? Such an origin of the great mass of the property, must place its proprietors in some such relation to the rest of the community, as that which exists between the Turks and Rayas, in the Ottoman empire, and may have contributed to produce an hereditary hostility on the part of the poor, toward the rich, among the thousands who know not, historically, the origin of the feeling.

It is obvious, that the origin of our political communities, and the organization of society among us, furnish no basis for a prejudice of this kind against capital. Wealth, in this country, may be traced back to industry and frugality; the paths which lead to it are open to all; the laws which protect it are equal to all; and such is the joint operation of the law and the customs of society, that the wheel of fortune is in constant revolution, and the poor in one generation furnish the rich of the next. The rich man, who treats poverty with arrogance and contempt, tramples upon the ashes of his father or his grandfather; the poor man, who nourishes feelings of unkindness

and bitterness against wealth, makes war with the prospects of his children, and the order of things in which he lives.

A moment's consideration will show the unreasonableness of a prejudice against capital, for it will show that it is the great instrument of the business movements of society. Without it, there can be no exercise on a large scale of the mechanic arts, no manufactures, no private improvements, no public enterprises of utility, no domestic exchanges, no foreign commerce. For all these purposes, a twofold use of capital is needed. It is necessary, that a great many persons should have a portion of capital; as, for instance, that the fisherman should have his boat; the husbandman, his farm, his buildings, his implements of husbandry, and his cattle; the mechanic, his shop, and his tools; the merchant, his stock in trade. But these small masses of capital are not alone sufficient for the highest degree of prosperity. Larger accumulations are wanted to keep the smaller capitals in steady movement, and to circulate their products. If manufactures are to flourish, a very great outlay in buildings, fixtures, machinery, and power, is necessary. If internal intercourse is to diffuse its inestimable moral, social, and economical blessings through the land, canals, rail-roads, and steam-boats, are to be constructed at vast expense. To effect these objects, capital must go forth like a mighty genius, bidding the mountains to bow their heads, and the valleys to rise, the crooked places to be straight, and the rough places plain. If agriculture is to be perfected, costly experiments in husbandry must be instituted by those who are able to advance, and can afford to lose the funds which are required for the purpose. Commerce, on a large scale, cannot flourish without resources adequate to the construction of large vessels, and their outfit for long voyages, and the exchange of valuable cargoes. The eyes of the civilized world are intently fixed upon the experiments now making to navigate the Atlantic by steam. It is said that the Great Western was built and fitted out at an expense of near half a million of dollars. The success of the experiment will be not more a triumph of genius and of art, than of capital. The first attempts at the whale-fishery, in Massachusetts, were made from the South Shore and the island of Nantucket, by persons who went out in small boats, killed their whale, and returned the same day. This limited plan of operations was suitable for the small demands of the infant population of New England. But the whales were soon driven from the coast; the population increased, and the demand for the product of the fisheries proportionably augmented. It became necessary to apply larger capitals to the business. Whale ships were now fitted out at considerable expense, which pursued this adventurous occupation from Greenland to Brazil. The enterprise thus manifested awoke the admiration of Europe, and is immortalized in the well known description by Burke. But the business has grown, until the ancient fishing grounds have become the first stations on a modern whaling voyage; and capitals are now required sufficient to fit out a vessel for an absence of forty months, and a voyage of circumnavigation. Fifty thousand dollars are invested in a single vessel; she doubles Cape Horn, ranges from New South Shetland to the coasts of Japan, cruises in unexplored latitudes, stops for refreshment at islands before undiscovered, and on the basis, perhaps, of the capital of an individual house, in New Bedford or Nantucket, performs an exploit which, sixty or seventy years ago, was thought a great object to be effected by the resources of the British government. In this branch of business, a capital of twelve or fifteen million dollars is invested. Its object is to furnish us a cheap and commodious light, for our winter evenings. The capitalist, it is true, desires an adequate interest on his investment; but he can only get this by selling his oil at a price at which the public are able and willing to buy it. The "overgrown capitalist," employed in this business, is an overgrown lamplighter. Before he can pocket his six per cent., he has trimmed the lamp of the cottager, who borrows an hour from evening to complete her day's labor, and has lighted the taper of the pale and thought-worn student, who is "outwatching the bear," over some ancient volume.

In like manner the other great investments of capital — whatever selfish objects their proprietors may have — must, before that object can be attained, have been the means of supplying the demand of the people for some great article of necessity, convenience, or indulgence. This remark applies peculiarly to manufactures carried on by machinery. A great capital is invested in this form, though mostly in small amounts. Its owners, no doubt, seek a profitable return; but this they can attain in no other way than by furnishing the community with a manufactured article of great and extensive use. Strike out of being the capital invested in manufactures, and you lay upon society the burden of doing by hand all the work which was done by steam and water, by fire and steel; or it must forego the use of the articles manufactured. Each result would in some measure be produced. A much smaller quantity of manufactured articles would be consumed, that is, the community would be deprived of comforts they

now enjoy; and those used would be produced at greater cost by manual labor. In other words, fewer people would be sustained, and those less comfortably and at greater expense. When we hear persons condemning accumulations of capital employed in manufactures, we cannot help saying to ourselves, is it possible that any rational man can desire to stop those busy wheels,—to paralyze those iron arms,—to arrest that falling stream, which works while it babbles? What is your object? Do you wish wholly to deprive society of the fruit of the industry of these inanimate but untiring laborers? Or do you wish to lay on aching human shoulders the burdens which are so lightly borne by these patient metallic giants? Look at Lowell. Behold the palaces of her industry side by side with her churches and her school-houses, the long lines of her shops and warehouses, her streets filled with the comfortable abodes of an enterprising, industrious, and intelligent population. See her fiery Samsons roaring along her railroad with thirty laden cars in their train. Look at her watery Goliaths, not wielding a weaver's beam like him of old, but giving motion to hundreds and thousands of spindles and looms. Twenty years ago, and two or three poor farms occupied the entire space within the boundaries of Lowell. Not more visibly, I had almost said not more rapidly, was the palace of Alladin, in the Arabian tales, constructed by the genius of the lamp, than this noble city of the arts has been built by the genius of capital. This capital, it is true, seeks a moderate interest on the investment; but it is by furnishing to all who desire it the cheapest garment ever worn by civilized man. To denounce the capital which has been the agent of this wonderful and beneficent creation,—to wage war with a system which has spread and is spreading plenty throughout the country, what is it but to play in real life the part of the malignant sorcerer in the same eastern tale, who, potent only for mischief, utters the baleful spell which breaks the charm, heaves the mighty pillars of the palace from their foundation, converts the fruitful gardens back to their native sterility, and heaps the abodes of life and happiness with silent and desolate ruins?

It is hardly possible to realize the effects on human comfort of the application of capital to the arts of life. We can fully do this, only by making some inquiry into the mode of living in civilized countries in the middle ages. The following brief notices, from Mr. Hallam's learned and judicious work, may give us some distinct ideas on the subject. Up to the time of Queen Elizabeth in England, the houses of the farmers in that country consisted of but one story and one room. They had no chimneys. The fire was kindled on a hearth of clay in the centre, and the smoke found its way out through an aperture in the roof, at the door, and the openings at the side for air and light. The domestic animals—even oxen—were received under the same roof with their owners. Glass windows were unknown, except in a few lordly mansions, and in them they were regarded as movable furniture. When the dukes of Northumberland left Alnwick castle to come to London for the winter, the few glass windows, which formed one of the luxuries of the castle, were carefully taken out and laid away, perhaps carried to London, to adorn the city residence. The walls of good houses were neither wainscoted nor plastered. In the houses of the nobility the nakedness of the walls was covered by hangings of coarse cloth. Beds were a rare luxury. A very wealthy individual would have one or two in his house: rugs and skins laid upon the floor were the substitute. Neither books nor pictures formed any part of the furniture of a dwelling in the middle ages; as printing and engraving were wholly unknown, and painting but little practised. A few inventories of furniture, dating from the fifteenth century, are preserved. They afford a striking evidence of the want of comfort and accommodation in articles accounted by us among the necessaries of life. In the schedule of the furniture of a Signor Contarini, a rich Venetian merchant living in London in 1481, no chairs nor looking-glasses are named. Carpets were unknown at the same period: their place was supplied by straw and rushes, even in the presence chamber of the sovereign. Skipton castle, the principal residence of the Earls of Cumberland, was deemed amply provided in having eight beds, but had neither chairs, glasses, nor carpets. The silver plate of Mr. Fermor, a wealthy country gentleman at Easton, in the sixteenth century, consisted of sixteen spoons, and a few goblets and ale-pots. Some valuations of stock-in-trade in England, from the beginning of the fourteenth century, have been preserved. A carpenter's consisted of five tools, the whole valued at a shilling; a tanner's, on the other hand, amounted to near ten pounds, ten times greater than any other,—tanners being at that period the principal tradesmen, as almost all articles of dress for men were made of leather.

We need but contrast the state of things in our own time with that which is indicated in these facts, to perceive the all-important influence on human comfort of the accumulation of capital, and its employment in the useful arts of life. As it is out of the question for the government to invest the public funds in the branches of industry

necessary to supply the customary wants of men, it follows that this must be done by private resources and enterprise. The necessary consequence is, that the large capital required for these operations must be furnished by the contributions of individuals, each possessing a portion of the stock, or by a single proprietor.

It is rather remarkable that the odium, of which all capital in large masses has sometimes been the subject, should be directed more against the former,—namely, joint-stock companies,—than against large individual capitals. This, however, appears to be the fact. Some attempts have been made to organize public sentiment against associated wealth, as it has been called, without reflecting, as it would seem, that these associations are the only means by which persons of moderate property are enabled to share the profits of large investments. Were it not for these associations in this country, no pursuit could be carried on, except those within the reach of individual resources; and none but very rich persons would be able to follow those branches of industry, which now diffuse their benefits among persons of moderate fortune. In which part of this alternative a conformity with the genius of our political institutions exists, need not be labored.

But whether the masses of capital necessary to carry on the great operations of trade, are derived from the association of several, or from the exclusive resources of one, it is plain that the interest of the capital, however formed, is identical with that of the community. Nobody hoards,—every thing is invested or employed, and, directly or indirectly, is the basis of business operations.

It is true that when one man uses the capital of another, he is expected to pay something for this privilege. But there is nothing unjust or unreasonable in this. It is inherent in the idea of property. It would not be property, if I could take it from you and use it as my own without compensation. That simple word, it is *mine*, carries with it the whole theory of property and its rights. If my neighbor has saved his earnings, and built him a house with it, and I ask his leave to go and live in it, I ought in justice to pay him for the use of his house. If, instead of using his money to build a house in which he permits me to live, he loans me his money, with which I build a house for myself, it is equally just that I should pay him for the use of his money. It is his, not mine. If he allows me to use the fruit of his labor or skill, I ought to pay him for that use, as I should pay him if he came and wrought for me with his hands. This is the whole doctrine of interest. In a prosperous community, capital can be made to produce a greater return than the rate of interest fixed by law. The merchant who employs the whole of his capital in his own enterprises, and takes all the profit to himself, is commonly regarded as a useful citizen; it would seem unreasonable to look with a prejudiced eye upon the capitalist, who allows all the profits of the business to accrue to others, asking only legal interest for his money, which they have employed.

Without, however, pursuing this comparison among different classes of capitalists, let us farther endeavor, by an example, to illustrate the question, whether they ought in any view to be regarded as exerting an unfriendly influence on the labors of the community. Take, for instance, such a case as Mr. Stephen Girard, a great capitalist, who united in his person the merchant and the banker, and who may be spoken of plainly, as he has passed away—the solitary man—and left no one to be grieved with the freedoms which are taken with his memory. This remarkable person began life without a farthing, and left behind him a property, whose actual value amounted to seven or eight millions of dollars, and this acquired in the latter half of his life. He told me himself, that at the age of forty, his circumstances were so narrow that he was employed as the commander of his own sloop, engaged in the coasting trade between New York or Philadelphia and New Orleans; adding that on a certain occasion, he was forty-five days in working his way up from the Balize to the city. Few persons, I believe, enjoyed less personal popularity in the community in which he lived, and to which he bequeathed his princely fortune. If this proceeded from defects of personal character, it is a topic which we have no occasion to discuss here. We are authorized only to speak of the effect upon the public welfare of the accumulation of such a fortune in one man's hands. While I am far from saying that it might not have been abused by being made the instrument of a corrupt and dangerous influence in the community, I have never heard that it was so abused by Mr. Girard; and, on general principles, it may perhaps be safely said, that the class of men qualified to amass large fortunes by perseverance and exclusive devotion to business, by frugality and thrift, are not at all likely to apply their wealth to ambitious or corrupt designs. As to the effect in all other points of view, I confess I see nothing but public benefit in such a capital, managed with unrelaxing economy; one half judiciously employed by the proprietor himself in commerce; the other half loaned to the business community. What better use could have been made of it? Will it be said, divide it equally

among the community; give each individual in the United States a share? It would have amounted to half a dollar each for man, woman, and child; and, of course, might as well have been sunk in the middle of the sea. Such a distribution would have been another name for annihilation. How many ships would have furled their sails, how many warehouses would have closed their shutters, how many wheels, heavily laden with the products of industry, would have stood still, how many families would have been reduced to want, and without any advantage resulting from the distribution!

Let me not be misunderstood. I regard equality of condition and fortune as the happiest state of society, and those political institutions as immeasurably the wisest and best, which tend to produce it. All laws which have for their object to perpetuate large estates, and transmit them from generation to generation, are at war with the constitution of man. Providence has written a statute of distributions on the face of nature and the heart of man; and whenever its provisions are contravened by political enactments, a righteous conjuration to subvert them springs up in the very elements of our being. My proposition is only, that, in a country like this, where the laws forbid hereditary transmission, and encourage equality of fortune, accumulations of capital, made by industry, enterprise, and prudence, employed in active investments, without ministering to extravagance and luxury, are beneficial to the public. Their possessor becomes, whether he wills it or not, the steward of others; not merely, as in Mr. Girard's case, because he may destine a colossal fortune after his decease for public objects, but because, while he lives, every dollar of it must be employed in giving life to industry, and employment to labor. Had Mr. Girard lived in a fashionable part of the city, in a magnificent house; had he surrounded himself with a troop of livered domestics; had he dazzled the passers-by with his splendid equipages, and spread a sumptuous table for his "dear five hundred friends," he would no doubt have been a more popular man. But in my apprehension he appears to far greater advantage, as a citizen and a patriot, in his modest dwelling and plain garb; appropriating to his personal wants the smallest pittance from his princely income; living to the last in the dark and narrow street in which he made his fortune, and when he died, bequeathing it for the education of orphan children. For the public, I do not know that he could have done better: of all the men in the world, he probably derived the least enjoyment from his property himself.

IV. I have left myself scarce any room to speak on the subject of credit. The legitimate province of credit is to facilitate and to diffuse the use of capital, and not to create it. I make this remark with care, because views prevail on this subject exaggerated and even false; which, carried into the banking system, have done infinite mischief. I have no wish whatever to depreciate the importance of credit. It has done wonders for this country. It has promoted public and private prosperity; built cities, cleared wildernesses, and bound the remotest parts of the continent together with chains of iron and gold. These are wonders, but not miracles; these effects have been produced not without causes. Trust and confidence are not gold and silver; they command capital, but they do not create it. A merchant in active business has a capital of twenty thousand dollars; his credit is good; he borrows as much more; but let him not think he has doubled his capital. He has done so only in a very limited sense. He doubles the sum on which for a time he trades; but he has to pay back the borrowed capital with interest; and that, whether his business has been prosperous or adverse. Still, I am not disposed to deny that, with extreme prudence and good management, the benefit to the individual of such an application of credit is great; and when individuals are benefitted, the public is benefitted. But no capital has been created. Nothing has been added to the pre-existing stock. It was in being—the fruit of former accumulation. If he had not borrowed it, it might have been used by its owner in some other way. What the public gains, is the superior activity that is given to business by bringing more persons, with a greater amount and variety of talent, into action.

These benefits, public and private, are not without some counterbalancing risks; and with the enterprising habits and ardent temperament of our countrymen, I should deem the formation of sound and sober views on the subject of credit, one of the most desirable portions of the young merchant's education. The eagerness to accumulate wealth by trading on credit is the disease of the age and country in which we live. Something of the solidity of our character and purity of our name has been sacrificed to it. Let us hope that the recent embarrassments of the commercial world will have a salutary influence in repressing this eagerness. The merchants of the country have covered themselves with lasting honor abroad, by the heroic fidelity with which they have, at vast sacrifices, fulfilled their obligations. Let us hope that hereafter they will keep themselves more beyond the reach of the fluctuations in business and the vicissitudes of affairs.

But it is time to close these general reflections. We live at a period when the commerce of the world seems touching a new era; a development of energies before unconceived. Columbus discovered a new continent; modern art has diminished by one half its distance from the old world. The application of steam to the navigation of the ocean seems about to put the finishing hand to that system of accelerated communication, which began with steamboats along the coast, and canals and railroads piercing the interior. The immediate effect of this improvement must be a vast increase of the intensity of international communication. The ultimate result can be but dimly foreseen. Let us trust that it will give renewed vigor to the march of civilization; that it will increase the comforts of those who now enjoy its blessings, — and extend these blessings to the forlorn children of the human family, who are at present deprived of them.

Whatever may take place in this respect; whether or not the navigation of the Atlantic ocean by steam vessels is to be generally adopted as the mode of communication, commerce, no doubt, in virtue of other causes of ascertained and unquestioned operation, is on the eve of acquiring an activity beyond all previous example. As in all former ages it has been one of the most powerful agents in shaping the destinies of the human race, it is unquestionably reserved for still higher functions. I confess, that I look myself for some great results, to be produced by the new forces in motion around us. When we contemplate the past, we see some of the most important phenomena in human history intimately — I had almost said mysteriously — connected with commerce. In the very dawn of civilization, the art of alphabetical writing sprang up among a commercial people. One can almost imagine that these wonderfully convenient elements were a kind of short-hand, which the Phœnician merchants, under the spur of necessity, contrived for keeping their accounts; for what could they have done with the hieroglyphics of the Egyptian priesthood, applied to the practical purposes of a commerce which extended over the known world, and of which we have preserved to us such a curious and instructive description by the prophet Ezekiel? A thousand years later, and the same commercial race among whom this sublime invention had its origin, performed a not less glorious part as the champions of freedom. When the Macedonian madman commenced his crusade against Asia, the Phœnicians opposed the only vigorous resistance to his march. The Tyrian merchants delayed him longer beneath the walls of their sea-girt city, than Darius' at the head of all the armies of the East. In the succeeding centuries, when the dynasties established by Alexander were crumbling, and the Romans in turn took up the march of universal conquest and dominion, the commercial city of Carthage, — the daughter of Tyre, — afforded the most efficient check to their progress. But there was nowhere sufficient security for property in the old world, to form the basis of a permanent commercial prosperity. In the middle ages, the iron-yoke of the feudal system was broken by commerce. The emancipation of Europe from the detestable sway of the barons, began with the privileges granted to the cities. The wealth acquired in commerce afforded the first counterpoise to that of the feudal chiefs who monopolized the land, and in the space of a century and a half, gave birth to a new civilization. In the west of Europe, the Hanse towns; in the east, the cities of Venice, Genoa, the ports of Sicily and Naples, Florence, Pisa, and Leghorn, begin to swarm with active crowds. The Mediterranean, deserted for nearly ten centuries, is covered with vessels. Merchants from the Adriatic explore the farthest east; silks, spices, gums, gold, are distributed from the Italian cities through Europe, and the dawn of a general revival breaks on the world. Nature, at this juncture, discloses another of those mighty mysteries, which man is permitted from age to age to read in her awful volume. As the fulness of time approaches for the new world to be found, it is discovered that a piece of steel may be so prepared, that it will point a steady index to the pole. After it had led the adventurers of Italy, Spain, and Portugal, to the utmost limits of the old world, — from Iceland to the South of Africa, — the immortal Discoverer, with the snows and the sorrows of near sixty years upon his head, but with the fire of immortal youth in his heart, placed himself under the guidance of the mysterious pilot, bravely followed its mute direction through the terrors and the dangers of the unknown sea, and called a new hemisphere into being.

It would be easy to connect with this discovery almost all the great events of modern history, and, still more, all the great movements of modern civilization. Even in the colonization of New-England, although more than almost any other human enterprise the offspring of the religious feeling, commercial adventure opened the way and furnished the means. As time rolled on, and events hastened to their consummation, commercial relations suggested the chief topics in the great controversy for liberty. The British Navigation Act was the original foundation of the colonial grievances. There was a constant struggle to break away from the limits of the monopoly imposed by

the mother country. The American navigators could find no walls nor barriers on the face of the deep, and they were determined that paper and parchment should not shut up what God had thrown open. The moment the war of independence was over, the commercial enterprise of the country went forth like an uncaged eagle, who, having beaten himself almost to madness against the bars of the prison, rushes out at length to his native element, and exults as he bathes his undazzled eye in the sunbeam, or pillows his breast upon the storm. Our merchants were far from contenting themselves with treading obsequiously in the footsteps even of the great commercial nation from which we are descended. Ten years had not elapsed from the close of the revolutionary war, before the infant commerce of America had struck out for herself a circuit in some respects broader and bolder than that of England. Besides penetrating the remotest haunts of the commerce heretofore carried on by the trading nations of Europe—the recesses of the Mediterranean, the Baltic, and the White seas—she displayed the stars and the stripes in distant oceans, where the Lion and the Lilies never floated. She not only engaged with spirit in the trade with Hindostan and China, which had been thought to be beyond the grasp of individual capital and enterprise, but she explored new markets on islands and coasts before unapproached by modern commerce.

Such was the instantaneous expansion of the youthful commerce of America. The belligerent condition of Europe for a time favored the enterprise of our merchants; wealth began to pour into their coffers; and they immediately took that place in the community to which events and the condition of the country called them. Independence found us, in a great measure, destitute of public establishments; the eyes of the people were unconsciously turned to the merchants, as the chief depositories of large masses of disposable wealth; and they promptly stood forth as public benefactors. It may certainly be said without adulation, that the merchants of Massachusetts have sustained this character as honorably as their fellow-citizens in any part of the Union. In all the great enterprises for public improvement, in all our establishments for religious, moral, literary, and charitable purposes, the genial patronage of commerce has been steadily felt. Our merchants have indeed been princes, in the pure and only republican sense of the word, in bestowing princely endowments on the public institutions; and to him who asks for the monuments of their liberality, we may say, as of the architect of St. Paul's, "Look around you." In every part of the old world, except England, the public establishments, the foundations for charity, education, and literary improvement, have been mostly endowed by the sovereign; and costly private edifices are generally the monuments of an opulence which had its origin in feudal inequality. If displays of wealth are witnessed in our cities, it is wealth originally obtained by frugality and enterprise; and of which a handsome share has been appropriated to the endowment of those charitable and philanthropic institutions, which are the distinguishing glory of modern times.

The address closes with a series of brilliant and beautiful sketches of the city of Boston, at three different periods of its history, drawn with a graphic power, of which few such examples are elsewhere to be found. It is a reviving spectacle, to see men of distinguished ability turn aside, for a moment, from the arduous engagements of political life, to devote their powers to the task of instructing and improving others; and the portion of this address which we have cited, will abundantly show, that this task has been, in the present instance, executed with admirable talent and success.

ART. IV.—"COMMERCIAL TRAVELLERS."

Not an uninteresting feature of the internal traffic of Great Britain, is the system commonly styled commercial travelling. This institution, though now in its wane, is still exercised to a very considerable extent throughout the United Kingdom. Almost every commercial house there, of any note, employs one or more agents, whose business it is to travel about the country and procure custom for their principals. The commercial traveller, (as the agent is denominated,) is generally a young and very shrewd individual, possessing great suavity of manner, and a re-

markable ability to suit himself readily to all the varied moods of his very various customers. Furnished by his principals with choice samples of their goods, he steps into his chaise or the stage, and with a light heart commences his circuit. It is not considered unusual if nearly a year elapses before he returns to his employers. At each town upon his route, he tarries at the principal inn, where he is sure to find a hearty welcome. After thus ensconcing himself in comfortable quarters, he arranges his samples, and, if it be forenoon, puts them under his arm and issues forth to visit the shopkeepers in the place. Wherever he goes, he is met with cordiality. Like all travellers, he is full of anecdote, and has at his command the rarest news of the time. None are more glad to see him than the shopkeepers' wives and daughters. To these he imparts the most recent scandal and the latest fashions, and affords them subjects for gossip until his next visit to the town. To the tradesman he lauds his samples with all the eloquence and ingenuity of which he is capable, and seldom leaves them without making considerable bargains in behalf of his principals. He then collects moneys due on former purchases, and, if in convenient shape, forwards the funds, together with his customers' orders for goods, by mail, to his employers.

Nearly the whole of the country trade is managed by the commercial travellers. Each has his list of customers, who recognise his house only in him. Of them his *principals* are comparatively ignorant. To the discretion of the agent, it is left to determine who shall have credit, and to what amount that credit shall extend. By personal acquaintance with the men with whom he has to deal, and knowing how they stand in their own community, the agent is enabled to do a safer business for his employers than they could by *correspondence*, as practised in the United States. We, here, do business very loosely in this regard. It is not unfrequent that simple orders on our Northern merchants, from persons at the West, for goods on long credit, are duly honored, and this without the sellers having any security whatever of the ability and good faith of the purchasers. Some chances and risks are necessarily consequent on trade, but this hap-hazard manner of giving credit tends to characterize trading as a species of gambling. It may, with truth, be said, that such gross carelessness does not prevail to an extent that would warrant its being called a *characteristic* of American trade; still it is a *trait*, and one that should be eradicated. Actual recklessness in giving credit is not a common fault with us, but a lack of due carefulness certainly is. It should be amended, if we would secure entire stability to the credit system. The error, trivial as it may be considered by some, is a weapon in the hands of those who are opposed to this best principle of commerce. Let us not put arms into the hands of our opponents. In lauding the observance of caution in giving credit, I do not wish to be misunderstood. Caution too often grows into cowardice. I have seen retailers refused credit by wholesale merchants, because they possessed but little *capital*. The best reputation for business-tact, industry and integrity, (a capital more to be esteemed than one of dollars,) availed them nothing. This fault is to be deprecated quite as much as the other. Honesty and close application to business is, in the aggregate, better surety for the debtor's faithful discharge of the claims of the creditor, than any capital can be.

This is a trifling digression, natural enough, but not to be persisted in. To return to our subject. As Commercial Travelling has its benefits, so also has it its evils; and if its merits and demerits are weighed against each other, the first will kick the beam. In the first place, it may be urged,

that it is not legitimately the province of the seller to carry his shop to the buyer; (as in truth he does when he sends to him his salesman and partners.) It is reversing the natural order of things. It tends to demean the seller, and to create an inequality between the parties, honorable to neither.

Another objection to this description of agency is, that it invests the agents with undue control. The principals are necessarily obliged to give them free rein, and cannot always check them at discretion. Every travelling agent holds no inconsiderable portion of the funds, as well as the credit and reputation of his house, at his beck, and his slightest dereliction from the duty which he owes it, must, of course, influence all these unfavorably. As before stated, the customers know his house only in him, and it would require but little adroitness, on his part, to transfer their patronage wherever he listed. This influence is oftentimes abused. The natural, respective powers of principal and agent are confounded, and it is too often the case that the latter is dictator to the former. It is unnecessary to cite other objections to this description of trade, as it must be evident already, that it is a departure from the natural course. It is a diverticle, too, which is injurious to the character of commerce; tending, as it does, to debase it to the same estimation in which it was held in the feudal ages, and to render the name of merchant and trader synonymous with terms of contempt. In nowise can it be sanctioned by a clear-headed policy, and now that the communication between town and city is made so easy by the means of steam, there is no reason why it should not fall into entire disuse.

Notwithstanding this unfavorable opinion of commercial travelling, it is not the purpose of the writer to decry the gentlemen who are the agents. He could not do so with any justice. With a few exceptions, they are an intelligent, conscientious, whole-souled company. Generous, convivial, and full of anecdote, the mercantile agent is a good companion, and his conversation never fails to make glad and jocund the society of that otherwise dullest of places, an English stage-coach. In his continuous journeying about the country, he has mixed with all classes, and gleaned information of varied kind—humorous and grave, light and substantial. His temperament is mercurial, and he readily adapts himself to the company which he is in; but if there be one place at which he feels more at home than another, that place is at the dinner-table, where he meets his professional fellows. There are generally as many as five or six, and sometimes more than twice that number, of commercial travellers, in every town, tarrying only so long a time as will suffice them to accomplish their business there. These stop at the same inn, and eat together in a room apart from the ordinary. As the forenoon is devoted exclusively to business, they take their ease after dinner, and linger over their wine. In the evening, some of their customers drop in, a circle is formed, and the waning hours are forgotten in the recital of story and anecdote, the cracking of brittle jests, and the enjoyment of good wine and cigars. As none are more cordially received than the mercantile agents, so are there none who travel with more security. They frequently have considerable sums of money about them when journeying, but instances of robbery being committed upon them are very rare; and this in a country where highwaymen have enacted so many feats, admits of some surprise.

One of the very few cases of such felonious depredation, that have come to my knowledge, is one in which a Mr. D——, an agent for a large house in London, connected with the coffee-trade, was the sufferer. The affair was managed very ingeniously on the part of the robber, and is deserving of a brief relation.

One cold night, in the January of 1816, the hospitably huge fire-place of the best room of the best inn in——, was surrounded by a jovial company, composed of commercial travellers and their customers of the town. The air of solid comfort which pervaded the scene was heightened by its contrast with the cheerless aspect of the weather without, and the complacent manner with which each guest quaffed from his mug of flip, and gave a bland reflection to his neighbor's smile, told that the pleasantness of the situation was not unappreciated. All were overflowing with jest and story, but the most amusing member of the party was a gentlemanly-looking person, rather smaller than the common size of men, and frank and open in his address. He gave his name as Morris, and (from remarks thrown out, as if casually, by himself, and from that fact alone, for of those present not one had ever seen him previous to that time) he was supposed to be the agent of a new Liverpool house. There was a rich, racy humor, and a power of imitation and description, about the man, allied to a knowledge of the light and dark spots in human nature, which lent to the stories that he told a fascination winning entire attention. Identifying himself for the moment with the character whose deeds and words he was narrating, he would seem at times the artless Scotch lassie, the Yorkshire lout, the rude sailor, the querulous beldame, and the blundering Irishman, &c., changing from one to another with a chameleon-like facility; but his *chef d'œuvre*, in this kind of narration, was a story of a finished freebooter, who accomplished much in his line of business, by first insinuating himself into the confidence of his intended victims in the guise of a gentleman. His personation of the easy impudence of the gentlemen of the road, was characteristic and excellent. When he had concluded, however, his "freebooter" was good-humoredly criticised by the Mr. D——, (before alluded to,) whose flip had made him flippant. He insisted that Morris had made but a "tame bird" of his hero, instead of a "roystering, rough-handed, ribald rogue," as in nature, and swore with a laugh that he could enact the highwayman better himself. Morris rejoined, in the same good-natured way, that were it not so late, and the calls of Somnus less inviting, he would try a little competition of the kind with him, and let the company then present decide which was the better of the two. However, he professed to think that an opportunity might yet occur, as they should probably meet again on the road at some time or another. The company laughed heartily at the joke, and drinking sundry parting toasts, each of which were denominated, as they were given, the *very* last, retired for the night. Mr. D—— was fain to maintain his equilibrium by accepting the arm of Morris to his bed-room. Before he bade the latter a good night, he had, in drunken bravado, defied all the highwaymen in christendom, and in confidence pointed out to his new friend a secret pocket in his coat, containing a brace of small pistols loaded, and a considerable amount of money in gold. In the morning, several of the travellers departed in their own vehicles. Mr. D—— was to take a seat in a stage, but being invited by Morris to take a seat in his chaise, concluded to go with him, as their routes were alike. During the ride of the first few miles, D——'s good opinion of his companion suffered no diminution, but it immediately fell below *par*, when, in a lonesome part of the road, Morris presented a pistol in juxtaposition with his head, and begged leave to borrow the funds then in his possession. The altered mien and determined look of the man, as well as his own instinctive assurance that he was in earnest, left no doubt in the mind of the poor agent of the other's character. He determined, however, not to comply with the rascal's request, without

an effort to save his money for loans more *profitable*. With the pretence of producing the desired funds, he seized one of his pistols from his pocket, and snapped it at the head of the robber. It flashed, but did not explode. The quondam Morris laughed, and mockingly remarked, as the other grasped at the remaining weapon, that he was obliged to him, but he was sufficiently helped, and that the contents of his *pocket* would be equally acceptable, and much more effective, than those of his pistols, inasmuch as the last were *empty*; which was not the case with the pocket, it being well charged with gold. He explained the failure of the weapons to discharge, by saying that lest accident should befall the esteemed friend, whom he had the pleasure of addressing, he had availed himself of the information given him on the evening previous, and *drawn* the *charges* from both of the pocket pistols. In effecting this friendly measure, he had noticed, with great satisfaction, that his friend had the wherewithal to make him the loan, which he now desired receiving without delay. As his fingers, he said, were rather tremulous, and the *persuader*, into the muzzle of which his esteemed friend did him the honor to blink, had a hair-trigger, he begged leave respectfully to suggest the expediency of a speedy delivery of all his funds. Mr. D—— cursed the other's impudence, and with an ill grace gave up his money. He also handed his watch to the robber, but it was returned to him, with a petition that he would keep it in remembrance of the "tame bird." The poor, plucked agent remembered his boasting of the previous evening, and ground his teeth with vexation. After he had alighted from the chaise, he was asked by his *eccentric* acquaintance, whether or not he thought it would be necessary to find *referees* to decide which was the better highwayman of the two. Before he could answer, the robber was driving at a rapid rate towards the London road, and he was left to pursue his journey on foot. It is needless to state, that poor D—— never again sought to rival a freebooter.

ART. V.—NATHANIEL BOWDITCH.*

OF all the various branches of intellectual pursuit, that science which explains the system of the universe, and reveals the mechanism of the heavens, must always take the lead as the most sublime and marvellous; and the foremost and most successful cultivators of this science will always be classed among the greatest of men. What, indeed, can be more astonishing, than that a being like one of us, endowed apparently with no higher or different powers, should be able to obtain so minute and accurate a knowledge of those distant planets, and be as well acquainted with their constitution, elements, and laws, as the geologist, the chemist, the botanist, with the appropriate objects of their sciences? Nothing gives us so exalted an idea of the power of man, and the extent and reach of his capacities, as his ability to calculate, with unerring precision, the distances of those twinkling orbs, to determine their figures, magnitudes, and velocities, to measure their weight, estimate their relative attractions and disturbing forces, delineate their orbits, register their laws of motion, fix the times of their revolution, and predict the periods

* This brief sketch has been condensed from the Rev. ALEXANDER YOUNG'S excellent Discourse on the Life and Character of Dr. Bowditch.

of their return. To a common mind, uninstructed in the science, there is nothing that appears so much like divine wisdom. A Galileo, a Kepler, a Newton, seem to him to belong to another race, a higher order of beings. They appear to possess some additional faculties.

Nothing can be more certain than the doctrines of astronomy. They rest on impregnable foundations, on the demonstrations of mathematical evidence, than which nothing, except the evidence of consciousness, can be more satisfactory and conclusive. It was a science that early engaged the notice of men, and, to its honor be it spoken, it has always exerted a purifying and elevating influence on its votaries. Indeed, how could it be otherwise? Who can look upon those brilliant points, and not fancy them the spangled pavement of a divine abode? There is virtue as well as poetry and philosophy in them. They shed down a healing and restorative influence upon their worshippers. They are the symbols of endurance and perpetuity.

Death has recently deprived our country of one of its noblest ornaments; one who confessedly stood at the head of the scientific men of this western continent. His position as a public man, the various posts and offices he filled, and especially the value of his works to the advancement of science, the improvement of navigation, and the security of commercial enterprises, justify the notice which we now propose to take of his life and character. There was much in that life instructive and encouraging, particularly to the young, the friendless, the poor. There was much in that character worthy of eulogy and imitation.

NATHANIEL BOWDITCH was born at Salem, Massachusetts, on the 26th day of March, 1773. He was the fourth child of Habakkuk and Mary Ingersoll Bowditch. His ancestors, for three generations, had been ship-masters, and his father, on retiring from that perilous mode of hard industry, resumed his original trade of a cooper, by which he gained a scanty and precarious subsistence for a family of seven children.

When Nathaniel was two or three years old, his father's family removed to the neighboring town of Danvers, where he attended a dame's school, and acquired the first simple elements of learning. Even at this early period, he was observed to manifest those peculiar powers and traits of character, by which, in after life, he was distinguished. The sisters of his schoolmistress, who are still living, speak of him as "a likely, clever, thoughtful boy, who learnt amazing fast, because his mind was fully given to it; learning came natural to him."

After leaving the dame's school, the only other instruction he ever received was obtained at the common schools of his native town, which were wholly inadequate to furnish even the groundwork of a respectable education. We have heard it stated, on the authority of one of his school-fellows, that the master of one of these schools gave young Bowditch, when he was about seven or eight years old, a very difficult sum in arithmetic to perform. His scholar went to his desk, and soon afterwards brought up his slate with the question solved. The master, surprised at the suddenness of his return, asked him who had been doing the sum for him; and on his answering, "nobody—I did it myself," he was disposed to give him a severe chastisement for *lying*, not believing it possible that he could, of himself, without any assistance, perform so difficult a question. This indignity, however, he escaped by the interposition of his elder brother.

But the advantages of school, such as they were, he was obliged to forego at the early age of ten years, "his poverty, and not his will, consenting," that he might go into his father's shop and help to support the family.

He was soon, however, transferred as an apprentice to a ship-chandler, and afterwards became a clerk in a large establishment of the same kind, where he continued until he went to sea, first as clerk, afterwards as supercargo, and finally as master and supercargo jointly. It was whilst he was an apprentice in the ship-chandler's shop, that he first manifested that strong bent, or what is commonly called an original genius, for mathematical pursuits. Every moment that he could snatch from the counter, was given to the slate. An old gentleman, who used frequently to visit the shop, said to his wife, one day, on returning home, "I never go into that shop but I see that boy ciphering and figuring away on his slate, as if his very life depended upon it; and if he goes on at this rate, as he has begun, I should not at all wonder if, at last, in the course of time, he should get to be an almanac-maker!"—this being, in his view, the summit of mathematical attainment. This expectation was speedily fulfilled; for in the year 1788, when he was only fifteen years old, he actually made an almanac for the year 1790, containing all the usual tables, calculations of the eclipses, and even the customary predictions of the weather.

From his earliest years, he seems to have had an ardent love of reading, and he has been heard to say that, even when quite young, he read through the whole of Chambers's Encyclopedia, in two large folio volumes, without omitting a single article.

It was my good fortune, says Mr. Young, some years since, in one of those familiar interviews with him in his own house with which I was favored, to hear him narrate, in detail, a history of his early life; and I remember, very distinctly, his relating the circumstance which led him to take an interest in the higher branches of mathematical science. He told me, that in the year 1787, when he was fourteen years old, his elder brother, who followed the sea, and was attending an evening school for the purpose of learning navigation, on returning home one evening, informed him that the master had got a new way of doing sums and working questions; for, instead of the figures commonly used in arithmetic, he employed the letters of the alphabet. This novelty excited his curiosity, and he questioned his brother very closely about the matter; who, however, did not seem to understand much about the process, and could not tell how the thing was done. But the master, he said, had a book which told all about it. This served to inflame his curiosity; and he asked his brother whether he could not borrow the book of the master and bring it home, so that he might get a sight at it. (It should be remembered, that, at this time, mathematical books of all sorts were scarce in this country. In the present multitude of elementary works on the subject, we can hardly conceive of the dearth that then prevailed.) The book was obtained. It was the first glance he had ever had at algebra. "And that night," said he, "I did not close my eyes." He read it, and read it again, and mastered its contents, and copied it out from beginning to end. Subsequently he got hold of a volume of the Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London, which he treated pretty much in the same summary way, making a very full and minute abstract of all the mathematical papers contained in it; and this course he pursued with the whole of that voluminous work. He was too poor at this time to purchase books, and this was the only mode of getting at their results, and having them constantly at hand for consultation. These manuscripts, written in his small, neat hand, and filling several folio and quarto volumes, are now in his library, and, in my opinion, are the most curious and precious part of that large and valuable collection.

He began the study of the Latin language, by himself, Jan. 4, 1790, when he was seventeen years old. The first Latin book that he undertook to read, was Euclid's Geometry. He afterwards read, and made a complete translation, of Newton's Principia; and subsequently acquired the French, Spanish, German, and Italian languages.

On the 11th of January, 1795, at the age of twenty-two, he sailed on his first voyage as captain's clerk, though nominally second mate of the ship; and continued to follow the sea for nine years, in the capacity of supercargo and captain, till December 25, 1803; making, in all, five voyages, four of which were to the East Indies. On his second voyage, the ship touched at Madeira, where the captain and supercargo were very politely received by Mr. Pintard, the American consul there, to whose house the ship was consigned, and were frequently invited to dine with his family. Mrs. Pintard had heard from another American shipmaster that the young supercargo was "a great calculator," and she felt a curiosity to test his capacities. Accordingly, she said to him one day at dinner, "Mr. Bowditch, I have a question which I should like to have you answer. Some years since," naming the time, "I received a legacy in Ireland. The money was there invested, and remained some time on interest; the amount was subsequently remitted to England, where the interest likewise accumulated; and lately the whole amount has been remitted to me here. What sum ought I to receive?" She of course mentioned the precise dates of the several remittances, as she went along. Mr. Bowditch laid down his knife and fork, said it was a little difficult, on account of the difference of currency and the number of the remittances; but squeezing the tips of his fingers, he said, in about two minutes, "The sum you should receive is £843 15s. 6½d." "Well, Mr. Clerk," said Mrs. Pintard to the head clerk of the house, an elderly person, who was esteemed a very skilful accountant, "you have been figuring it out for me on paper; has he got it right?" "Yes, Madam," said the clerk, taking his long calculation out of his pocket, "he has got it exactly. And I venture to say, that there is not another man on the island that can do it in two hours."

In the course of these voyages, it was Mr. Bowditch's practice to interest himself in all the sailors on board, and to take pains to instruct all who could read and write, in the principles of navigation; and he never appeared so happy as when he could inspire the sailor with a proper sense of his individual importance, and of the talents he possessed, and might call into action. In this he was remarkably successful; and at Salem, it was considered the highest recommendation of a seaman, that he had sailed in the same ship with Mr. Bowditch, and this fact alone was often sufficient to procure for him an officer's berth.

The quiet and leisure of the long East India voyages, when the ship was lazily sweeping along under the steady impulse of the trade-winds, afforded him fine opportunities for pursuing his mathematical studies, as well as for indulging his taste for general literature. What he once learned he ever afterwards remembered; and it may be mentioned as an instance of the singular tenacity of his memory, that on reading Mr. Prescott's splendid History of the Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, he remarked, that many of the incidents in it were quite familiar to him, he having once read the great work of Mariana on the History of Spain, in the original language, in the course of one of his voyages. The French mathematician, Lacroix, acknowledged to a young American, that he

was indebted to Mr. Bowditch for communicating many errors in his works, which he had discovered in these same long India voyages.

On the day previous to his sailing on his fourth voyage, in 1799, he was called on by Mr. Edward M. Blunt, then a noted publisher of charts and nautical books at Newburyport, and was requested by him to continue the corrections which he had previously commenced on John Hamilton Moore's book on navigation, then in common use on board our vessels. This he consented to do; and in performance of his promise he detected such a multitude of errors, that it led to the construction of "The New American Practical Navigator," the first edition of which he issued in the year 1807; a work abounding with the actual results of his own experience, and containing simpler and more expeditious formulas for working the nautical problems. This work has been of immense service to the nautical and commercial interests of this country. Had Dr. Bowditch never done any thing else, he would still, by this single act, have conferred a lasting obligation upon his native land. Just consider the simple fact, that every vessel that sails from the ports of the United States, from Eastport to New Orleans, is navigated by the rules and tables of his book. And this has been the case nearly ever since its publication, thirty-seven years ago. It is, we are informed, extensively used in the British and French navies. Notwithstanding the competition of other English and American works on the subject, the "Practical Navigator" has never been superseded. It has kept pace with the progress of nautical science, and incorporated all its successive discoveries and results; and the last edition, published in 1837, contains new tables and other improvements, which will probably secure its undivided use by our seamen for years to come.

The extraordinary mathematical attainments of the young sailor soon became known, and secured to him the notice of our most distinguished men, and likewise the deserved, yet wholly unexpected, honors of the first literary institution in the land. In the summer of 1802, his ship lying wind-bound in Boston harbor, he went out to Cambridge to attend the exercises of Commencement Day; and whilst standing in one of the aisles of the church, as the President was announcing the honorary degrees conferred that day, his attention was aroused by hearing his own name called out as a Master of Arts. The annunciation took him wholly by surprise. He has been heard to say, that that was the proudest day of his life; and that of all the distinctions which he subsequently received from numerous learned and scientific bodies, at home and abroad, (among which may be mentioned his election as a Foreign Member of the Royal Society of London,) there was not one which afforded him half the pleasure, or which he prized half so highly, as this degree from Harvard. It was, indeed, his first honor, his earliest distinction; it was not only kindly meant, but timely done; and it no doubt stimulated him to perseverance in his scientific pursuits.

In the year 1806, Mr. Bowditch published his accurate and beautiful chart of the harbors of Salem, Beverly, Marblehead, and Manchester, the survey of which had occupied him during the summers of the three preceding years. So minutely accurate was this chart, that the old pilots said he had found out all their professional secrets, and had put on paper points and bearings which they thought were known only to themselves.

On quitting the sea, in 1803, he became the President of a Marine Insurance Company in Salem, the duties of which he continued to dis-

charge till the year 1823, when, on the establishment of the Massachusetts Hospital Life Insurance Company, he was elected to the office of Actuary, being considered the person best qualified for this highly responsible station, from his habits of accurate calculation and rigid method, and his inflexible integrity. Immediately on accepting the office, he removed to Boston, at the age of fifty, and there spent the last fifteen years of his life. It scarcely needs to be stated that he discharged the duties of his high trust with the greatest fidelity and skill, and to the entire satisfaction of the Company. He managed its affairs with the greatest ease, although it was the largest moneyed institution in New-England, having a capital equal to ten common banks, and usually having a loan out of upwards of six millions of dollars.

Dr. Bowditch's fame, as a man of science, rests on his Translation and Commentary on the great work of the French astronomer, La Place, entitled "*Mécanique Céleste*," in which that illustrious man undertakes to explain the whole mechanism of our solar system; to account, on mathematical principles, for all its phenomena, and to reduce all the anomalies in the apparent motions and figures of the planetary bodies to certain definite laws. It is a work of great genius and immense depth, and exceedingly difficult to be comprehended. This arises not merely from the intrinsic difficulty of the subject, and the medium of proof employed being the higher branches of the mathematics,—but chiefly from the circumstance that the author, taking it for granted that the subject would be as plain and easy to others as to himself, very often omits the intermediate steps and connecting links in his demonstration. He jumps over the interval, and grasps the conclusion as by intuition. Dr. Bowditch used to say, "I never come across one of La Place's '*Thus it plainly appears*,' without feeling sure that I have got hours of hard study before me to fill up the chasm, and find out and show *how* it plainly appears." It was in the year 1815, at Salem, that he began this herculean task, and finished it in two years. The Commentary, which exceeds the original in extent, kept pace with the Translation; but whilst the publication was in hand, his alterations and additions were so numerous, that it might almost be considered a new draft of the work.

Let it not be said, in disparagement of the labors of Dr. Bowditch, that this was not an original work, but merely a translation. Suppose that it had been so. What then? Was it not still a benefaction to this country and to Great Britain, thus to bring it within the reach and compass of the American and English mind? It is truly said by an old writer, "So well is he worthy of perpetual fame that bringeth a good work to light, as is he that first did make it, and ought always to be reckoned the second father thereof." But the fact is, it is more than half an original commentary and exposition, simplifying and elucidating what was before complex and obscure, supplying omissions and deficiencies, fortifying the positions with new proofs, and giving additional weight and efficiency to the old ones; and, above all, recording and digesting the subsequent discoveries and improvements, and bringing down the science to the present time. I have heard it said that La Place, to whom Dr. Bowditch sent a list of errors which he had detected, once remarked, "I am sure that Dr. Bowditch comprehends my work, for he has not only detected my errors, but has also shown me how I came to fall into them."

The first volume of the work was published in the year 1829, the second in 1832, and the third in 1834, each volume containing about a

thousand quarto pages. The fourth volume was nearly completed at the time of his decease. He persevered to the last in his labors upon it, preparing the copy and reading the proof-sheets in the intervals when he was free from pain. The last time I saw him, says Mr. Young, a few days previous to his death, a proof-sheet was lying on his table, which he said he hoped to be able to read over and correct.

The publication of the book proved, as he anticipated, a very expensive undertaking, it being one of the largest works and most difficult of execution ever printed in this country, and at the same time one of the most beautiful specimens of typography. Although it met with more purchasers than the author ever expected, still the cost was a heavy draught on his income, and an encroachment on his little property. Yet it was cheerfully paid; and besides that, he gladly devoted his time, his talents, and may I not add, his health and his life, to the cause of science and the honor of his native land. That work is his monument. He needs no other.

In delineating the character of Dr. Bowditch, it deserves to be mentioned, first of all, that he was eminently a self-taught and self-made man. He was the instructor of his own mind, and the builder up of his own fame and fortunes. Whatever knowledge he possessed,—and we have seen that it was very great,—was of his own acquiring, the fruit of his solitary studies, with but little, if any, assistance from abroad. Whatever eminence he reached, in science or in life, was the product of his untiring application and unremitting toil. From his youth up, he was a pattern of industry, enterprise, and perseverance, suffering no difficulties to discourage, no disappointments to dishearten him.

Dr. Bowditch combined, in a very remarkable degree, qualities and habits of mind, which are usually considered incompatible and hostile. He was a contemplative, recluse student, and, at the same time, an active public man. He lived habitually among the stars, and yet, I doubt not, he seemed to many never to raise his eyes from the earth. He was a profound philosopher, and, at the same time, a shrewd practical man, and one of the most skilful of financiers. Judging from his published works, you would suppose that he could have no taste nor time for business of the world; and judging from the large concerns which he managed, and the vast funds of which he had the supervision,—involving the most complex calculations, and the most minute details,—you would say that he could have no taste nor time for study. His example is a conclusive proof and striking illustration of the fact, that there is no inherent, essential, necessary incompatibility between speculation and practice—that there need be no divorce between philosophy and business. The man most deeply engaged in affairs, need not be cut off from the higher pursuits of intellectual culture; and the scholar need not be incapacitated by his studies from understanding and engaging in the practical details of common life. In fact, they should be blended, in order to make up the full, complete man.

Dr. Bowditch was a remarkably domestic man. His affections clustered around his own fireside, and found their most delightful exercise in his own family. His attachment to home, and to its calm and simple pleasures, was, indeed, one of the most beautiful traits in his character. As Sir Thomas More says of himself, “he devoted the little time which he could spare from his avocations abroad, to his family, and spent it in little innocent and endearing conversations, with his wife and children; which, though some might think them trifling amusements, he placed

among the necessary duties and business of life; it being incumbent on every one to make himself as agreeable as possible to those whom nature has made, or he himself has singled out for, his companions in life."

His time was divided between his office and his house; and that must have been a strong attraction that could draw him into company. When at home, his time was spent in his library, which he loved to have considered as the family parlor. By very early rising, in winter two hours before the light, "long ere the sound of any bell awoke men to labor or to devotion," and in summer, like Milton, "as oft with the bird that first rouses, or not much tardier," he was enabled to accomplish much before others were stirring. "To these morning studies," he used to say, "I am indebted for all my mathematics." After taking his evening walk, he was again always to be found in the library, pursuing the same attractive studies, but ready and glad, at the entrance of any visiter, to throw aside his book, unbend his mind, and indulge in all the gayeties of a light-hearted conversation.

There was nothing that he seemed to enjoy more than this free interchange of thought on all subjects of common interest. At such times, the mathematician, the astronomer, the man of science, disappeared, and he presented himself as the frank, easy, familiar friend. One could hardly believe that this agreeable, fascinating companion, who talked so affably and pleasantly on all the topics of the day, and joined so heartily in the quiet mirth and the loud laugh, could really be the great mathematician who had expounded the mechanism of the heavens, and taken his place, with Newton, and Leibnitz, and La Place, among the great proficient in exact science. To hear him talk, you would never have suspected that he knew any thing about science, or cared any thing about it. In this respect, he resembled his great Scottish contemporary, who has delighted the whole world by his writings. You might have visited him in that library from one year's end to another, and yet, if you or some other visiter did not introduce the subject, I venture to say that not one word on mathematics would have crossed his lips. He had no pedantry of any kind. Never did I meet with a scientific or literary man so entirely devoid of cant and pretension. In conversation, he had the simplicity and playfulness and unaffected manners of a child. His own remarks seemed rather to escape from his mind, than to be produced by it. He laughed heartily, and rubbed his hands, and jumped up, when an observation was made that greatly pleased him, because it was natural for him so to do, and he had never been schooled into the conventional proprieties of artificial life, nor been accustomed to conceal or stifle any of the innocent impulses of his nature.

Who that once enjoyed the privilege of visiting him in that library, can ever forget the scene? Methinks I see him now, in my mind's eye, the venerable man, sitting there close by his old-fashioned blazing wood fire, bending over his favorite little desk, looking like one of the old philosophers, with his silvery hair, and noble forehead, and beaming eye, and benign countenance; whilst all around him are ranged the depositories of the wisdom and science of departed sages and philosophers, who seem to look down upon him benignantly from their quiet places, and spontaneously and silently to give forth to him their instructions. On entering this, the noblest repository of scientific works in the country, I almost fancy I hear him saying with Heinsius, the keeper of the library at Leyden, "I no sooner come into my library, than I bolt the door after me,

excluding ambition, avarice, and all such vices; and, in the very lap of eternity, amidst so many divine souls, I take my seat with so lofty a spirit, and such sweet content, that I pity all the great and rich who know not this happiness."

Dr. Bowditch was a man of unsullied purity, of rigid integrity, and uncompromising principle. Through life, truth seems to have been at once the great object of his pursuit, and his ruling principle of action. "FOLLOW TRUTH," might have been the motto on his escutcheon. He was himself perfectly transparent. A child could see through him. There was no opaqueness in his heart, any more than in his intellect. It was as clear as crystal, and the rays of moral truth were transmitted through it without being refracted or tinged. In all his intercourse and transactions, he was remarkably frank and candid. He revealed himself entirely. He had no secrets. He kept nothing back, for he had nothing to conceal. He lived openly, and talked freely, of himself, and of his doings, and of every thing that was uppermost in his mind. He never hesitated to speak out what he thought on all subjects, public and private, and he avowed his opinions of men and things with the utmost freedom and unconcern. It seemed to me that he never had the fear of man before his eyes, and that it never checked, in the least, the free and full utterance of his sentiments.

Dr. Bowditch was perfectly fair and just in the estimate which he formed of his own capacities and gifts. He did not, on the one hand, overrate his talents; nor, on the other hand, did he, as some do, with a sort of back-handed humility, purposely undervalue his powers in order to enjoy the pleasure of being contradicted by those about him, and told that he was really a much greater man than he seemed willing to admit. "People," said he, "are very kind and polite, in mentioning me in the same breath with La Place, and blending my name with his. But they mistake both me and him; we are very different men. I trust I understand his works, and can supply his deficiencies, and correct his errors, and render his book more intelligible, and record the successive advancements of the science, and perhaps append some improvements. But La Place was a genius, a discoverer, an inventor! And yet I think I know as much of mathematics as Playfair."

I have been informed, says Mr. Young, by a gentleman of Boston, that soon after his return from Europe, a few years since, he happened, in a conversation with Dr. Bowditch, to mention to him incidentally the high estimation in which he and his labors were held by men of science abroad, and told him that he had often heard his name spoken of in terms of the strongest commendation, by persons in the most elevated walks of society in England. Dr. Bowditch seemed to be sensibly affected by the statement, so that the tears glistened in his eyes. But he immediately remarked that, however flattering such testimonials might be, yet the most grateful tribute of commendation he had ever received, was contained in a letter from a backwoodsman of the West, who wrote to him to point out an error in his translation of the *Mécanique Céleste*. "It was an actual error," said he, "which had escaped my own observation. The simple fact that my work had reached the hands of one on the outer verge of civilization, who could understand and estimate it, was more gratifying to my feelings than the eulogies of men of science, and the commendatory votes of academies."

He was a singularly modest man. He made no pretensions himself, and there was nothing that he so much despised in others. He was

remarkably simple in all his manners and intercourse with the world. He put on no airs and assumed no superiority on the ground of his intellectual attainments, but placed himself on a level with every one with whom he had any concern. He revered integrity and truth wherever he found them, in whatever condition in life. He felt and showed no respect for mere wealth or rank. He fearlessly rebuked, to his face, the mean and purse-proud nabob, and "condescended to men of low estate."

Dr. Bowditch was a truly conscientious man. He was always true to his moral, as well as intellectual convictions, and followed them whithersoever they led. He had great faith in the rectitude of his moral perceptions, and in the primary decisions of his own judgment and moral sense; and he carried them forth and acted them out instantly. The word followed the thought, and the deed the feeling, with the rapidity of lightning. This straight-forwardness and frankness were among the secret causes of the remarkable influence which he confessedly exercised over the minds and judgments of others. By his honesty, as well as by his resoluteness and decision, he was the main-spring of every thing with which he was connected. By this moral influence, he controlled and swayed all men with whom he was associated. As Ben Johnson says of Lord Bacon, "he *commanded* where he spoke."

Dr. Bowditch was a man of ardent natural feelings, and of an impetuous temperament. A venerable lady, after her first interview with him, said, "I like that man, for he is a live man." He was strong in his attachment to men and to opinions, and was not easily turned from any course of speculation or action, which he had once satisfied himself was right, wise, and good. At the same time, he always kept his mind open to evidence; and if you brought before him new facts and arguments, he would reconsider the subject,—deliberately, not hastily,—and *the next day*, perhaps, would tell you that you were in the right, and that he had altered his mind. He was sometimes quick, warm, and vehement, in expressing his disapprobation of the character or conduct of an individual, particularly if he thought that the person had practised any thing like duplicity or fraud. In such cases, his indignation was absolutely scorching and withering. But he never cherished any personal resentments in his bosom. He did not let the sun go down upon his wrath. His anger was like a cloud, which passes over the disk of the moon, and leaves it as mild and clear as before; or, as the judicious Hooker's was represented to be, "like a vial of clear water, which, when shook, beads at the top, but instantly subsides, without any soil or sediment of uncharitableness."

I will relate an incident illustrative of this remarkable trait in his character. Dr. Bowditch had been preparing a plan of the town of Salem, which he intended soon to publish. It had been the fruit of much labor and care. By some means or other, an individual in the town had surreptitiously got possession of it, and had the audacity to issue proposals to publish it as his own. This was too much for Dr. Bowditch to bear. He instantly went to the person, and burst out in the following strain: "You villain! how dare you do this? What do you mean by it? If you presume to proceed any farther in this business, I will prosecute you to the utmost extent of the law." The poor fellow cowered before the storm of his indignation, and was silent, for his wrath was terrible. Dr. Bowditch went home, and slept on it; and the next day, hearing from some authentic source that the man was extremely poor, and had probably been driven by the necessities of his family to commit this

audacious plagiarism, his feelings were touched, his heart relented, his anger melted away like wax. He went to him again, and said, "Sir, you did very wrong, and you know it, to appropriate to your own use and benefit the fruit of my labors. But I understand you are poor, and have a family to support. I feel for you, and will help you. That plan is unfinished, and contains errors that would have disgraced you and me had it been published in the state in which you found it. I'll tell you what I will do. I will finish the plan; I will correct the errors; and then you shall publish it for your own benefit, and I will head the subscription list with my name."

What a sublime, noble, Christian spirit was there manifested! This was really overcoming evil with good, and pouring coals of fire upon the poor man's head. The natural feeling of resentment, which God has implanted within all bosoms for our protection against sudden assault and injury, was overruled and conquered by the higher, the sovereign principle of conscience.

Dr. Bowditch was very familiar with the Scriptures, both of the Old and New Testaments. He had read the Bible in his childhood, under the eye of a pious mother, and he loved to repeat the sublime and touching language of Holy Writ. In his religious views he was a Unitarian. His religion was an inward sentiment, flowing out into the life, and revealing itself in his character and actions. It was at all times, and at all periods of his life, a controlling and sustaining principle. He confided in the providence and benignity of his Heavenly Father, as revealed by his blessed Son, our Lord, and had an unshaken trust in the wisdom and rectitude of all the divine appointments. He looked forward with firm faith to an immortality in the spiritual world.

Such had been the life, and such the character, of this distinguished man; and such was he to the last, through all the agonies of a most distressing illness. In the midst of health and usefulness, in the full discharge of the duties of life, and in the full enjoyment of its satisfactions, the summons suddenly comes to him to leave it. And he meets the summons with the utmost equanimity and composure, with the submission of a philosopher and with the resignation of a Christian. He certainly had much to live for—few have more—but he gave up all without repining or complaint. He said he should have liked to live a little longer, to complete his great work, and see his younger children grown up and settled in life. "But I am perfectly happy," he added, "and ready to go, and entirely resigned to the will of Providence." He arranged all his affairs, gave his directions with minuteness, and dictated and signed his last will and testament. While his strength permitted, he continued to attend to the necessary affairs of his office, and on the day previous to his death put his name to an important instrument. In the intervals of pain he prepared, as I have already remarked, the remaining copy, and corrected the proof-sheets of the fourth volume of his great work, the printing of which was nearly finished at the time of his death. It was gratifying to him to find that his mind was unenfeebled by disease and pain; and one day, after solving one of the hardest problems in the book, he exclaimed, in his enthusiastic way, "I feel that I am Nathaniel Bowditch still—only a little weaker."

On the morning of his death, when his sight was very dim, and his voice almost gone, like the patriarch Jacob, he called his children around his bedside, and arranging them in the order of age, pointed to and addressed each by name, and said, "You see I can distinguish you all;

and I now give you all my parting blessing. The time is come. Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, according to thy word." These were his last words.

Soon after this he quietly breathed away his soul, and departed. "And the end of that man was peace." Such a death alone was wanting to complete such a life, and crown and seal such a character. He died on the 16th day of March, 1838, having nearly completed his 65th year.

He has built his own monument, more enduring than marble; and in his splendid scientific name, and in his noble character, has bequeathed to his country the richest legacy. The sailor traverses the sea more safely by means of his labors, and the widow's and the orphan's treasure is more securely guarded in consequence of his care. He was the Great Pilot who steered all our ships over the ocean; and though dead, he yet liveth, and speaketh, and acteth, in the recorded wisdom of his invaluable book. The world has been the wiser and the happier that he has lived in it.

He has left an example, as was intimated in the beginning of this Memoir, full of instruction and encouragement to the young, and especially to those among them who are struggling with poverty and difficulties. He has shown them that poverty is no dishonor, and need be no hinderance; and that the greatest obstacles may be surmounted by persevering industry and an indomitable will.

ART. VI.—THE STATE OF THE CURRENCY.

It is now half a century, since the great impulse given by the organization of an efficient system of general government to the commercial energies of the United States, was first communicated. The period of time which has elapsed has been full of important public events; many of them by no means favorable to the full development of our prosperity. There have been wars, embargoes, a depreciated paper currency, and an irregular national policy, to contend with, in almost every country with which we have had relations, as well as in our own. Yet, notwithstanding all these obstacles, the progress of the United States, as a commercial nation, has been almost uniform. The exports of the country, which, in 1790, hardly equalled in value the sum of \$20,000,000, have gone on increasing until they now amount to \$100,000,000, annually. Our population, which, at the former date, scarcely numbered 4,000,000 souls, cannot at the present moment be estimated below 16,000,000; whilst the wealth of the community, if it can be at all measured by the amount of the currency it sets in motion, must be allowed to have enlarged even in a greater proportion still. All of this immense extension has been carried on under the agency of a system which may emphatically be denominated one of credit. The generation, in active business, has been constantly running in advance of the means actually possessed in its efforts for improving its condition; and although, occasionally, the effect of pushing the work a little too hard must be admitted to have been for the moment injurious—yet, when we look back upon the field of action to observe results, when we consider how much has been done, and how few and ill provided were those who had the work to do, we can scarcely fail to wonder that a doubt should exist of the value that credit has been to our community, or an idea should have been suggested that it has been an obstacle to its advance.

The passage of time has, however, been attended with important changes in our condition, not less in a positive than a relative point of view. It has raised us up, a new nation, to take a leading position in the commercial affairs of the world, acting upon principles somewhat peculiar to itself, and not altogether recognised by older and longer established ones. These principles, as they go into operation upon a daily expanding scale, are furnishing new materials for the observation of men, and new results for the science of political economy. It is a peculiarity of our countrymen in all departments of active life, rarely to take for granted that there is a limit to experiment. They are not satisfied with any instrument in ordinary use, merely because it works well, but must seek to find out whether it cannot be made to work better. This disposition has doubtless some occasional inconveniences, particularly in the fact that it often causes experience to be purchased three or four times over—but on the whole, it has advantages more than compensating. The great want in this country, is the want of power enough to develop its resources. Whatever, then, is found in any degree to serve the purpose of supplying it, whether it is a labor-saving machine, or a good substitute for capital, must be considered as a useful invention. Mistakes may, and no doubt do, often occur, and many contrivances come to be abandoned after experience of their failure to yield the benefits expected of them; but, on the other hand, others which prove eminently advantageous are retained, and go to enlarge the active resources of the community. Thus has the country gone on, furnishing results often at variance with the rules which abstract notions, drawn from the study of books, decide to be true, and at the same time a series of facts upon which, at some future moment, new and more sound deductions may be made.

In the midst of the progress now referred to, one thing is strikingly observable; and this is, that the subject of money, considered as a science, is acquiring tenfold greater importance in the eyes of the American public, than it has ever heretofore enjoyed. Just in proportion as the motive force becomes greater through the increase of the materials of trade, the exchanges of which are always represented by money, do the results of their movements become more palpable and astonishing to every eye. Strange and unaccountable appearances present themselves to the observation even of the most experienced, which they desire to explain. And extraordinary dangers are apprehended, to avoid or guard against which, by a recurrence to some safe and well established principles of action, always applicable in such contingencies, becomes an important object to all. Neither is the study of our financial affairs confined entirely to this side of the Atlantic. The fluctuations in our currency, and the stability of our moneyed institutions, excite interest abroad as well as at home, and are observed almost as narrowly in the banking parlors of London, the great money mart of the world, as they are upon the exchange in our own city. The doors of those very parlors are now besieged by swarms of applicants from America, for the loan of no little of their superfluous money, which the States are anxious to apply to the execution of vast schemes of internal communication. They seek for it to fill up valleys and cut down mountains, which thirty years ago would have been regarded as the possible undertaking of a tenth generation later. When, in 1811, the state of New York was applying, through De Witt Clinton and others, to the General Government at Washington, for a little assistance in executing what was then thought the stupendous work of the Erie Canal, who could have foreseen that in five and twenty

years afterwards it would seem a trifle, in comparison with what not merely that state, but others of not half her size and wealth, were undertaking to do? Who could then have supposed, that she who shrunk from the proposal of applying five millions of dollars to the original plan, would be considering whether eight times that sum was too much to be devoted to the same and similar purposes? It is the recollection of such facts as these, which brings to the mind of foreigners, as well as natives, something like a feeble realization of the rapidity with which we advance. The world has given no similar lesson in its history. Strong as the expression may seem, yet it is no great exaggeration after all to say, that time and space, those obstacles to industry, once regarded so impracticable to deal with, stand nearly annihilated before the force of our experience.

Yet it must be allowed that this amazing rapidity is calculated to confuse and dizzy the head most calmly employed in observing it. We can take no note of distance but by its loss; and as to the scrutiny of every particular wheel or spring that is set in motion, while all are in such constant action, the attempt is vain and fruitless. Whatever danger there may be in the path, must come, and must be met without any hope to avoid its consequences; for the people of the United States have become so habituated to swiftness-of motion in their career, that they are as little conscious of it as they are of the daily revolution of the globe. We know not that the result would be greatly different, if they thought more about it. The country is generally considered as destined to furnish illustrations of the practical working of new theories in political economy as well as in government. Things unattempted yet, are the great ends which we would arrive at. And, inasmuch as the success of this policy has hitherto been unexampled, we have no right to presume that it will not continue hereafter, when more extensively followed out. Our province in America is not to dogmatise about any thing, but to observe; not to strain and twist facts into an arbitrary theory of our own, but to let theory be drawn out from the facts by that process of philosophical induction which ascends to a general principle only over the steps formed by the study of particulars.

It may be affirmed that there have been three eras in the progress of the United States, in wealth and resources. The first and longest was that during which the organization of the financial system of the country took place, and efforts were making to release it from the embarrassments incurred in establishing its independence. The second period passed in opening the means of internal communication between the States, and in attempts to develop the natural resources which they were believed to contain. The third and last, which is even now barely begun, appears to be likely to establish in its course the new principles by which credit and currency are hereafter to be regulated. Until the expiration of the charter of the National Bank, in 1836, the system first recommended by Hamilton, was, with a single brief interruption, that upon which the stability of our circulating medium was made to rest. It was then determined that the objections to a continuance of this system were too serious to compensate for the advantages it furnished, and accordingly it was suffered to expire by its own limitation. The experiment was at that moment first entered upon, of letting the currency take care of itself, the ultimate value of which, although it was extremely disastrous in its first consequences to the community, remains still to be tested by the result of a longer continued trial. The first effect of liberating the banks throughout the Union from all idea of central control, was perceived in an expansion of their issue of bills to an amount largely upon trebling

what it had before been. A rapid rise in price of all commodities liable to be affected by it, was the consequence, which stimulated gambling speculation. Credit may accelerate the formation of capital, but it can never itself be capital. This idea was not remembered in the hurry to make money; and the consequence was, that the first application of the unerring test of exchange with foreign countries, which easily recognise the difference between the two, brought on a convulsion. The banks suspended the payment of their obligations in cash, and the little gold and silver in circulation instantly disappeared. All of these events followed each other with extraordinary rapidity; the fluctuations incident to them were all experienced in turn; the distress which they create was suffered; and yet here we are, in the year of our Lord 1839, to all external appearance, recovered from the effect of every injury. Coin has again gone into circulation as money quite as much as it ever did, while the paper bills of the banks still form the great medium for effecting the exchanges of the community, as much, if not more, than they have always done—a convulsion of no ordinary character, in the estimation of all those who ever studied the subject from books, has actually passed away, if not without leaving its marks upon the fortunes of numberless private individuals, at least, making no visible alteration in the prosperity of the mass. Prices have not fallen in bringing round the change—the wages of labor are as high as ever—the returns from industry are as quickly realized—the profits of business do not fall short.

Now, we must frankly confess at once, that there is something in this very well calculated to make students of politico-economical treatises stare. There is no such thing in the record, as the so rapid recovery of a nation from an inconvertible paper money, upon so slight a previous preparation, as was made by this one. The amount of that paper diminished during the year that cash payments were suspended, far less than it changed its character, particularly in those states where the banks had been prohibited from issuing notes under five dollars. The sum of debt actually existing was diminished by bankruptcy far more than by payment. Property changed hands, but it did not become the more available as it went. And yet, notwithstanding the existence of these unfailing indications of a deeply disordered pecuniary condition, most of the banks were enabled to re-assume, within a year from the time of their suspension, the performance of their engagements, and that, as it proved, with hardly a risk to themselves from the effort. And now we should like to know, how many people can be found who take bank bills in payment, the less willingly, because they have found out that they are not equally, at all times, convertible into as much gold and silver as they represent?

It is impossible to come at any adequate explanation of this phenomenon of recovery, without a close examination of all the resources to which we may have had access to produce it. Perhaps the most effectual, as it certainly was the most curious, was the extension of our credit in foreign countries, in the midst of all our distress. It now appears clearly, that whilst we at home were considering our case as very desperate, it was viewed with different eyes from abroad. The punctual payment of the interest and part of the principal of some of the loans negotiated by the States, with a liberal allowance for the depreciation of the paper medium, sufficient to make up the full amount due in coin, was a pitch of heroism struggling against adversity, to which the experience of London bankers in Spanish bonds, or South American scrip, and even their imagination, could furnish no ready parallel. There were indications in our

affairs, of a moment of excessive exhaustion, from our undertaking to do more than we were able to do, but not of enduring prostration from which no recovery could be reasonably hoped or expected. Reasoning of this kind had a tendency to raise rather than to depress the credit which the States enjoyed; our resources became better known, as curiosity increased to examine them, our punctuality better appreciated, our commercial importance more fully established. And exactly in proportion as these favorable opinions were forming or becoming more confirmed, were the opportunities offering for testing them, by immediate investments in new American stocks. It is not easy from the data before us exactly to specify the amount of money raised in England, in this way, since the year of the suspension of specie payments, but a good idea may be formed of it from the fact, that, out of the sum of one hundred and seventy millions of dollars which the States now owe, one hundred and eight millions, or about five eighths of the whole debt, has been contracted since the year 1835. This amount, drawn in three years, is twice and a half greater than what was procured in the same manner during the five years immediately preceding, and nine times greater than in any other five years before them. It would appear, then, that the United States, commercially considered as one body, has been receiving from Europe, during the last two or three years, a sum which, after all deductions made, cannot be reasonably set down at less than twenty-five millions of dollars per annum, on account of the loans of states. If to this sum there be added what cannot well be estimated, although it is known to be a considerable item—we mean the loans furnished to private corporations, and investments in local stocks, such as that of the United States and other banks, Railroad and Trust Companies, &c.—it is clear that, in this direction, we have been gaining a most important, although temporary resource; indeed, one of such magnitude as, when taken in connexion with a year of reduced importation, and a small curtailment of bank discounts, to be quite sufficient to account for our easy return to cash payments again.

A concurrence of circumstances has enabled the growers of the great staple of cotton in the United States, to maintain the price of that article in England, through the year, which has had no trifling effect in facilitating the re-establishment, as well as the restoration of the currency. We may then take it for granted that that restoration is, for all present purposes, tolerably complete; and having thus examined the state of the past, we can now go on to consider the present and the future. We are not aware that a single additional precaution in legislation has been the result of the experience of the year 1837, nor that in the states generally there has been any very material modification of the erroneous system of banking heretofore carried on. The national government stands in no respect better secured against future danger of the currency, than it did before the suspension. The soundness of bank paper depends now, exactly as it did in 1836, upon the will of the banks themselves. They may keep it good if they will listen to prudent counsels; and they may depreciate it if they do again as they did before. We have hopes of the best, not entirely unmingled, it must be confessed, with fears for the worst.

The reasons for those fears may be very briefly enumerated thus: The foreign loans, whilst they effectively answer the present purpose of keeping the rates of exchange with foreign countries favorable, must yet be remembered to carry with them the certainty of a heavy annual burden for the future, in the shape of interest, which will go to swell a

stream that may flow the other way. And although the application of the funds thus procured to purposes of internal improvement, may be granted to be likely in the main to be beneficial to the country, it will not prevent the absorption of the metallic medium, or that shape in which they were conveyed to us, into the banking system, from which it can never again be safely withdrawn; and the substitution of paper, which cannot answer to meet demands from abroad. We are aware that this very brief suggestion of the difficulty is not sufficient to explain the idea it is meant to convey. And, although transgressing the limits we proposed to occupy, without nearly terminating our views of the subject, we must sacrifice the further expression of them at present to the object of developing it more fully.

Whatever may be the positive quantity of gold and silver in the country, whether equal to \$50,000,000, or to three times that amount, one thing seems pretty clear, that a very small portion of it can be used as money of circulation, so long as the disposition exists in the banks to issue their notes instead, and this disposition is attended with a corresponding inclination on the part of the public to prefer them. The immediate effect of increasing specie seems then to reduce itself to this, that it furnishes ready means for increasing the quantity of bank notes, until the proportion between them is arrived at, which, according to the usual notions, is regarded as safe. If a sum of \$40,000,000 of coin was considered in 1835 as justifying an issue of \$120,000,000 of bills, there is no reason why the receipt of \$40,000,000 more will not justify the issue of at least \$240,000,000 of bills. So far as the United States is concerned, there is no reason for supposing any limit to exist in the amount of circulating medium, which may be used—the effect only being that the prices of all commodities and labor continue to graduate themselves to the increase. The danger from such an operation arises from the action of foreign countries, by creating a tendency to import largely of their commodities, which must be paid for by money; and that money must be gold and silver. This produces what is called an unfavorable balance of trade. The rates of exchange become high—a desire to procure gold and silver, in preference to paper, leads to an attempt to convert the latter into the former at the banks, and this in its turn involves them, and through them, the trading community, in considerable embarrassment. In ordinary times, it may be said that the great danger to the banking system is to be found in the demand which may arise for the conversion of bank notes into coin to send abroad. And thus whenever the exchanges run up so high as to make it cheaper to send coin than to send any thing else, and this state of things continues for any length of time, the whole system of bank paper issues, which we use as money, must be considered as in very great jeopardy.

Now the effect of borrowing so largely of Great Britain and other countries in Europe, as we have done during the past two or three years, is to keep the exchange between us and them for the time in our favor; and hence we are either receiving specie, or at any rate are in no danger of losing what we have. But if we receive any more specie in this manner, every body knows that it does not go into the circulation of the country, which is supplied by paper, but that it goes into the vaults of new banks, which instantly set to work to increase the sum of that paper. The effect of that increase is felt in prices, and these prices in turn hasten the arrival of an unfavorable balance of trade. When this happens,

however, the gold and silver which came here so easily, cannot be sent away with equal ease, because it has been made the basis of a large paper circulation, which cannot continue safely without it. And if the loans have stopped in the interval, and no artificial means can be resorted to of avoiding the crisis, it will then become necessary not merely to pay in silver and gold the amount of the actual difference between the trade of the two parts of the world, but an amount of annual interest due upon the sums theretofore borrowed superadded thereon. When it is considered that this article alone is probably equal in amount at this time to twelve or fifteen millions of dollars per annum, this view of the case may not be entirely without its importance to commercial men.

That there is at this moment going on a very rapid expansion in the issues of the banks throughout the country, can hardly be doubted. If any evidence was needed, we could quote nothing more decisive than the rise in prices of all domestic commodities. Perhaps the new experiment now commenced in our state of free banking, may be contributing, in an important degree, to this effect. There is a disposition strikingly manifest in many quarters, to adopt new theories and principles for banking, which must, in the absence of all central control, have a very extensive operation upon the future condition of the currency. Perhaps they may result in something good, and at any rate it is too early to condemn them unequivocally yet. So long as the influx of foreign capital continues, it will be difficult for any body to go wrong. But in the mean time, it may not be unadvisable for those large capitalists and wealthy institutions, which now possess all the power left in the country of regulating the currency, to consider well what they do, and how far it is expedient for them, by countenancing the spirit of speculation, to put out of their hands the means they may have of meeting a moment of danger. New York is entitled to great credit in restoring us to a specie-paying condition; and this credit, gained under adversity, she must not lose by any forgetfulness of her duty in moments of apparent prosperity.

We originally proposed to furnish to our readers some views of the nature of, and objections to, a few features of the general banking law of the state, but having already exceeded the proper limit for a single article, we must reserve what we have to say upon that subject for a future number.

ART. VII.—THEORY OF MONEY AND BANKS.

The Theory of Money and Banks investigated. By GEORGE TUCKER, Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Virginia, and Member of the American Philosophical Society. Boston: 1839. Charles C. Little and James Brown.

AMONG the many symptoms that are visible among us of the increasing estimate formed of the subject of money, considered as a science, none is of a more positive nature than the production of such a work as the one before us. Professor Tucker is already well known to the public, first as having filled a seat in the house of representatives of the United States from Virginia, then as a teacher of moral philosophy in the University of that state, and still more lately as the defender and apologist of the fair fame of Thomas Jefferson, somewhat compromised by an injudicious, but very honest publication of his manuscript papers.

Yet, however respectably he may have acquitted himself in any or all of these relations, we should hardly have expected them to fit him to appear advantageously as a political economist. We can scarcely define the reason why, but the fact will admit of little contradiction, that in the particular department of money, the public in the United States has not been in the habit of looking for sound practical judgments among the leading minds of the state of Virginia. So far as we know, since the adoption of the constitution, although she has furnished more than her proportion of distinguished public men, she has not yet produced a single financier. The theory of Mr. Jefferson, in many respects entirely anti-commercial, and the fine spun metaphysical subtleties of the strict construction school, have been hitherto far more in accordance with the temper of her population than statistical tables. Trade is in its nature consolidating, because it will not recognise arbitrary geographical lines; it is creative of such strong common interests, wherever it once connects people in relations with one another, that local jealousies, and all narrow notions of exclusive independence, vanish before it. The ancient dominion has been nourishing her prejudices for many years at the expense of her power. It must be regarded as a sign that she is about to abandon them, when a gentleman like Professor Tucker, who has been brought up in the school of its strictest sect, is willing to avow the opinions upon credit and banking which are to be found in this book. Forty years have made a great change in the relative position of the old states of our Union; for whilst they have thrown forward most of its northern members in population and resources immensely, they have left Virginia not much better than they found her. It is time for her citizens to awake to a true sense of their situation. A proof that they are stirring, is to be found in the legislation of the last two or three years, as well as in the work of Mr. Tucker.

We do not propose, at the present moment, to go into an extended notice of this book—more particularly of the questions of a debatable character that it contains. We are not aware that there is a single absurd or unreasonable proposition maintained in it, which is saying a great deal in this day of new-fangled theories. The author is perfectly candid, and always moderate. His plan is to sum up the argument in favor and against any important point with great fairness, and to submit his own opinion afterwards. This makes his work valuable as a text book for elementary instruction, particularly as it contains few dogmas which a scholar will have, in process of time, and often at no small cost, to unlearn. The first part, or that which treats of the precious metals, as the material for money, contains little that will not at once command assent; and if the second, which is devoted to credit and banking, contains much that will be disputed, it is only because nothing is now admitted upon those subjects, by every body in the United States, as beyond question. The expediency of credit itself is denied by some who, as the professor aptly remarks, would, if occasion required, equally deny the value of steamboats in Mississippi navigation. There is one thing which we like about the author, and that is, he takes no care to conceal his opinions. Although a Virginian, and of the Jefferson school, he is clearly in favor of a banking system, and a national bank. We all see plainly enough that at this time there is no prospect of the establishment of such an institution, but that is no reason why, in a fair and full examination of our system of money dealings, the propriety, and indeed the necessity of it, should not be freely displayed.

Professor Tucker appears to be under no improper bias. He is not a merchant, depending upon bank discounts, nor a politician, making denunciation of banks as stock in trade, but a retired gentleman, reflecting upon the combined lessons of theory and experience, and drawing his conclusions from his observation of results.

It is difficult to make any extracts which shall do justice to the author, inasmuch as he connects the sense in his paragraphs very closely. But as the probable operation of the present law of free banking in this state is regarded with general interest, perhaps our readers will be most curious to know what he has to say upon that. We therefore have decided to select the passage that treats of it as a specimen of his manner :

Another expedient which has been viewed with favor, both in this country and England, for giving stability to banks of circulation, is to require every bank to vest a part of its capital in public stock, or, in lieu of that, in mortgages, which, being of permanent value, would secure the creditors of the bank from loss under any supposable state of pecuniary embarrassment in the country, or of imprudence in the bank. And the state of New York has lately passed a general banking law, by which the ordinary privileges of a corporation are extended to any voluntary association of individuals, who are permitted to carry on the business of banking, and to issue notes to the extent that they have previously deposited stock, or mortgages, with the comptroller of the state.

Assuredly, the less the banks lend, the less is their risk of loss ; and if they keep a part of their capital employed, not in the business of banking, but invested in the public funds, or joint-stock companies, or land, they are, to that extent, exempt from the hazards of banking, but to the same extent they must forego its profits, and substitute the dividends or profits derived from these permanent investments in their stead.

This exchange may give the public additional security, or it may not. If the stock purchased was part of a public debt to a government faithful to its engagements, it would afford higher security than any loans on personal credit ; but there may be no national debt, as is now the case with the United States, and there may be no public debt in the state where the bank is to be established. If, then, the money be vested in the stock of canal, rail-road, insurance, or other joint-stock companies, as has been sometimes proposed, there would be the same uncertainty of profit, and the same hazards encountered, as in the ordinary business of banking. The stockholders would certainly prefer employing their capital in discounting such paper as they approved, both for profit and safety, to vesting it in the stock of a company, over whose management they had no control ; and to the creditors of the bank, the security would be the same.

Let us, however, suppose that stock issued by the states could be procured ; although the bank may be somewhat more safe, yet as its profits will be proportionally diminished, it may be doubted whether capitalists will be disposed to advance their money for a bank, in which, to give greater security to the public, their means of profit are diminished, and their hazard of loss is increased. Let us see the operation of a bank on the plan proposed in New York.

We will suppose an association formed for the establishment of a bank with a capital of 2,000,000 dollars, for the whole of which the members must provide approved stock of the state to the same amount. As this is taken at its market value, it is the same to the proprietors as furnishing so much cash. For this stock they are entitled to receive notes for circulation, to the same amount, of the comptroller of the state.

But they must also provide a stock of specie. The law requires that the bank shall have in specie not less than one eighth part of its notes in circulation. Besides, they cannot get their notes into circulation without paying away a certain proportion of specie. From the moment they begin to discount, a part of their notes will be returned to be converted into cash. What that proportion will be, nothing but experiment can determine. Let us, however, suppose that, for every four dollars in paper, one in silver has been required. Then to have lent out the \$2,000,000, the sum of \$500,000 was required in specie, to which must be added one eighth of the notes issued, or \$250,000, to be retained in their vaults, agreeably to the requisition of the law. In that case, their profits would be as follows :

Interest on \$2,000,000 stock, at 5 per ct.	\$100,000
Do. on \$2,500,000, discounted at 6 per ct.	\$150,000
	<hr/>
	\$250,000

Which, on \$2,000,000 stock and \$750,000 specie, is something more than 9 per cent., from which, if we deduct 1 1-2 per cent. for expenses, would leave 7 1-2 per cent. for the net profit on the whole capital invested. The expenses, it must, however, be remembered, will be greater than in an ordinary bank, on account of its deposit stock, both for legal advice, and in collecting the interest.

But, if the proportion of specie required by the bank should exceed what has been supposed, as it probably would, the dividends would be proportionally diminished. It must be recollected, that the means of circulating the notes have not been at all aided by the stock, except so far as, by increasing the public confidence, it may have extended their circulation. But this effect might be insignificant, and could not be much. Bank notes do not circulate at all, unless the public have entire confidence in the solvency of the bank that issued them; but, whatever may be the confidence, they will still be converted into specie for the various purposes of being sent or taken to a distance, of being wrought into plate and jewelry, and of being placed in another bank. It is then the \$750,000 of specie, in the case supposed, which has put and keeps in circulation the notes. This was the real banking capital. But, to suppose that this sum would be adequate to loans or discounts for \$2,500,000, or more than three times its amount, is against all experience. It might not be sufficient for more than two thirds of that amount; of course, to put the whole \$2,000,000 of notes into circulation, a much larger amount of specie will be required.

Nor is this all. The proportion of 12 1-2 per cent. of the notes in circulation for the specie—the minimum required by the law—although it might be sufficient for country banks in prosperous times, is not enough for them in ordinary times, and not enough for city banks at any time. The banks of the city of New York, on the 1st of January, 1837, when their loans were unusually great, had \$3,854,453 in specie, to a circulation of \$8,155,883; that is, 47 per cent., nearly four times as much as we have supposed. To be prepared, then, for the smallest fluctuations in the money market, the bank would find it necessary to increase the amount of its specie much above 12 1-2 per cent., and, if it should resort to the sale of its stock, in times of emergency, the same pressure for money which has driven them to this expedient will lower the market value of stock, and they may lose in one sale the amount of seven years' dividends. And, so far as real estate is substituted, the hazards of loss, as well as the expense of management, will be greatly enhanced; so that the plan does not seem calculated to invite prudent and substantial capitalists, who have no other purpose to serve than to make safe and profitable investments; in which case, the public must eventually find its best reliance is on a well-organized bank, with a capital of gold and silver, placed under the management of cautious, judicious, and experienced men.

We shall probably take an occasion very soon to go more fully into an examination of the present work, in the course of which we propose to give some ideas of our own upon the effect of the free banking law, and to controvert the opinion maintained by our author, of the expediency of more than one national bank. In the mean time, however, we freely recommend it to all who are already interested in the subject, as a work full of excellent views, and to those who desire to make themselves acquainted with it as a good guide and authority. The author has appended, also, several very valuable and convenient tables.

ART. VIII.—COMMERCE AND PROTECTION.

[We insert with pleasure the following communication, as it is our object to present to reflecting minds both sides of a vexed question; one which has extensively agitated the country, and is destined to agitate it again; but not to so great a degree as at the time the Tariff Compromise Bill was passed by Congress, in 1833. In the interim, both parties have had time for reflection, and ultraists on both sides are now, we believe, few and far between. The South has realized the value of a domestic market for its cotton, on which it could fall back, when prices declined in Europe; and manufacturers have become convinced that extravagant and unreasonable duties are not the best protectives of home industry.

We are in favor of a full and fair protection to our manufacturers and mechanics—to every thing which can call out the skill, and develop the resources of our coun-

try, as contributing to our prosperity in peace, and our independence in a state of warfare. But high duties act as encouragement to reckless and injurious competition in the branches of industry they are meant to foster, and by the idea of extraordinary profits, divert labor and capital from natural and healthful channels; and the domestic productions of a country may be as injuriously increased by artificial stimulants, as imports may be made to exceed our ability to pay for, by the recklessness of commercial men, grasping at shadows, and losing the reality. The "juste milieu" applies to all things.

The free trade system advocated by the English theorists, is, like the majority of their manufactures, intended for exportation, and not for home use,—other nations are to furnish the raw material, but they are to have the profit on the manufactured article. There, every thing that can stimulate production, is applied with unsparing hand, until at last the system has become so complex and interwoven with the existence of the government, that, like her national debt, and her privileged aristocracy, an attempt at change might shake the whole social fabric to its foundation. Fortunately for the United States, we are placed in a position in which we can select the good and reject the evil. No one interest can be built up in our republic, at the expense of another; not only the spirit of the constitution forbids it, but the state of things, as we find them, renders it impossible. The agriculturist, the manufacturer, the merchant, and the mechanic, all the productive, as well as what economists call the unproductive classes, are represented in Congress, by delegates generally chosen specially by themselves. We recognise no privileged order, but that of industry, intellect, and worth; we bow to no supremacy but that of mind; no law can be passed, unless a majority of the great interests represented shall agree that it is of a national and advantageous character. Our growth in some particular departments may, in this way, possibly be retarded, but it is more natural and healthy. And if the great national edifice progresses less rapidly, the foundation is surer, and the proportions will be more just and beautiful.

We do not believe in the opposition of commercial men to a just protection to home industry. They have realized the value of the internal trade—the deep root taken by the manufacturing interest of the country—the importance of the coasting business—and the vast impulse which these, united, give to domestic and foreign commerce.

The raising of a revenue for the support of government, by means of a Tariff, is the least onerous to all, indeed, the only one acceptable to the genius of the people, for direct taxation is out of the question; this point conceded, the only difficulty to be disposed of is the amount of duties to be imposed on foreign commerce, commensurate to the wants of the government, and fully and fairly favoring the different branches of domestic industry;—but on this head we do not feel ourselves called on to express our opinion at the present moment.

As we have before said, the ultraists of *free trade* are few and far between; we believe our talented friend has engaged in a fanciful contest with imaginary opponents—but as he polishes a sharp and polished lance, we have no objection to let him throw it, and if he can find an ultraist anywhere, to let him hit him—we belong to the "juste milieu."]

It has ever been the special effort of the foes of the protective system, to enlist the mercantile interest, as such, in the support of their cause. The merchants, as a body, are calculated on to furnish the vanguard of the anti-protective army, and to supply it with the sinews of war. However other classes may break or waver, they are expected to constitute an immovable phalanx. Others may need argument and demonstration, but their anti-tariff prepossessions are assumed as a matter of instinct. To be a merchant, and to be hostile to laws for the protection of home industry, are regarded as identical.

Not that merchants are known or believed to be, in fact, universally hostile to protection. Every man's observation teaches him the contrary. It is well known to every writer on the subject, that many of the most enlightened, able, and efficient advocates of protection, have been found in the mercantile class. But the assumption of the free trade doctors avers, that commerce is, in the very nature of things, hostile to the protective system; that, though individuals may be induced to favor that system, by personal and peculiar interests, these are but eddies in the great stream of commercial feeling and interest, while the current bears

unequivocally and powerfully in a contrary direction. This question of fact is one of lesser moment; but that of absolute interest and policy is one of vital importance. For, be it known to all, the great controversy of protection versus free trade, is by no means at an end. Suspended in 1833, by a nine years' truce, it will be renewed after 1842, with an intensity equal to any that this country has ever yet experienced. It must, in the nature of things, be so. The free traders, flushed by an advantage achieved for them in 1833, mainly, if not solely, by the force of circumstances wholly extraneous from the proper controversy, are running into the wildest ultraism. They are disporting their fancies in a region never adventured upon by them in the earlier stages of the controversy. Hitherto the clamor on that side has been for a reduction of imposts to a revenue basis—to the measures of the fiscal wants of government. We have already reached that point—nay, gone beyond it—and the cry is still onward. Free trade now strikes at the root of revenue duties also. No tariff—no imposts—absolute freedom of importation, is now the demand. Throw open your ports, tear down, or convert to other uses, your custom-houses—banish the very idea of customs—raise your revenue by direct taxation. Such are the present modest demands of the free trade theorists. How soon they may be extended to require the government to furnish ships for the importation, free of cost, of such foreign products as the country may prefer to its own, is a question rather out of the scope of the present essay.

Suffice it that in its present shape, the doctrine of free trade strikes at the existence of all duties on imports whatever. It will be satisfied with nothing short of this. Abolish all discriminating duties, (which was the extent of its earlier demand,) and we still have a revenue impost which, in view of the largely increased expenditures of the federal government, can hardly be estimated below twenty, certainly not below fifteen per cent. This still operates, to its extent, as a protection and stimulus to domestic industry. It is still an eyesore and an abomination to free trade. Mordecai the Jew still sits in the king's gate, and the wrath of Haman is unsated. Nothing less than the abolition of customs and custom-houses, and the overspreading of our whole land with a locust tribe of tax-gatherers, will satisfy its urgent aspirations.

Thus, then, stands the question between the free trade theorists and the advocates of protection; and we are now prepared to consider to which side the interests of commerce should incline its votaries. Is it commercially expedient that the great producing interests of the country be fostered and stimulated to their highest possible activity and force, or that they be left entirely to take care of themselves, and in each department to encounter the depressing and disastrous rivalry of whatever portion of the globe may be able to undersell our productions in its particular staple? Shall our producers of grain be exposed to an equal competition for their own market, with the serfs of Russia, who are content to labor for a supply of the coarsest necessities of life? Shall our cities be supplied mainly with the potatoes of Ireland, because the Irish laborer is thankful for a shilling a day, while the American receives five or six? Shall the vast manufacturing interest of this country, which gives direct employment to one fourth of its commerce and navigation, and consumes the surplus products of one half its agriculture, be exposed to certain prostration and ruin, in a competition with the older and wealthier manufacturing interests of England, France, and Germany, backed by an unlimited command of capital, at four or five per cent. per annum, and of labor at ten to forty cents a day?

Is it possible that the interests of American commerce can be subserved by a general recklessness and wreck of all other American interests?

But it is asked, why cannot American skill and industry, like American valor and enterprise, sustain themselves in an equal competition with those of Europe? The question is based on an entire misapprehension of the subject. They *can* sustain themselves in an equal contest; and it is for that very equality we plead. They cannot engage in the combat with naked limbs and empty hands, against a mailed and armed adversary. They cannot successfully struggle, while infantile and unprotected, against the well established and protected rivalry of their most favored competitors. The peace of 1815 found American manufactures in a state of great activity, prosperity, and progress. In three years thereafter, British rivalry, most desperately pursued, had wrought their entire ruin. Protection then came to their relief, and they again revived and prospered. A few years found them, not only supplying the home market, at prices of unprecedented cheapness, but rivaling their old antagonist and former vanquisher, in the markets of South America, of China, and wherever else a fair competition was attainable. This they are still enabled to do, to the great benefit of American commerce and navigation, and will continue to do, so long as they shall enjoy a just preference and protection in the supply of the home market. But deprive them of this—place them in unequal and disadvantageous competition for foreign markets, against their rivals of Great Britain, France, and Germany, which have an exclusive home market as an assured basis for their operations, and they must inevitably wither. Human skill and management cannot withstand the double advantage thus afforded to our rivals in the command of labor at half price, and a protected market against competitors who have neither. The overthrow of protection must be a signal for the recommencement of the great national tragedy of 1815-19.

But let us keep in view the interests of commerce. What is the first element of commercial prosperity? Is it not notoriously national wealth and home production? Isolated cities have, indeed, risen suddenly to commercial eminence on the enjoyment of a lucrative carrying trade between foreign nations; but such prosperity is of necessity extremely precarious, and usually of brief duration. Its decline is as sudden as its growth. A war, an embargo, a revolution, the discovery of a cheaper channel of communication, of a new instrument of navigation, even—and Petra, Tyre, Carthage, Venice, is hurled from the summit of its fortune and its glory, leaving but crumbling ruins and desolate streets to mark the former site of commercial greatness. A flourishing and stable commerce, mainly based upon an interchange of commodities between foreign nations, is a reverie unsuited to this age of the world.

No—it is on a simple traffic of the surplus products of its own country for those of other lands, and on the exchange of commodities between different sections of our own country, that American commerce must mainly rely. Obviously, then, it becomes an object of primary solicitude with our commercial interest, that the amount of our country's productions be as large as possible, and that every consistent means be employed to increase that amount. For, let the necessities and desires of our people be ever so urgent, it is evident that goods can only be purchased—at any rate, can only be paid for—to the extent of the surplus products of the country. For a single year, we might bowl merrily onward on the strength of our credit abroad; another year's deficiency might be eked out by the exportation of our stock of the precious metals, &c.; and then the game

would be ended. After the intervention of two or three years of prostration and distress, commerce might resume its former course, subject to the feebleness and exhaustion which a succession of excess and paralysis would be sure to induce. During the virtual suspension of commercial vitality, the consumers will have learned to dispense with or produce many articles of foreign origin for which they had formerly trusted to commerce; and the revival of trade would be marked by a sensible diminution of its value and vigor, as compared with its earlier prosperity. The highest possible incentive to home industry—the utmost practicable stimulus to domestic production—is then as essential to the well being of commerce as of any other great national interest. It is the idlest folly to fear that our country will produce so much and so variously that she will want to purchase little or nothing. Even were our wide expanse of territory made to supply abundantly all the varieties of agricultural and manufactured products of which it is capable, it is doubtful if the foreign trade of the country would be thereby reduced, while it is certain that the domestic interchange of commodities, which already forms the basis of the larger half of our commercial transactions, would be very greatly increased. Man is so constituted, that his wants increase and amplify at least in proportion to his ability to gratify them. Were all our present requirements to be henceforth supplied by domestic production, while we should retain the ability to purchase largely from foreign nations, our fancies would soon seek out new gratifications, and find different necessities, until the amount of our imports should speedily equal the measure of our abilities.

In an enlarged and enlightened view, therefore, every addition to or new development of the internal resources of the country is certain to redound to the substantial and permanent advantage of commerce, and should be hailed with gladness, and fostered if need be by its votaries. In the narrow view too commonly taken, if the United States should henceforth produce twenty-five millions' worth of silk per annum, instead of importing it, there would be a loss of so much to commerce. But practical men know that the reverse of this is true; that such production would largely increase and stimulate the mercantile business of the country, at least to the extent of the value produced, by increasing at once the ability of our citizens to pay for foreign products, and the amount of their own commodities to be interchanged through the medium of commerce. If, by any line of policy, any new incentives to industry and enterprise, the amount of our country's aggregate productions could be increased one half or one fourth beyond the increase of its population, its commercial activity and prosperity must be increased in far more than an equal ratio: for the first hundred millions' worth of annual production is doubtless consumed in supplying the merest and most absolute wants of the producers themselves, without entering at all into the elements of commerce; but whatever rises above that, being appropriated to the comforts and the luxuries of life, begins at once to circulate through the channels of trade; and if the present annual production of the country may be estimated at three hundred millions, the addition of one hundred millions more to that production would probably double the commercial business of the country.

The day when protection could be made a bugbear—at least in this part of the country—is over. We have tested by experience the falsity of the original foreboding, that the adoption of the protective system would destroy our commerce—at any rate, our foreign commerce—altogether. All the free trade forebodings of the early stages of this controversy have

signally failed. It is not yet twenty years since a doleful anticipation was widely entertained, that a resort to the protective policy would dry up the springs of commerce entirely, and (most melancholy to contemplate!) require the imposition of Direct Taxes for the support of the Federal Government. Now the support of government exclusively by such taxes is regarded as the perfection of national policy by the theorists of the same school. Their fears of a destruction or signal decline of commerce under the influence of the protective policy have been shown to be utterly delusive. Take the ten years when that policy was predominant—from 1824 to 1834—and its friends may safely defy its opponents to show any ten successive years when commerce was so uniformly, generally, and onwardly prosperous. The revulsion of 1825 belonged to the earlier period, and was the direct result of an excess of importation over production under the auspices of “free trade.” Under an efficient protective tariff it could never have been incurred, though it might have happened under any system, as the yellow fever caught in New Orleans might be experienced in the most healthful locality.

It is high time that the commercial interest should realize more fully its intimate sympathy with the agriculture, manufactures, and production generally of the country. If these are not prosperous—nay, if they are not encouraged, and stimulated to their highest attainable activity and vigor—it will be idle to hope for and expect that commerce can flourish. They form the heart from which the life-blood must be supplied; let that be torpid, and the vital functions must cease altogether.

MERCANTILE LAW.

ART. IX.—INSURANCE—CONSULS—COMMISSION MERCHANTS—MISREPRESENTATION AS TO TONNAGE.

THE mercantile law is founded in principles which are simple in themselves, and few in number; but in their application to the business of life, the details of cases vary so much—the circumstances of each are so different, and those differences are often of so minute a character, that a most distressing uncertainty hangs over many parts of the subject, and litigation is constantly increasing among a class, the members of which have little or no bitterness of feeling towards each other, but who submit to courts of justice the determination of their rights, from a sincere desire to ascertain what they are.

This branch of the law is of peculiar interest, because mercantile causes often exhibit the best pictures that exist of the manners, customs, habits, and modes of life of distant communities. They are also valuable for historical facts, ascertained in the best possible manner, by tribunals erected for the express purpose of eliciting the truth.

It is not our purpose to present labored essays on this subject, except occasionally: but an attempt will be made to present, as they occur, the more important and interesting decisions, on subjects of interest to the merchant. Those who wish to investigate particular subjects of mercantile law, can easily do so by other means. Our immediate object is to present notices of recent decisions, not contained in the books, consequently not generally known to gentlemen of the bar even. As our articles on this subject will be compiled by legal gentlemen, and as our information will be as authentic as it is recent, it may be valuable to professional gentlemen, as well as merchants.

INSURANCE.

COLLISION. — An interesting case on this subject was decided a short time since in Boston, in the Circuit Court of the United States. It was an action brought by *John Peters and others*, against the *Warren Insurance Company* of Boston, to recover on a policy of insurance on the ship *Paragon*, dated March 15, 1836. It appeared, that in November, 1836, the ship sailed from Gottenburg, in ballast, to procure a cargo of iron for the United States.

Whilst proceeding down the Elbe, with a pilot on-board, she came in contact with a galiot, called the *Franc Anna*, and sunk her. The *Paragon* lost her bowsprit, jibboom, and anchor, and sustained other damages, which obliged her to go into Cuxhaven, a port at the mouth of the Elbe, and subject to the jurisdiction of Hamburg, for repairs.

Whilst lying there, the captain of the galiot libelled the *Paragon* in the marine court, alleging, that the loss of the vessel was caused by the carelessness or fault of those on board the *Paragon*. The ship was arrested, but subsequently released, on security being given by the agents of the owners to respond to such damages as should be awarded by the court.

The captain of the *Paragon*, in his answer, denied the charges of carelessness or fault on the part of those on board of his ship; and the court, after hearing the parties, and their proofs, decided, that the collision was not the result of fault or carelessness on either side, and that therefore, according to article first, title eight, of the marine law of Hamburg, the loss was a general average loss, and to be borne equally by each party. That is, the *Paragon* was to bear one half of the expense of her own repairs, and to pay one half of the value of the galiot, — and the galiot was to bear the loss of one half of her own value, and to pay one half of the expense of the repairs of the *Paragon*. In conformity with this decision, a general average statement was drawn up by Mr. Oldermann, the *Depa- cheur* of Hamburg, an officer appointed by law, and by whom alone such statements can be prepared, and the captain of the *Paragon* was obliged to pay \$2600, which amount the owners claimed to recover of the insurers.

The defence was placed principally on the grounds, that the rule of law in existence at Hamburg being different from what exists in this country, the underwriters were not bound by it; that this was not properly a case of general average, or of a loss by the perils insured against, but it was a loss by the peculiar and absurd provision of the laws of Hamburg, that in case of a collision between two vessels, the loss shall be apportioned between them, although there is no pretence of fault on either side.

After an elaborate argument of the points of law, Judge Story decided, —

1. That when a case of general average occurs, if it is settled in the foreign port of destination, or in any other foreign port, where it rightfully ought to be settled, the adjustment there made will be conclusive as to the items, as well as the apportionment thereof upon the various interests, although it may be different from what our own law would have made, in case the adjustment had been made on a like collision in our own ports.

2. The judge gave it as his opinion, that this was not a case of general average, but one of particular average. But the principal point in his mind was, whether the collision was a *peril of the sea*, or whether it was a mere *consequential injury*, for which the underwriters were not liable; and on this point he decided, —

3. That where a collision between two ships accidentally takes place within the dominions of a foreign power, and by the laws of that foreign

power all damages occasioned thereby are to be borne equally by the two vessels, such a collision is a peril of the seas, within the meaning of the common policy of insurance; and the underwriters are liable not only for the direct damage done to the ship insured by them, but also for the charge apportioned on such ship, as her contributory share towards the common loss, not as a general average, but as properly a part of the partial loss occasioned by the collision.

This decision being unsatisfactory to the defendants, and there being a general wish among the underwriters in Boston that the question should be settled by the highest tribunal in the country, the cause was carried up to the Supreme Court of the United States at Washington, last winter, where the decision of Judge Story was *affirmed*. The grounds of the decision we do not know, as it has not yet been published.

GENERAL AVERAGE. On the subject of Average, several important decisions have recently been made, overruling, in some respects, opinions which have hitherto been received as correct.

In the case of *Potter v. The Ocean Insurance Company* of Boston, which was decided by Judge Story, in the Circuit Court of the United States, at the October term, 1837, it was held, that the wages, provisions, and other expenses of the voyage to a port of necessity, for the purpose of making repairs, constitute a general average. It makes no difference in the application of the principle to policies of insurance, that there happens to be no cargo on board, so that there is, in fact, no contribution to be made by cargo or by freight; for general average does not depend upon the point whether there are different subject matters to contribute, but whether there is a common sacrifice for the benefit of all, who are, or may be, interested in the accomplishment of the voyage. Neither does it make any difference in the application of the principle, that the insurance, on which the question arises, is not for a particular voyage, but on time.

In the case of *Loring v. Neptune Insurance Company*, which was decided in the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts at the March term, 1838, it was held, that a general average adjustment made in the port of destination, fairly and according to the laws of that place, is conclusive on all parties interested in the ship, cargo, and freight. This same principle was fully recognised by Judge Story in the case of *Peters v. Warren Insurance Company*, an account of which we have given above.

In the course of the trial of *Loring v. Neptune Insurance Company*, several singular provisions of the law of Hamburg respecting general average were proved. It appeared, that by a law of the city, first published by the senate in 1731, all goods contribute in general average according to the invoice, with the charges till on board, except the premium. Each bill of lading is looked upon as a whole, and has to contribute according to the full invoice amount, without reference to any part being in a damaged state or totally destroyed. It is only when the whole contents of a bill of lading are destroyed, or so much damaged that the consignee refuses to receive them, that no contribution takes place. All goods contribute according to the full invoice value, provided they be received at all, and the receipt of any part of a bill of lading is tantamount to having received the whole.

In the above case, the bark *Stag* (the policy being on property on board) sailed from Matanzas for Hamburg, with a cargo of 2125 boxes of sugar, and 78 bags of coffee. Three hundred and fifty boxes of sugar were the

property of the plaintiff, and were equal in value to the amount insured. On the passage, the bark sustained damage from the perils of the sea, and 88 boxes of sugar belonging to the plaintiff were totally destroyed. Fifty-two boxes were damaged over 50 per cent. of their value. The vessel having been compelled by the damages sustained to put into Bermuda for repairs, an adjustment of a general average contribution was made on her arrival at Hamburg, and the plaintiff was assessed on the invoice value of his sugars, *without any deduction or allowance made on account of that lost or damaged, as above stated*; and the amount so assessed was paid by his agent, and this action was brought to recover it of the underwriters. The underwriters paid the plaintiff the value of the sugars which were totally lost, and sixty per cent. of the value of the damaged parcel, but refused to pay the amount claimed in this action, on the ground, that the adjustment at Hamburg was incorrect, and ought to be revised. But the court decided, that although the adjustment was a singular one, yet as it was fairly made, and according to the laws of the port of destination, it was binding upon the underwriters.

SEAWORTHINESS.—In the case of *Copeland v. New England Marine Insurance Company*, which was tried in the Supreme Judicial Court in Boston in April last, it appeared, that after the vessel insured (the brig Adams, Capt. Gillespie, of Wilmington, N. C.) reached Jamaica, the captain, who had been taken sick on the outward voyage, acted in a most singular manner. He was a man of good reputation for skill and sobriety, but at that port, his conduct was very boisterous and strange; he quarrelled with his physician and his mate, and was almost constantly intoxicated. He took charge of the vessel, however, on her return voyage to Wilmington, and she was lost on the Isle of Pines. The defendants contended, that the vessel was unseaworthy, and that the loss was fraudulent on the part of the master. Judge Wilde instructed the jury, that if the master of a vessel becomes incompetent to the command before the vessel sails from her outward port, the mate ought to take command, or have the matter inquired into by the American Consul, or the consignee or agent of the vessel; and if the vessel sails under the command of a captain who is incompetent from any cause, and if she *might have been lost* from such incompetency, the underwriters are excused, *even though a loss should happen from a cause which had no relation to the captain's incompetency*. But if the master is competent when the ship sails, but afterwards becomes incompetent, and the ship is lost from that incompetency, the underwriters are not excused. In this case, the Jury returned a verdict for the defendants. The plaintiff moved for a new trial, on the ground that the Judge misdirected the Jury, and the question will probably be argued before the whole court, at the next March term.

CONSULS.

Judge Hopkinson, of the District Court of the United States, in a recent trial of a claim for the wages of a seaman, expressed his disapprobation, in strong terms, of the practice of putting our seamen into foreign jails and dungeons, at the mercy of the police officers, for offences by no means requiring this severe and extreme remedy. For ordinary misconduct, or insubordination, the law gave the master of a vessel power sufficient to enforce obedience, and maintain discipline on board his vessel—that it is only in cases of extraordinary violence that a man should be taken on shore and thrown into a prison. The judge said he would take this

occasion to repeat what he had more than once said before, and to correct an error into which captains continue to fall. They seem to believe that if they can get the order or consent of the consul for their proceedings, it will be full justification for them when they come home. He wished them to understand that he would judge for himself, after hearing both parties and their evidence, of the legality and necessity of these summary incarcerations; and the part the consul may have taken in them would have but little weight with him. He said he had never known an instance in which a consul had refused the application of a captain to imprison a seaman; furnishing him with a certificate, duly ornamented with his official seal, vouching for the offence of the victim, of which, generally, he knew nothing but from the representations of the captain or officers of the vessel. The judge said he never suffered their certificates to be read; that they were weaker than *ex parte* depositions. He then made some remarks that may be worthy of the attention of our government. He said, our consuls, unfortunately, are merchants depending entirely upon the profits of their commercial business for their living, especially upon consignments from the United States; that it is, therefore, of a primary importance to them to have the good will of the masters of vessels, that they may make a good report of them to their owners. He said, that an American gentleman of high intelligence, who has travelled much, and known many of our consuls, has, in the book he has published, expressed his regret that they are not supported by salaries from the public treasury. As they now are, these important appointments are placed exclusively in the hands of merchants, who, he says, "are under strong inducements to make their offices subservient to their commercial business."

In the case of *the William Harris*, decided by Judge Ware, of the District Court of the United States, in Portland, Maine, in 1837, the same doctrine was laid down; and he held, that an American consul had no right to imprison seamen in a foreign port, and that a master who procured his men to be imprisoned without good cause, is not exempted from his liability to them for damages, by showing that the imprisonment was ordered by the consul.

COMMISSION MERCHANTS.

The case of *Theodore D. Parker, of Boston, v. Brancher, Delius, & Co.*, merchants, of Hamburg, was an action in which the plaintiff claimed damages of the defendants for selling certain coffee, consigned to them by Parker, below the limit prescribed by the consignor. It appeared, that in 1832, Parker consigned to the defendants 1,640 bags of coffee, on which the latter made a large advance. Parker sent a letter of instructions limiting the sale at a certain price therein named. Afterwards, Brancher, Delius, & Co. commenced a suit against Parker, to recover the amount of their advances. When that suit was commenced, the coffee had not been sold, but having been sold pending the suit for a sum less than the advances and expenses and interest, credit was given by Brancher, Delius, & Co. for the net proceeds, and they recovered for the balance. The coffee having been sold for a sum much below the limit fixed by Parker, when he consigned it, he commenced the present action, and claimed to recover of the defendants: 1. For not selling the coffee at the limit, in 1833; 2. For afterwards selling it below the limit. At the trial, in Boston, Chief Justice Shaw instructed the Jury, that a commission merchant, having received goods to sell at a certain price, and made

advances upon such goods, had a right to reimburse himself, by selling such goods at the fair market price, though below the limit, if the consignor, upon application, and after a reasonable time, refused to repay the advances.

The Jury found for the defendants, and the plaintiff moved for a new trial, on the ground that the instructions of the Judge were wrong. The full court decided, in April last, that the rule laid down by the Chief Justice was correct, and they awarded judgment on the verdict.

At a very recent trial, in Boston, the question arose, whether the consignee of goods was limited to the invoiced prices, if nothing was said by the consignor. Judge Wilde said, this would depend altogether on custom among commission merchants; and that the party who set up the custom must prove it to be universal.

A most interesting case, involving a perversion of property on the part of the agents, and subjecting them, in the result, to heavy damages, was lately decided in the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts, on an action of assumpsit, brought by Robert C. Hooper, of Boston, against Messrs. Casamajor, Nuiry, & Co., merchants in St. Jago de Cuba, in the West Indies, to recover damages for a breach of contract, by which the defendants had agreed to load the bark Lydia, chartered by the plaintiff, with sugar and coffee in Cuba, and despatch her for St. Petersburg, in Russia. It appeared in evidence that the arrangement was made at Boston in March, 1837, with the late John S. Gibson, one of the defendants—after which Gibson sailed for Cuba. A letter addressed to John S. Gibson was put in evidence, and the part of the letter on which the parties contended for a different construction is given *in italics*; the defendants contending that it limited the sugar to nine reals, and that if they had purchased above this rate the plaintiff, if the adventure proved unprofitable, could have thrown it upon them, and the plaintiff thought it contained no such limitation, but left it discretionary; in which opinion we concur from the phraseology and character of the letter.

Boston, March 3, 1837.

John S. Gibson, Esq.

of Messrs. Casamajor, Nuiry, & Co.

Dear Sir—I have been induced, from the favorable representations you have made to me of your market at St. Jago de Cuba and Trinidad, and from the confidence which I place in the good judgment of your highly esteemed house, to charter the fine Swedish bark Lydia, for the purpose of loading her at St. Jago, with a cargo of white sugar for St. Petersburg.

This vessel I presume will carry about 1400 boxes, and will sail from here in the course of a week. If prices of sugar should be more favorable for purchasing at Trinidad than at St. Jago, I trust you will (as you have informed me it will be quite as convenient to your house) send the bark there to load, as the only expense I can incur thereby will be the port fees at Trinidad.

You are aware how depressed the sugar market is in Europe, and that a loss appears certain unless you can buy this cargo at not exceeding nine reals per aruba. I hope that your expectations of getting them at less, and of selling the exchange at a good premium, will be realized.

I would call your attention to the importance of selecting perfectly dry and strong grained sugars, and as white as possible. It is also important to get large boxes, on account of the tares in Russia.

To provide funds for this cargo, I shall send you a letter of credit on London for £6,000 sterling, which sum you are of opinion will be sufficient for the purposes of loading the vessel. If unexpectedly you are unable to procure a full cargo of white sugars within the lay days stipulated in the charter party, you may ship, to fill her up, 300 boxes of good, dry, strong grained, yellow sugars, to be landed at Copenha-

gen, the bills of lading to be filled accordingly. This is the commencement of a correspondence which will continue, I trust, a long while, and lead to mutual confidence and profit. If the market at St. Jago should be as favorable as we anticipate, please to advise me immediately on your arrival, as it is my intention in that case to send another vessel to your house.

When the cargo is shipped on board the *Lydia*, please to ship me some 20 boxes of sugar out of the parcel she has been loaded with, and your draft on me shall meet due honor.

Wishing you a pleasant passage, I am, dear sir, yours, respectfully and truly,
R. C. HOOPER.

On the 15th March the *Lydia* sailed, and by her Mr. Hooper forwarded a letter of credit for £7,000 sterling, on Messrs. Morrison, Cryder, & Co., Bankers in London, stating in his letter,

It was Mr. Gibson's opinion, that £6,000 would be ample for the purpose of loading a cargo of white sugars, and you will please, therefore, to use this credit to such extent for sugars as may be necessary, and invest the balance in green coffee, suitable for the St. Petersburg market.

On the 21st of March, and again on the 8th of April, the defendants wrote to the plaintiff, that they deemed it very doubtful whether they should be likely to load the *Lydia* at any thing like his ideas, and that they should probably accept a freight for her.

On the 11th of April, the *Lydia* arrived at St. Jago. By the charter party her lay days were to commence on the 21st of April, and continue thirty days.

On the 12th of April the defendants wrote the plaintiff, that little or nothing was doing in sugars, and that they had written to Trinidad to inquire what could be done there. "In the mean time," they say, "if we can execute here at ten reals, we shall do so, as the extent of your ideas as mentioned in the conversation with the writer."

On the 25th of April, after stating that their advices from Trinidad were equally discouraging for getting sugars at fair prices, they say, "under these circumstances, taken in connexion with what you say under date of March 3d, &c., we cannot believe that your interest would be studied, were we to load the *Lydia* at over nine reals, although your conversation with Mr. Gibson authorizes us so to do."

The *Lydia* was not loaded for the plaintiff, but was let to freight to one Sanchez, and sailed from St. Jago for Trinidad on the 2d of May, and sixteen days afterwards the defendants wrote the plaintiff as follows:

In conformity to our last advices, we have let Don Victoriano Sanchez have the *Lydia*, at the same charter you were to pay, to load here and at Trinidad a cargo of coffee and some sugar for Europe. Her wooden and foul bottom were serious objections, and we were very glad to get her off our hands as well as we have done, although we did our best to obtain for you something more. Your letter of credit for £7,000, you will of course consider null and void.

Evidence was given that Don Victoriano Sanchez was the clerk of the defendants, that his assumed ownership was fictitious, and that the cargo shipped was the property of the defendants, who were, at the time, largely indebted to Messrs. Morrison, Cryder, & Co., and that the cargo was intended for them; that on the 22d April they wrote to Morrison, Cryder, & Co., that in consequence of the great scarcity of vessels, they were prepared to see unusually low prices for the remaining two thirds of an abundant crop; that they could find no bills to remit, and they were therefore compelled to send sugars instead of bills, while they had the letter of credit, of the plaintiff, on Morrison, Cryder, & Co., for £7,000 sterling,

bills against which would have been every way satisfactory and unexceptionable.

On the 21st of April, the day the *Lydia's* lay days commenced at St. Jago, they wrote to Booring & Overbeck, at Trinidad, that in all probability the *Lydia* would go there, and take the sugars B. & O. held for the defendants; that their agents had purchased 500 boxes good sugars at 7 and 9 reals—that they had reason to believe that sugars would decline; and yet, before the first lay day commenced, they had determined to load the *Lydia* for their own account, and actually sent her away before the lay days had half expired; that she was never offered to freight, except to one person, of whom they asked £5 10s., while she was nominally let to Sanchez, but in reality appropriated to themselves, at £3 9s. per ton; that instead of a cargo of coffee and some sugars, the *Lydia* was loaded with a cargo of sugars and some coffee, precisely the cargo ordered by the plaintiff, for the St. Petersburg market; that Sanchez wrote to Booring & Overbeck, that he was the owner of the sugars they held, having purchased them from Messrs. Casamajor, Nuiry, & Co., and ordered them to ship them by the *Lydia*, which he had chartered for that purpose, and that he forwarded them copies of the identical instructions sent out by Mr. Hooper, to Messrs. Casamajor, Nuiry, & Co., as to selections of sugars, &c., which he said he had received from a friend of great experience in the Russia trade.

No new charter was ever made to Sanchez, and the captain of the *Lydia* learned for the first time, in St. Petersburg, that Mr. Hooper had no interest in the cargo. The plaintiff contending that the whole transaction on the part of the defendants was fraudulent—their advices of the prices of sugars deceptive—that they had intentionally abused his confidence, and appropriated to their own advantage an adventure which he had planned with much care, and from which he expected large returns.

The defendants insisted, and offered evidence to prove, that the whole transaction was perfectly fair and honorable, and their conduct throughout was intended to be that of faithful agents, acting for the best interest of their employer, and in supposed accordance with his wishes; that the letter of 3d March limited the sugars to nine reals, and that if they had purchased above, they would have transcended their authority, and rendered themselves responsible to the plaintiff, who might have thrown the whole loss on them, if loss had accrued, and that it was impossible for them to have purchased the sugars at the prices named by the plaintiff, and being unable to do so, they did the best they could to save the plaintiff harmless on his charter party. That it was true that Sanchez was their clerk, and the cargo shipped on board the *Lydia* was their own; it had, however, no connexion with Mr. Hooper, and was simply a precaution on their part, of shipping in the name of another, because of the great excitement in the commercial world, and to protect themselves from loss, by failing in London; and as it had no bearing on Mr. Hooper's interest, it was a precaution they had a right to use, and of which he had no right to complain. That there was great difficulty in foreign bills at the time, and that they were unable to dispose of the plaintiff's funds satisfactorily.

On the question of damages, there was some diversity of opinion; Mr. S. T. Williams estimated the sum actually made by the defendants at about \$6,000, and that if the sugars had been purchased at nine reals, and sold as directed by the plaintiff, at St. Petersburg, the profit would

have been about \$18,000. Gen. Tyler estimated the profit at about \$9,000, supposing the cargo to have been laid in at 9 reals.

The cause was tried at great length, commencing on Wednesday, and terminating on Saturday. On Monday morning, Judge Dewey charged the Jury, the counsel on both sides submitting the construction to be put on the letter of the 3d of March to the direction of the Judge.

He instructed the Jury, that all agreements and conversations prior to the 3d March were to be disregarded, as a contract in writing could not be affected by what had previously taken place,—it was conclusive on the parties; any conversation or agreement afterwards, which went to vary or control the letter, was proper matter for the Jury. They had to take into consideration—Firstly, the legal effect of the plaintiff's letter of the 3d March, whether it contained a restriction on the defendants not to purchase at a higher rate than therein mentioned; and, secondly, whether that letter had been varied or controlled by subsequent acts or conversations, and in what respect.

If, on reflection, the Jury were satisfied that the defendants were limited to nine reals, then it was incumbent on the plaintiff to show that the sugars could have been obtained at his limit; or, secondly, that subsequent arrangements had enlarged the contract of 3d March, or the plaintiff could not recover, whatever the motives of the defendants might have been in applying the vessel to their own purposes.

If, on the other hand, the Jury were satisfied that by the intention of the parties a discretionary power was vested in the defendants to purchase or not, they could then consider whether they had acted fairly and faithfully, or had intentionally appropriated the ship to their own purposes, and violated their faith towards the plaintiff.

The Jury, after an absence of an hour and a half, returned with a verdict for the plaintiff, for \$12,000: Choate & Russell for the plaintiff; C. G. Loring for the defendant.

MISREPRESENTATION OF TONNAGE.

In the Circuit Court of New York, before Judge Edwards.—Louis De Valier and Edward Lamont *vs.* John B. Woodgate. This was an action on a charter party entered into by the parties in July, 1836, by which the defendant chartered of the plaintiffs a schooner called the Margaret, to proceed from Nassau, N. P., to the island of Mayagua, there to take the cargo from the wreck of the stranded brig Victor, deliver it at Jamaica, take in a cargo at that island, and return to this port. She was guaranteed to be 600 barrels tonnage, and the consideration of the charter party was \$700.

The Margaret proceeded on her voyage, the defendant accompanying her, took a quantity of staves from the wreck of the Victor, delivered them at Jamaica, took in a cargo of pimento, and returned to this city; and this action was brought for the recovery of the \$700 which the defendant agreed to pay for such service.

Payment was contested on the ground that the Margaret did not take on board as much from the wreck of the Victor as she should have taken if her tonnage was equal to what it was guaranteed to be in the charter party; and, if her tonnage did not equal that guaranty, and the plaintiffs had deceived the defendant as to her tonnage, they were not entitled to payment at all.

Judge Edwards charged the Jury, that it was not pretended by the defendant that the Margaret did not perform her voyage, and complete it, pursuant to the terms of the charter, and that the plaintiffs were consequently entitled to recover the sum stipulated in that instrument. Whether she had or had not taken from the wreck of the Victor as much cargo as she should have taken, has no bearing upon the merits of this suit. If the defendant has been aggrieved by any such neglect, or was imposed upon in relation to the tonnage of the plaintiffs' vessel, he cannot use such neglect or imposition as a set-off to the claim under the charter party, but must bring his separate action for damages. Verdict for the plaintiffs, for the whole amount claimed, with interest and costs.

With all due submission to the learned judge, we dissent from his interpretation of the law. According to the French ordinance, the master who uses deception in representing the burthen of his vessel, provided it exceed the fortieth part, shall answer the merchant in damages; but the better understood and more equitable decision of the English law is, if a ship be freighted by the ton, and found of less burthen than expressed, the payment shall be only for the real burthen; thus, if a ship be freighted for two hundred tons or thereabouts, it is commonly reduced to five tons more or less. Now this vessel was guaranteed to carry six hundred barrels, and deduction ought to have been made for her deficient burthen, unless it was so trifling as to be unimportant; but to drive the merchant to a suit for damages against the master, is not simplifying or administering justice, but rendering the process tedious and oftentimes unattainable. The objection of the charterer that her tonnage being unequal, they were not entitled to any payment at all, was, to say the least of it, extremely frivolous.

ART. X.—POPULAR SUGGESTIONS OF THE PRINCIPLES OF COPARTNERSHIP.

[The following is the first of a series of Lectures on Commercial Law, delivered before the "Mercantile Library Association," by our fellow-citizen, DANIEL LORD, JR., Esq., so well known and so highly esteemed as a Commercial Lawyer. These Lectures are original in our work, having never before been published. The first illustrates the "condition of copartners towards the public," with the method, fidelity, and minuteness for which Mr. Lord is so remarkable. To our commercial readers they must prove highly acceptable; and to those about entering into copartnership, many of the suggestions will be eminently useful.]

UNION constitutes strength. Man singly, although endowed with reason, and thus made lord of the creation, is nevertheless weak, and incapable of effecting great results: it is by his propensity to associate, to unite with others, to multiply his individual powers by judicious combinations, that all his great works are accomplished.

This principle, so essential to the great results in the history of man, exerts its influence also in the smallest and most elementary combinations of human effort: and in the advancement of private wealth, the union of individual enterprise, capital, influence, knowledge, or skill, is a no less powerful and successful means.

Hence arises the relation of mercantile copartnership; individuals agree together to unite their efforts and advantages, and to act thus united as one and for the common benefit: this relation, its origin and consequences, are to be the subject of our present remarks.

Partnership is the union, by mutual agreement, of two or more persons for some *commercial purpose*, to be pursued for the *common gain and loss* of the parties. It is in some instances the mere union of capacities to transact business, without any property in either of the parties; whose whole means of action are their skill, their perseverance, and their industry. In some instances, it is a union of capital to capital chiefly; as in the instances of private banking copartnerships, which are conducted wholly by agencies. In some instances it is the union of the industry, skill, and integrity of one, with the wealth, the business reputation, and organized establishment of others. It is sometimes a union for a single adventure, sometimes for a series of adventures of a particular kind, sometimes for all kinds of business at a particular place, or at all places, for a specified or for an indefinite term. While the extent of this relation of copartnership is exceedingly various, yet in all its shapes it is subject to almost entirely the same principles and rules.

The object of the copartnership union, is to give to all the combining parties the benefit of the individual acts of each: these acts therefore are performed in *the name of all*, and this name is usually styled the "firm," the name of their union, or the union of their names.

The acts of each in this name of union are therefore in the eye of the world to be deemed the acts of all, and all the combining parties are held responsible for them: and as the combining, the uniting, the holding up to the public of such a union, is what gives to it the great advantage of the confidence of all; as it is a declaration in effect by each party of the trustworthiness of the whole, and as the public can only judge by the external signs which the union presents, the public have a right to treat this ostensible union as a copartnership, although by private agreement the contrary be stipulated among the parties themselves. It is therefore always to be borne in mind, in considering whether a partnership exists, that it may exist as to the public at large, by reason of the ostensible conduct of the parties; while it may be prevented from existing, and from giving to the parties partners' rights, by private stipulations; stipulations invalid it is true towards uninformed strangers, but binding between those who have agreed to them.

Copartnership holds out each copartner as authorized to act for the others; to bind them by his dispositions of property, and by his contracts. The extent and the limitations of this authority, its commencement, progress, and termination, form the body of the law of partnership.

A partnership is formed by the *mutual agreement* of the parties to enter into the union of effort and interest above described. It is always supposed to be a *voluntary union*. One cannot be a copartner with another, without the mutual consent of all the copartners. Hence, one copartner, by selling out his interest, does not enable the purchaser to stand in his stead, and claim the benefits of his place in the union. For this, the consent of the others is required. The rights which copartnership confers, and the powers it bestows, are too extensive and too confidential to be thus bargained for. If one of several adventurers in a private joint speculation, being insured, and the property meeting loss, abandon it to the insurers, the latter, who take because the law throws the ownership on them and they cannot avoid it, do not thereby become subject to the obligations, nor to the interference of the other joint owners. The mutual assent therefore of all the parties is essential to create the copartnership.

But while this assent is essential, yet it is sometimes implied and in-

ferred, where it has never in fact been given; and this upon the principle of ethics, that we are not only bound by what we actually declare, but by what we, by our acts or neglects, induce others to believe. Consequently, by holding out to the world such signs and evidences of a copartnership, as do, by their necessary effect upon the minds of others, persuade them of its existence, a party may subject himself as copartner, who has never contemplated receiving any of its benefits, or coming under any of its obligations. Thus, should a father see notes in his son's hand-writing, using the firm of "*himself and son*," and accredit such notes, either by endorsing them, or receiving them, or in any manner giving them currency, he would give the world reason to believe himself a copartner. So, by permitting a sign to be put up of a similar firm, and trading at, and frequenting the store, without complaint, or causing such complaint to be made public, he might be made responsible as copartner, without, in fact, having made any agreement for it, or intended the same in any manner. It is on this principle also that copartners often remain liable after the dissolution of their copartnerships: having by the copartnership union held out to the world the assurances of copartnership, the world has a right to continue to believe these assurances, not only while the agreement itself exists, but long after its termination, and after every party to it has lost all right to act under it, until the public has been apprized by the parties of the discontinuance of the union.

This wholesome principle of implying an agreement, from a man's acts, without his positive assent, is one to be constantly kept in view. It is one of perfect justice, operating to enforce the most entire frankness and openness of conduct, and exacting a diligence to prevent error; and is alike honorable to the law, and profitable to the state. It is a principle of evidence, however, and does not violate the position, that consent is essential to a copartnership; it only forces the presumption of consent; it is consent against one's will; a consent not the less advantageous, however, nor in the eye of the law less real. Words are acts, and expressive ones; but other acts may often be far more expressive of the truth.

This consent will also be implied in another case, to an extent greatly beyond the design of the parties. Whenever there is an agreement between two or more persons to share the eventual loss or gain, or to participate in the profit or loss of an adventure or business, although it be also agreed that this shall not constitute a copartnership, and although the whole agreement be unknown to those who deal, in relation to the adventure, with one of the parties, yet such participation constitutes them partners, renders them liable for all debts and liabilities growing out of the acts of either in relation to the business. Here other principles of liability come into view: the parties have not held each other out to the world as copartners at all; they have invited no one's confidence; they have conducted to mislead no man; they have hung out no signs of consent; and they have also never consented in fact to be bound by the partnership obligations, but have stipulated together to the contrary. Upon what principle then, in this case, does this assumed consent, this forced liability, rest?

It is to be remarked, that by consenting to a participation in the profit, the consenting parties have agreed to take all the benefit of the transaction; they are benefited by all contracts and acts bearing upon the adventure, either to increase its productiveness, or to diminish its ill success: all such acts are therefore done for their benefit. Next, consider by whom are such acts or contracts induced? They are by ostensible

persons necessarily conducting this adventure for the advantage of the secret participators of profit. We then have these two elements of responsibility; the acts are done for the benefit of the parties held liable, and are invited or directed by persons necessarily acting in their business. Is there then any plainer principle, than that one whom I direct or invite to make a bargain, or to do any act in pursuance of my enterprises, which act is to be for my advantage, is to all intents my agent, whatever I may choose to call him? Are not his acts my acts? Ought not I, who am to receive the benefit of them, to bear their burthen? By this consent, therefore, to take the benefit of a transaction, I do make those necessarily employed my agents. I cannot, by miscalling them, by pretending a different relation, or by provisoes irreconcilable with the true character of the affair, render them any less than my agents. And as they are my agents by reason of my *joint interest* in their acts, they are my copartners; and by connecting myself thus with them in interest, my acts have consented that I should be bound by their conduct.

Interesting questions upon this subject have arisen: it has been urged, that as the crediting parties did not rely upon the belief of a copartnership, they could only claim the benefit of the agreement as it actually was; resembling the case of one acting in his own name for another, but exceeding his authority, whereas the agency neither actually nor ostensibly existed, liability might be rejected. Yet courts, (with the wisdom and firmness which the common law exacts, both from its priests and from its disciples,) have adhered to the principle, that the acts constitute an agency of joint owners; and that acts should continue to be heard in preference to words, however pretending.

Summing up the preceding observations, it results, that copartnership always imports mutual agreement to such union; that such agreement is, first, directly made; second, implied from ostensible acts, even against actual private dissent; and, third, implied from participation of profits, without other actual or ostensible consent.

It is fit to add here, what constitutes copartnership by participation of profits: merely receiving pay for services by a commission or per centage upon the amount sold, or receiving the amount which an adventure may yield over a certain sum, or certain per centage of profit, or receiving interest out of profits, or an annuity, not depending upon profits, for the good will of a firm by a retired partner, is not a participation of profits within the rule. The party in none of these cases stands in the place and with all the consequences to himself of the character of owner; the acts done do not to the same extent affect his interest; he is not, in fact, owner. And, although the application of the principle sometimes compels us to use the microscope in discovering distinctions, yet they can be discovered by those who are obliged to try. The rule may be plainly laid down, that, to render one a partner in consequence of his receipts from a business, such receipts must be based upon no more nor less than a simple participation of its profits.

While, however, this participation renders the participators partners, and so, liable to the world, it does not give them partners' rights as between each other; they cannot claim the equal right to take the custody of the property, nor to dispose of it as copartners, nor otherwise than according to their joint agreement. Their own private arrangement must go into effect between themselves who consented to it; no reasons exist to force a different liability upon them, nor to prevent the operation of that they have chosen.

It is to be added here, that young men should be cautious in deciding upon these offers of participation of profits instead of salary, or in addition to it. Generally, the offers are made without the expectation, on either side, that losing or ruinous liabilities accrue; they are generally advantageous offers, designed simply to reward assiduous industry, to attach a valuable assistant, or to lay hold of useful business connexions. But they are too often accepted with the impatient eagerness of youth, showing off the spirit of the young horse, feeling his strength, activity, and fire, panting and neighing for the dangers of the field, without the training for its duties, or a knowledge of its dangers. Such offers are often embraced, because the youth would feel himself beginning business, interested in the profits; because he wishes, in his moments of vanity, to boast among his companions of being member of such a great house. He may be induced, too, by motives the most generous, involving the bettering of the condition of a dependent mother, sisters, or wife. Thousands of motives—not even suspicious, and adapted to his every virtue and every vice—recommend his acceptance of such offers. Let him, however, examine well his steps. Let him judge without illusion. Let him here remember, that he becomes a partner so far as that relation can be disastrous, while he may in fact be a mere clerk so far as it might be advantageous. Such offers are not to be lightly declined, nor suspiciously received, but they are to be coolly considered; and here the wisdom of age, the advice of cautious friends, become indispensable guides; and patience, not to be too eager to get rich, a necessary virtue. Such offers are very often openings to wealth, character, and influence; also are they sometimes avenues in early life to irretrievable ruin.

Having thus considered the creation of a copartnership, our next inquiry is, what the partners are authorized by it to do.

This requires a consideration of the public or actual objects of the copartnership. Usually these are wholly commercial and mercantile; they are to transact the business of buying and selling, or an agency business; a joint adventure to some other place; the navigating of ships for the common profit and loss of the owners. The legal authority of the partners takes its form and shape from the ordinary scope and objects of the partnership business, and is limited to their contracts; and acts done by each copartner in the ordinary or fair prosecution of the ostensible business of the firm, are obligatory on it; beyond this they are not binding on the partnership; they are unauthorized, and can only be made to affect the copartnership by showing the actual consent of all its members. Thus, a house dealing in dry goods would not ordinarily be bound by the purchase, by one of its partners, of a ship, unless the purchase were sanctioned by his copartners. So, a house running a line of packets to another port, would not ordinarily be bound by a purchase of hardware by one of its partners. A house dealing in hardware would not be bound by a purchase of dry goods, nor would any mercantile firm be charged with stock speculations.

The principle is, that by openly pursuing a specific kind of business, the copartnership limits are announced, and the copartners are not to be deemed authorized to transact other kinds on the credit of their firm. The common purpose of the union being specific, the acts and contracts of the parties having reference to this purpose, must conform to the contemplation of the parties, nor have the public reason to hold it otherwise. This principle is one which, followed, would save many losses and disappointments to persons indiscreetly giving credit to the members of

creditable houses, speculating on private account, and often using the credit of their firms for this purpose. Persons giving such credit, and finding the acts disavowed by the firm, often complain of the hardships of their case, that having credited the partner of a firm who had the use of its name, they are not entitled to its responsibility. But the true source of their complaint lies in their ignorance of this principle: the copartner is member of a union, only in a specific business; he has the name of the firm only for the purposes of that business. And the crediting party, when a copartner is acting out of the copartnership line, must inquire of the other copartners if the act be sanctioned: if for delicacy's sake, or for the sake of an advantageous bargain, he forbears this precaution, then he must, in the event of a disavowal by the firm, charge his loss to his own false delicacy or over eagerness for gain, and not complain of the law. A more general *knowledge* of this principle, and more *caution* in giving credits,—the certainty that inquiries would be made into the authority for out of the way speculations, would prevent many members of copartnerships from being tempted to violate their integrity and loyalty, by the supposed possession of a power to pledge the established credit of their firms: a violation which, in the unauthorized use of the names of others, has in it all the moral guilt of forgery, and differs from it only in legal impunity.

Another limitation of the power of a copartner is, that no copartner is authorized to pledge the credit of his firm for his own debt. The debt being of the individual, the payment of that debt clearly has no ordinary connection with the purposes of the joint copartnership, but the contrary: and however much it may add to a man's rank or standing to belong to a respectable copartnership, yet no one has a right to presume the copartnership to have placed their credit at his disposal for his own private advantage. The very object and purpose of a copartnership imports a postponement of the individual purposes and engagements of the parties to the advancement of the joint interests: and no one can rightly suppose that copartners intend to allow their joint property to be charged with engagements, not promoting the common purposes, but, by burdening, tending to defeat it. In such cases, therefore, upon every principle, the firm is not bound. Such obligations are often attempted in the mutual bad faith of the giver and taker of the obligation: they both know what the purpose of the obligation is, and they can only forbear asking the express sanction of the copartners from the belief that it will be refused; they therefore attempt to create an obligation in secrecy and in fraud, and the failure of the attempt ought always to be extolled as a triumph of the law, and needs not to be justified as one of its salutary hardships.

In like manner, as the copartnership's name cannot be pledged for the individual use of a copartner, much less can it be pledged for the debt or purposes of a stranger. All suretyships and accommodation paper by a copartner, in the firm's name, for the benefit of others, are void as to the firm, unless sanctioned by all the copartners. Pledging the responsibility of the union for the mere benefit of strangers to it, is clearly, and in the understanding of all men, not within the ordinary scope of the copartnership business: nor does the circumstance that a commission is paid to the copartner thus using the name of his house vary the matter: for unless the business be a guaranty business, such a transaction is without its line: insuring the solvency of a stranger is as much out of the circle of a mere trading house, as insuring ships or buildings; it is therefore not authorized either actually or ostensibly, and does not bind the firm.

If however the business of guaranty or engaging for the payment of the debts of others be a part of the business of the house, as in case of auction and general commission houses, then guaranties made by either copartner, in the ordinary course of its business, but not otherwise nor farther, bind the copartnership. Even in these cases, therefore, caution must be used, as well as fairness and good faith, on the part of the creditor, before he relies upon the name of the firm taken upon a suretyship or obligation for the benefit of others.

And in all these cases, (negotiable paper excepted,) the burden of proof does not lie on the copartnership to exonerate itself; but, as the affair is not within the ordinary range of its ostensible business, the burden of proof will lie upon him who seeks to charge the firm. He must always show that the engagement was made for the ostensible objects of the copartnership, or that it has received the sanction of the copartners. And he must prove the sanction of all; that of a majority will not suffice; for as their only joint control and authority is given for the common purpose, when that common purpose is abandoned, no authority in any one to bind the others is conceded, and a majority are as powerless as an individual.

In all such cases, where the copartnership name is improperly used, a disposition of the copartnership property for the same object would be equally invalid: If he cannot create an obligation to be enforced hereafter upon the common property, the copartner cannot effect an immediate transfer for a similar purpose. The possession of the property is only joint possession; individual possession is understood to be for all, and therefore is no evidence of right of property or authority, except for the common or joint purposes of the firm.

While, however, the copartnership power is thus confined to the joint objects ostensibly pursued, yet in the promotion of these objects it is wholly unlimited. Thus, although a dry goods firm in Pearl street cannot, without their express consent, be bound for the contract of their copartner for ten shares of stock, they may be bound by purchases of dry goods to any amount, however unwarranted by their actual plans, purposes, or instructions to their copartner, and however ruinous. The public know the general business of the house, but do not, and cannot, know its private purposes or secret restrictions; as to these, by uniting together they have trusted their all to their mutual good faith. Nor are the persons, dealing in the faith of such contracts within the scope of ordinary business, at all affected by any abuse of authority or fraud in the subsequent disposal of the property: it is only their duty to see that the contract is originally well warranted; it is the duty of the copartners themselves to see to all afterwards.

In the modern course of business, negotiable paper is universally used in the pursuit of their affairs, by all partnerships and individuals indiscriminately; and the purposes of commerce requiring that the circulation of these obligations should be protected, every such obligation appearing on its face to be in the name of the firm, is presumed to be for the purposes of the firm; except it can be shown to have been taken by the actual claiming holder for purposes not warranted by its business. Hence, negotiable paper made by a copartner in the name of his firm, is the usual mode of attempting to create improper charges upon it; and, to a great degree, it is a successful one. Although in the hands of him who accepts or takes the paper, thus unwarrantably made, knowing its improper purpose, it is void; yet the moment it passes into the hands of men, taking it fairly for what it purports to be, and parting with property on the faith

of it, it becomes valid from the policy of the law; the firm must meet it, seeking such remedy as they may against those who illegally combined originally to put the paper into circulation.

One copartner cannot execute sealed instruments in the name of his firm, or of his other copartners: the giving of such obligations is no part of ordinary commercial business; and besides, to make a sealed instrument the solemn deed of any man, requires, by the common law, either his own delivery of it, or a delivery by his attorney, authorized under seal. But a copartner may execute the release of a debt, owing to his firm, by sealing in the name of his firm, or in his own name: and here the name of the firm, not taking any greater effect than his own name, is allowed the same, and is a good release. It has also been held that a charter party letting a ship to freight to a firm, executed by only one of the firm as party, but carried into effect, and the vessel used in the business of the copartnership, should be deemed as sealed by all; the law here has passed by the form, and seated itself upon the substance.

Summing up this branch of our subject then, it appears that the authority of a copartner to pledge the credit, or dispose of the property of his firm, is limited to the ostensible and actual business of the firm, to the exclusion of the debts or purposes of the individual copartner, and also of those of strangers; that all such acts are void; but that within the range of the business of the firm, the authority of the copartners is, as to the trading public, unlimited; and that in relation to negotiable paper, it is also unrestrained, when found in the hands of holders taking it in good faith.

In making claims against a copartnership, strangers are always obliged to prove the union of the parties under this relation. It is evident that the copartnership agreement itself, (which being the most perfect and exact evidence, would, in all other cases, be the only evidence allowed of the fact,) being in the keeping of the partners, and not capable of being recorded in any public office, could be withheld, and no easy means left of showing its contents. Yielding to this necessity, and also to the principle, that the terms of this written contract, if produced, would not avail against the open acts of the parties, the law allows a copartnership to be proved by a common reputation of its existence, a reputation supposed to arise from general observation of the acts of the partners. Ordinarily, the reputation of a thing is not regarded; common safety requires that facts should be proved by those who have seen and known them, so that they can swear to them. But in relation to this subject, as the reputation of copartnership must ordinarily arise from those who deal with it, who have therefore an interest to know the truth, and who are in a condition, from observing open acts, to form a correct belief, such reputation is permitted to be shown. It is, however, not conclusive, and is subject to close examination, both as to its grounds and its extent; and if a true explanation can be shown, reconcilable with the actual facts, and with the non-existence of the alleged copartnership, the reputation may be counterbalanced. But in such cases, it is always a matter for the decision of a jury, a tribunal less certain in the uniformity of its estimate of matters than the judges; and as in commercial places juries are exceedingly disposed to stretch the point, and fix a liability upon all who may by any construction appear to have been the means of inducing a credit, however inadvertently, it becomes incumbent on the creditor and the credited to see that their acts strictly conform to the requirements of the law, that the one may not give, or the other derive, any undue or fictitious credit.

STATISTICAL TABLES.

TABLE of the principal Gold Coins of the Countries and States with which the United States have commercial intercourse; their Weight; the quantity of pure Metal they contain; their Value in the Money of account of those Countries, and their Value in Dollars and Cents; according to Assays made at London and Paris, and published in Kelly's Cambist.

Countries.	Coins.	Weight.	Fine Gold.	Value in Money of account.	Value in Dolls.
Austria	Sovereign	DWT. GR. 3 14	78.3	6½ florins	3 33
	Ducat	2 6	53.1	4½ florins	2 29
Belgium	William	4 7½	93.1	10 florins	3 1
Bengal	Gold mohur	7 23	189.4	16 sicca rupees	8 16
Bremen	Ducats	2 5½	52.3	2½ rix dollars	2 25
Denmark	Ducats, specie	2 5½	52.3	14 marks 12 skil.	2 25
England	Guinea	5 9½	118.35	1 pound 1 s.	5 09
	Sovereign	5 3½	113.001	1 pound = 20 s.	4 86½
France	Louis	4 3½	89.35	20 francs	3 85
Genoa	Genovina	16 4	357.35	96 lire	15 40
Hamburg	Ducat	2 5½	52.45	6 marks banco	2 26
Holland	Ducat	2 5½	53.1	5 florins 5 stivers	2 29
	Ryder	6 9	140.1	14 florins	6 04
Madras	Star pagoda	2 4½	41.4	42 fanams	1 79
Naples	Oncetta	2 10½	58.05	3 ducats	2 50
Portugal	Half Johannes	4 15	101.25	6,400 rees	4 36
Prussia	Frederick	4 7	92.1	5 rix dollars	3 97
Russia	Imperial	7 17½	181.45	10 rubles	7 82
Sardinia	Carlino	10 7½	219.4	25 lire	9 44
Sicily	Ounce, 1751	2 20½	58.1	30 tari	2 50
Spain	Doubleon	17 8½	372.	320 reals	16 47
	Pistole, 1801	4 8½	90.05	80 d.	3 88
Sweden	Ducat	2 5	51.45	94 skil's or 1 rix dol- lar 48 skil's	2 22
	Rusp ne	6 17½	160.4	40 lire	6 91
Tuscany	Sequin	2 5½	53.3	13½ lire	2 29
	Sequin fonducli	2 5	42.25	7 piastres	1 82
Turkey	Sequin	2 6	53.3	22 lire	2 29
Venice	Ducat	1 9½	33.15	14 lire	1 43

The following foreign coins, when of required fineness, are a legal tender in the United States, at the following rates :

GOLD COINS.

- | | |
|--|----------|
| 1. Those of Great Britain, Portugal, and Brazil, of 22 carats fineness, at 94.8 per dwt. | |
| 2. Those of France, 9-10 fine, | 93.1 " " |
| 3. Those of Spain, Mexico, and Columbia, of the fineness of 20 carats
3 7-16 grains, | 89.9 " " |

SILVER COINS.

- | | |
|--|-------------------------|
| 1. Dollars of Mexico, Peru, Chili, and Central America, and those re-
stamped in Brazil, weighing 415 grains, and of the fineness of 10
ounces 15 pennyweights of pure silver in a troy pound, | } at 100
cents each. |
| 2. Five franc pieces of France, of the fineness of 10 ounces 16 penny-
weights in the troy pound, and weighing 384 grains, | |

TABLE of the principal Silver Coins of the Countries and States with which the United States have commercial intercourse; their Weight; the quantity of pure Metal they contain; their Value in the Money of account of those countries, and their Value in Dollars and Cents; according to Assays made at London and Paris, and published in Kelly's Cambist.

Countries.	Coins.	Weight.	Fine Silver.	Value in Money of account.	Value in Dolls.
Austria	Rix dollar convention	DWT. GR. 18 1	GR. 353.35	2 florins	95
Belgium	Ducatoon	21 10	445.25	3 florins	1 19
	Florin, 1816	6 22	148.2	20 sous = 100 cts.	40
Bengal	Sicca rupee	7 11½	175.4	16 annas	47
Brazil	Pataca, 1801	12 4½	262.1	640 rees	70½
Bremen	Rix dollar specie	18 18	397.25	1½ rix dollar current = 96 gr'ts.	1 06
Denmark	Rix dollar	18 14	388.2	7 marks 6 skill's.	1 04½
	Rixsbank dollar	9 7	19.	8 marks = 96 sk.	52½
England	Crown, new	18 4½	403.3	5 sh. or 60 pence	1 08½
France	Five franc p.	16 1	344.45	100 sous	92½
Genoa	Scudo, 1796	21 9	457.2	7 lire 12 soldi	1 23
Hamburg	Rix dollar	18 18	397.25	3 marks	1 07
Holland	Guilder or florin	6 18	146.4	20 st. 2 f. 10 cts.	39½
Madras	Rupee, 1818	7 12	165.	16 annas	44½
Naples	Ducat, 1818	14 18	295.05	10 carlini or 100 grani	79½
Portugal	Crusado, 1809	9 3	198.1	480 rees	53½
Prussia	Rix dollar convention	18 1	359.	24 good groschen	96½
Russia	Ruble, 1802	13 1½	273.	100 copecks	73½
Sardinia	Scudo	15 2½	324.35	2½ lire or 10 reali	87½
Sicily	Scudo	17 14	348.1	12 tari	93½
Spain	Dollar	17 8	370.45	8 reals mex. pl. 20 re- als vallon	99½
Sweden	Rix dollar	18 17	388.25	48 skillings	1 04½
Turkey	Piastre, 1818	6 6½	67.35	40 paras.	18
Tuscany	Francesco Leopoldoni	17 13½	386.2	10 paoli or 6½ lire	1 04
Venice	Ducat	14 6	280.4	12 lire 8 soldi	75½

TABLE OF FOREIGN EXCHANGES ON ENGLAND,

As recommended by the Chamber of Commerce, giving the value of a pound sterling in federal money.

At 5 per cent. premium, is	\$4 66½	At 8½ per cent. premium, is	\$4 83
At 5½ do do is	4 67	At 9 do do is	4 84
At 5¾ do do is	4 68	At 9½ do do is	4 85
At 6 do do is	4 70	At 9¾ do do is	4 86
At 6¼ do do is	4 71	At 10 do do is	4 87
At 6½ do do is	4 72	At 10½ do do is	4 88
At 6¾ do do is	4 73	At 10¾ do do is	4 90
At 7 do do is	4 74	At 10¾ do do is	4 91
At 7¼ do do is	4 75	At 10¾ do do is	4 92
At 7½ do do is	4 76	At 11 do do is	4 93
At 7¾ do do is	4 77	At 11¼ do do is	4 94
At 8 do do is	4 78	At 11½ do do is	4 95
At 8¼ do do is	4 80	At 11¾ do do is	4 96
At 8½ do do is	4 81	At 12 do do is	4 97
At 8¾ do do is	4 82		

The existing value of the pound sterling in New York, is \$4 86, (9¼); which is in a language every body can understand.

NAVIGATION.

LIVERPOOL PACKETS.—*A comparative Table of the Passages of the different Ships of the several Lines of Liverpool Packets.*

OLD LINE PACKETS.

OUTWARD PASSAGES,				HOMeward PASSAGES.			
From 1st Nov. 1837, to 1st Nov. 1838.				<i>Sailed. Arrived. No. days.</i>			
	<i>Sailed.</i>	<i>Arrived.</i>	<i>No. days.</i>		<i>Sailed.</i>	<i>Arrived.</i>	<i>No. days.</i>
England,	Nov. 1	Nov. 17	16	England,	Dec. 17	Jan. 25	39
Orpheus,	16	Dec. 4	17	Orpheus,	Jan. 2	March 8	65
Cambridge,	Dec. 3	22	19	Cambridge,	16	5	48
Oxford,	16	Jan. 4	19	Oxford,	Feb. 1	9	36
N. America,	Jan. 2	27	25	N. America,	16	19	31
Europe,	16	Feb. 12	27	Europe,	March 1	April 1	31
Columbus,	Feb. 1	26	25	Columbus,	18	16	29
S. America,	17	March 7	18	S. America,	April 3	May 2	29
England,	March 3	24	21	England,	20	11	20
Orpheus,	19	April 9	21	Orpheus,	May 2	30	28
Cambridge,	April 2	24	22	Cambridge,	16	June 11	26
Oxford,	16	May 10	25	Oxford,	June 2	July 4	32
N. America,	May 1	24	23	N. America,	16	25	39
Europe,	16	June 9	24	Europe,	July 2	Aug. 11	40
Columbus,	June 2	20	18	Columbus,	19	20	32
S. America,	16	July 7	21	S. America,	Aug. 4	Sept. 5	32
England,	July 2	21	19	England,	20	22	33
Orpheus,	19	Aug. 6	18	Orpheus,	Sept. 7	Oct. 14	37
Cambridge,	Aug. 1	21	20	Cambridge,	19	Nov. 1	43
Oxford,	20	Sept. 11	22	Oxford,	Oct. 8	10	33
N. America,	Sept. 1	27	26	N. America,	22	Dec. 4	43
Europe,	19	Oct. 15	26	Europe,	Nov. 12	29	47
Columbus,	Oct. 1	19	18	Columbus,	20	29	39
S. America,	20	Nov. 8	19	S. America,	Dec. 8	Jan. 9	32

Average passage out, a fraction over 21 days. The shortest passage out is by the England, in 16 days; and the longest by the Europe, in 27 days.

Average homeward time, 36 days. The shortest passage homeward is by the England, in 20 days; and the longest by the Orpheus, in 65 days. The shortest average of the three voyages is by the England, both out and home.

GRINNELL, MINTURN, AND CO.'S LINE.

OUTWARD PASSAGES.				HOMeward PASSAGES.			
	<i>Sailed.</i>	<i>Arrived.</i>	<i>No. days.</i>		<i>Sailed.</i>	<i>Arrived.</i>	<i>No. days.</i>
Pennsylvania,	Nov. 8	Nov. 23	15	Pennsylvania,	Dec. 26	Feb. 2	38
Independence,	Dec. 8	Dec. 25	17	Independence,	Jan. 24	March 9	44
Roscoe,	Jan. 8	Feb. 1	25	G. Washington,	Mar. 26	April 22	22
G. Washington,	Feb. 8	March 5	25	Pennsylvania,	April 25	May 19	24
Pennsylvan.,	Mar. 10	April 5	26	Independence,	May 24	June 17	24
Independence,	April 9	May 3	25	Roscoe,	June 24	July 31	37
Roscoe,	May 8	June 2	25	G. Washington,	July 24	Aug. 29	36
G. Washingt'n,	June 8	28	20	Pennsylvania,	Aug. 25	Sept. 29	35
Pennsylvania,	July 7	July 28	21	Independence,	Sept. 25	Oct. 13	28
Independence,	Aug. 7	Aug. 30	23	Roscoe,	Oct. 25	Nov. 25	31
Roscoe,	Sept. 7	Sept. 28	21	G. Washington,	Nov. 25	Jan. 1	37
G. Washington,	Oct. 9	Oct. 27	18				

The average outward passage is a fraction over 21½ days; and the homeward passage a little over 32 days.

The shortest outward passage is by the Pennsylvania, in 15 days; and the longest by the same ship, in 26 days.

ROBERT KERMIT'S LINE.

OUTWARD PASSAGES.				HOMEWARD PASSAGES.			
	<i>Sailed.</i>	<i>Arrived.</i>	<i>No. days.</i>		<i>Sailed.</i>	<i>Arrived.</i>	<i>No. days.</i>
St. Andrew,	Nov. 24	Dec. 16	29	St. Andrew,	Jan. 9	March 7	57
Virginian,	Dec. 26	Jan. 22	27	Virginian,	Feb. 10	21	39
Sheffield,	Jan. 24	Feb. 14	21	Sheffield,	March 9	April 13	35
United States,	Feb. 24	March 17	21	U. States,	April 9	May 6	27
St. Andrew,	March 25	April 15	21	St. Andrew,	May 8	June 7	30
Virginian,	April 27	May 23	26	Virginian,	June 8	July 13	35
Sheffield,	May 26	June 16	21	Sheffield,	July 11	Aug. 15	35
U. States,	June 25	July 16	21	U. States,	Aug. 9	Sept. 14	36
St. Andrew,	July 14	Aug. 5	22	St. Andrew,	Sept. 2	Oct. 8	36
Virginian,	Aug. 13	Sept. 11	29	Virginian,	Oct. 2	29	27
Sheffield,	Sept. 14	Oct. 12	28	Sheffield,	Nov. 4	Dec. 6	32
U. States,	Oct. 13	29	16	U. States,	Dec. 5	Jan. 5	31

Average outward passage of these four ships, 23 days. The United States made the shortest outward passage, in 16 days; the Virginian the longest, in 29 days.

Average homeward passage, 35 days.

EDWARD K. COLLIN'S LINE.

OUTWARD PASSAGES.				HOMEWARD PASSAGES.			
	<i>Sailed.</i>	<i>Arrived.</i>	<i>No. days.</i>		<i>Sailed.</i>	<i>Arrived.</i>	<i>No. days.</i>
Garrick,	Nov. 1	Nov. 17	16	Garrick,	Dec. 17	Jan. 25	29
Shakspeare,	Dec. 2	Dec. 21	19	Shakspeare,	Jan. 16	March 8	51
Siddons,	Jan. 2	Jan. 27	25	Siddons,	Feb. 16	18	30
Sheridan,	Feb. 1	March 5	32	Sheridan,	March 18	April 15	38
Garrick,	March 3	25	22	Garrick,	April 20	May 12	21
Shakspeare,	April 2	April 25	23	Shakspeare,	May 16	June 12	27
Siddons,	May 1	May 24	23	Siddons,	June 16	July 19	33
Sheridan,	June 2	June 20	18	Sheridan,	July 21	Aug. 25	35
Garrick,	July 3	July 20	18	Garrick,	Aug. 16	Sept. 20	35
Shakspeare,	25	Aug. 19	25	Shakspeare,	Sept. 15	Oct. 22	37
Siddons,	Aug. 25	Sept. 14	20	Siddons,	Oct. 21	Nov. 22	32
Sheridan,	Sept. 25	Oct. 19	24	Sheridan,	Nov. 14	Dec. 27	43

Average outward passage, a fraction over 22 days. The Garrick made the shortest outward passage, in 16 days; the Sheridan the longest, in 32 days.

Average homeward passage, 34½ days.

IMPORTANT TO OWNERS OF VESSELS.

Lisbon, 11th of April, 1839.

ART. 1. All foreign ships entering the ports of this kingdom in ballast, and loading a full cargo of salt, shall be free from the tonnage duty. Sec. — foreign ships entering any of the ports of this kingdom in ballast, and sailing out again, to take a full cargo of salt at another of our ports, are equally free from the tonnage duty.

ART. 2. All foreign vessels entering the ports of this kingdom under Franquia, in order to complete their cargoes with salt, shall pay the duty of 100 reis per ton.

ART. 3. All foreign vessels entering the ports of this kingdom to discharge cargoes of merchandise, and here load a full cargo of salt, shall pay the duty of 100 reis per ton.

ART. 4. All foreign vessels which (having paid the duty in one of the ports of this kingdom) sail in ballast to another port of the kingdom, in order there to take a full cargo of salt, are entitled to receive back the duty paid in the first port, with the deduction merely of 100 reis per ton, on presenting to the competent authority a legal certificate of said payment.

ART. 5. The disposition of article 7th of the Royal Decree of the 14th of November, 1836, relative to the payment of tonnage duty on Portuguese vessels, are applicable to articles 2, 3, and 4 of the actual law.

ART. 6. All former legislation, contrary to the present law, is hereby revoked.

COMMERCIAL REGULATIONS AND TREATIES.
MERCANTILE REGULATION AT SINGAPORE.

The following regulation, under the signature of Ross D. Mangles, officiating Secretary to the Government of India, published in the Singapore Free Press of the 1st of February, 1838, has been communicated to the Department of State by J. Balestier, Esq., United States Consul at Singapore :

Foreign ships, belonging to any state or country in Europe or in America, so long as such states or countries respectively remain in amity with her Majesty, may freely enter the British seaports and harbors in the East Indies, whether they come directly from their own country or from any other place, and shall be there hospitably received. And such ships shall have liberty to import into such seaports, from their own respective countries, goods, the produce of their countries ; and to export goods from such seaports to any foreign country whatever, conformably to the regulations established, or to be established, in such seaports : Provided, that it shall not be lawful for the said ships, in time of war between the British government and any state or power whatsoever, to export from the said British territories, without the special permission of the British government, any military or naval stores, saltpetre, or grain, nor to receive goods on board at one British port of India to be conveyed to another British port of India, on freight or otherwise ; but, nevertheless, the original inward cargoes of such ships may be discharged at different British ports, and the outward cargoes of such ships may be laden at different British ports, for their foreign destinations.

COMMERCIAL REGULATIONS AT CANTON.

We find the following in the Canton Register, for January, 1839, addressed by the Hong Merchants to the Chamber of Commerce, in the shape of a circular, with a request that they would give it publicity. We give below a copy of the Regulations, and the Bond to be given by the Captain and Consignee.

“Should any vessels at Whampoa bring up opium or smuggle out *sycee*, (silver,) the trade of such vessels will, on a discovery and seizure being made, be instantly stopped, and she be driven out of the port without a moment's delay. (Her owner) will be mulcted in \$10,000, to be appropriated to the liquidation of the foreign claims.

“Should any vessel at Whampoa engage in smuggling any other kind of goods, her trade will, on discovery and seizure being made, be instantly stopped : the smuggled goods will be sold, the proceeds confiscated, and the owner mulcted in half their value, to be appropriated to the liquidation of the foreign claims.

“No vessel at Whampoa must employ decked boats on penalty of her trade being stopped immediately the fact is discovered. On the boat being given up to our Chamber for destruction, we will petition that her trade may again be opened.

“The master and consignee of any vessel condemned to leave the port for her misbehavior, must, nevertheless, pay up her port charges ; they must not, on the plea of the ship being driven out, endeavor to evade the payment, on penalty of the most rigorous prosecution.

“Should the captain and consignee of any vessel demur paying any just mulct, their security merchants must inform the other merchants thereof, who will deduct the amount from the prices of any goods belonging to the parties.

“The bond to be worded as follows :— ‘ A bond given as proof. We (A) master, and (B) consignee of the (flag) Ship (name) which has come from her port with a cargo of (C), to trade at Canton, do hereby guarantee that she has no opium or other prohibited goods on board. Should she have decked boats, she shall not employ them in smuggling our *sycee*, (silver,) or other goods : but should any such doings be discovered, we will cheerfully submit to be dealt with according to the regulations, which we dare not endeavor to evade. In witness whereof, we have signed our names to this bond, to be held by you as proof.’ ”

S. FEARON, Chinese Interpreter &c. c. c.

TO MERCHANTS TRADING WITH THE ROMAN STATES.

The following is extracted from an official document, recently received at Philadelphia, by Charles Pigot, Consul of the Roman States.

“The products of North and South America, furnished with a clean bill of health,

and the customary papers for navigation, shall be admitted freely into the ports of the Roman States, provided they are accompanied with a certificate of health from the Consul for Rome residing in the place of lading, or, in want of such a Consul, from any other European Consul, declaring that at the period of lading and before that period there existed no yellow fever or any contagious disease in the port of clearance and its vicinity; and in the absence of such a certificate, they shall not enjoy said privilege.

"The vessels or products of said countries, furnished with a *doubtful Bill of Health*, (Patente Tocca,) accompanied with said Consular certificate, shall be admitted to a quarantine of 12 days, with the landing in the Lazaretto of passengers and articles susceptible of contagion or infection.

"Finally, the vessels furnished with a *foul Bill of Health*, (Patente Brutta,) shall be admitted only in the port of Ancona, to a quarantine of from 14 to 21 days, according to the nature of their cargo, with the landing in the Lazaretto of their passengers and articles susceptible of contagion or infection."

TREATY BETWEEN HOLLAND AND THE UNITED STATES.

The Treaty of Commerce as concluded between Holland and the United States, dated at Washington, late in January last, and since ratified by the Dutch government, embraces the following provisions:

That all goods, without reference to their origin, imported into any of the ports of Holland, or the United States, or exported from any of the ports of these countries for the other, in Dutch or American bottoms, shall not pay higher duties than those fixed on board of national vessels. If one of the two contracting parties grants premiums, restoration of duties, or other advantages, for the importation or exportation in national vessels, the same advantages shall be granted, if the importation or exportation takes place directly between the ports of the two countries in vessels of the other contracting party. The second article provides that Dutch and American vessels are not to pay respectively in the ports of either of the two states, any tonnage, salvage, quarantine, or pilot-dues, except those established for national vessels. Perfect equality is to be established between the consuls and vice-consuls of both countries, in the exercise of rights and privileges, and the protection and assistance usually given, especially in the case of deserters from the navy of both countries. Both countries consider as belonging to the other, vessels provided with passports, or sea-letters, by the competent authorities. In shipwrecks or disasters at sea, both parties engage to afford to the merchant or war vessels of the other, the same assistance as in the case of its own navy. The new treaty is to remain in force for ten years, and longer, should no complaints be made.

REGULATIONS AT HAVANA.

A late number of the Havana Diario contains an order of the Captain General of Cuba. The purport of this order is: that on the representation of the American Consul, and of one Daniel Warnen, no sailor can be admitted or employed under any pretence, nor be permitted to remain on board of any American vessel in the port of Havana, unless the Captain of such vessel shall be perfectly assured that the sailor has been legally discharged from the vessel in which he arrived, and with the knowledge and consent of the American Consul. That for every sailor employed in violation of said regulation, the Captain employing him shall be fined fifty dollars, and should the vessel, in which said sailor is found, have obtained clearances, the fine shall be doubled. The said Daniel Warnen is appointed Commissioner for the strict enforcement of these regulations, and report offenders to the captain of the port—a third part of the fines to go to the informer, the rest to the chamber of justice.

LETTERS TO HAVANA AND MATANZAS.

We have been requested to state, says the Boston Daily Advertiser, for the information of persons writing to Havana, Matanzas, and other places in the island of Cuba, that the addition of the word 'Cuba,' to the superscription of letters, has an effect altogether unexpected by the writer, and inexplicable to those unacquainted with the postoffice affairs in that island. 'Cuba' is understood throughout the island to mean St. Jago de Cuba, and the clerks in the several postoffices where the letters are first received from abroad, looking only at the last place mentioned in the superscription, forward letters and newspapers having 'Cuba' upon them to St. Jago.

STATISTICS OF TRADE AND MANUFACTURES.

COTTON TRADE.

A Statement of the Stock in Liverpool, at the close of the years 1837 and 1838.

	1837.	1838.		1837.	1838.
Sea Islands,	1,460	3,220	West India,	540	100
Stained ditto,	770	1,330	Carthagena,	4,690	4,640
Bowed,	35,290	68,860	Bourbon,	20	
Orleans,	29,970	17,640	Manilla,	460	30
Mobile, &c.,	5,760	98,950	Laguira	6,301	250
Pernams,	11,780	11,720	Surat,	39,940	16,510
Bahia, &c.,	7,950	8,230	Bengal,	2,100	580
Maranhm,	6,180	9,050	Smyrna,	270	700
Minas and Paras,	380	100	Madras,	2,030	400
Peruvian,	810	840	Egyptian,	13,350	5,320
Demerara and Berbice,	710	640			
Barbadoes,	50	130	Total bales,	170,820	248,340

The table of imports into Great Britain, compared with the preceding year, shows an increase of 280,000 American, 20,500 Brazil, 1,600 West India, &c.; and a decrease of 11,500 Egyptian, &c., 38,000 East India, being a total increase of 252,600 bags.

The average weekly consumption of Great Britain we estimate at 23,204 bales, consisting of 5,505 Upland, 11,742 Orleans and Alabama, and 317 Sea Island—total, 17,564 American, 2,400 Brazil, 781 Egyptian, &c., 1,760, East India, 639 West India, &c.; being an increase upon the consumption of last year of 2,871 bags per week.

The average weekly quantity taken by the trade from the ports, is 5,693 Upland, 12,542 Orleans and Alabama, 337 Sea Island—total, 18,277 American, 2,555 Brazil, 781 Egyptian, &c.; 1,875 East India, and 676 West India, &c.; total, 25,164 bags.

The average weight of the import we calculated at 332 lbs. per bag for Upland, 406 for Orleans and Alabama, 320 Sea Island, 174 Brazil, 220 Egyptian, 350 East India, and 146 West India, &c., making the total import in lbs. weight 501,010,000, being an increase upon last year of 92,760,000 lbs. weight.

It appears by the tabular statement, that the weekly consumption has increased in packages at the present average weight, from 4,930 bags in the year 1816, to 23,204 bags in the present year.

INCREASE OF COTTON IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1791, only 188,316 lbs. cotton were exported from the U. States; in 1798 it was less than 1,900,000; in 1802 the amount was 27,501,075 lbs.; in 1819 it was 87,997,045 lbs.; in 1820 it was 127,860,152; in 1830 it amounted to 298,459,102 lbs.; in value \$29,675,883. This amount in value was less by \$7,000,000 than in 1825, when the quantity was less by 122,000,000 lbs.; the price in the latter year being more than double that of the former. The amount exported during the year ending with September, 1838, was upwards of 639,000,000 lbs., leaving of that year's crop, including nearly 8,000,000 lbs. of stock the previous year, which remained on hand, upwards of 98,000,000 lbs. for home consumption; the year's crop in round numbers, exceeding 720,000,000 pounds.

STATISTICS OF LOWELL MANUFACTURES.

A large proportion of our fellow-citizens are ignorant of the deep root which domestic manufactures have taken in our country, and the vast impulse which home industry is already giving to commercial affairs, and the certain and steady market they afford to the southern planter for the great staple article of Cotton. Take Lowell, only one manufacturing village, for instance, and we find an investment of nine millions of capital, twenty-eight Mills in active operation, exclusive of Print Works, 163,404 Spindles, and 5,094 Looms, requiring eight hundred and ninety bales of cotton per week, or 46,280 bales per annum; manufacturing weekly 1,061,250 yards of goods of various descriptions, 255,000 of which are printed, and giving employment to 2,077 males, 6,470 females, and furnishing to the farmers in the neighborhood a ready market, where their products are convertible to cash; for the hands are always paid off in money once a month, at least. The principal establishments

are the Merrimack, Tremont, Suffolk, Lawrence, Appleton, Hamilton, Lowell, and Boott Mills; to the above may be added the extensive Powder Mills of O. M. Whipple, Esq.; the Lowell Bleachery; Flannel Mills; Card and Whip Factory; Planing Machine; Reed Machine; Flour, Grist, and Saw Mills; together, employing above three hundred hands, and a capital of \$300,000. And in the immediate vicinity, Glass Works, and a Furnace supplying every description of castings for Machinery and Engines for Rail Roads.

The Locks and Canals Machine Shop, included among the twenty-eight Mills, can furnish machinery complete for a Mill of 5,000 Spindles in four months, and lumber and materials are always at command, with which to build or rebuild a Mill in that time, if required. When building Mills, the Locks and Canals employ, directly and indirectly, from ten to 1,200 hands.

One hundred pounds of Cotton will produce eighty-nine pounds of Cloth. Average wages of Females, clear of board, \$2 per week. Average wages of Males, clear of board, 80 cts. per day. Medium produce of a Loom on No. 14 Yarn, forty-four to fifty-five yards per day. Medium produce of a Loom on No. 30 Yarn, thirty yards per day. Average per Spindle, 1 1-0 yard per day. Persons employed by the Companies are paid at the close of each month. Average amount of wages paid per month, \$145,000. A very considerable portion of the wages is deposited in the Savings Bank. Consumption of Starch per annum, 600,000 lbs. Consumption of Flour for Starch in the Mills, Print Works, and Bleachery, per annum, 3,000 bbls. Consumption of Charcoal per annum, 500,000 bushels.

When we consider that these establishments were only commenced in 1822, no one can resist the conclusion, that, interrupted as it may be for a time, the United States is destined to prove a great manufacturing nation, and the thousand establishments for manufacturing and mechanical purposes, with which the face of the earth is dotted all over, proves that it has taken a firm footing in the soil, and Legislation may control or impede, but cannot prevent its growth. We say nothing, at the present moment, of other establishments, of which we propose, hereafter, to furnish statistical information; but this astonishing progress of one manufacturing settlement in Massachusetts alone, awakens our admiration, but cannot withhold our meed of praise.

TRADE OF BUFFALO.

The value of property cleared at Buffalo, going towards tide water, is as follows:

1837	\$2,304,785 12
1838	4,870,473 86

Tolls received on the same:

1837	\$128,028 21
1838	202,410 66

The property chiefly consisted of flour, wheat, and other grains, peltries, scantlings, lard, butter, &c.

The following is a statement of property arriving at Buffalo, coming from tide water:

	Merchandise.	Furniture.
1836	86,433,037	11,468,098
1837	60,013,661	11,924,481
1838	83,224,295	7,755,262

DECLINE OF SOUTHERN COMMERCE.

The Report of a Committee of the Southern Convention, which was held last April, in Charleston, furnishes the following table, showing the comparative progress of Commerce at the North and South.

The statistics of the United States enable us to present the following statements, exhibiting, at one view, the rise, progress, and decay of Southern commerce. They are extracted from one of the documents formerly published by this Convention, and show that the time was, when the people of the South were the largest importers in the country.

In 1769, the value of the imports of the several colonies were as follows:

Virginia,	£851,140	sterling.
New England States,	561,000	..
New York,	189,000	..
Pennsylvania,	400,000	..
South Carolina,	555,000	..

The exports were in about the same proportion: Virginia exporting nearly four times as much as New York; and South Carolina nearly twice as much as New York and Pennsylvania together; and five times as much as all the New England States united.

The same relative proportion of imports is preserved until the adoption of the Federal Constitution, when we find them to be in the year 1791 as follows:

New York,	\$3,222,000
Virginia,	2,486,000
South Carolina,	1,520,000

There is no data to show the imports into the several States from the year 1791 to 1820, but the general fact may be assumed, that the import trade of New York and other Northern States has been constantly progressing, while that of Virginia and South Carolina has as regularly diminished. From 1821 to the present time, we have sufficient data, and they exhibit the following as the state of the import trade:

	New York.	Virginia.	S. Carolina.
1821	\$23,000,000	\$1,078,000	\$3,000,000
1822	35,000,000	864,000	2,000,000
1823	29,000,000	681,000	2,000,000
1824	36,000,000	639,000	2,400,000
1825	49,000,000	553,000	2,150,000
1827	39,000,000	431,000	1,800,000
1829	43,000,000	375,000	1,240,000
1832	57,000,000	550,000	1,213,000

Thus, the import trade of New York has gradually increased from £189,000 sterling, about \$840,000, in the year 1769, and from about three millions of dollars in 1791, to the enormous sum, in 1832, of fifty-seven millions of dollars! While Virginia has fallen off in her import trade from two and a half millions of dollars in 1791, to \$375,000 in 1829, and 550,000 in 1832, not a great deal more than the freight of half a dozen ships!

From these calculations, a few curious facts appear. The imports of New York were, in 1832, seventy times as great as they were in 1769, and nearly twenty times more than they were in 1791. Virginia, on the other hand, imported in 1829 about one eleventh of what she did in 1769, and about one seventh of what she did in 1791. In a period, too, of eight years, the aggregate imports of New York amounted to three hundred and eleven millions of dollars; those of South Carolina to about sixteen millions, and those of Virginia to about five millions! New York imported, therefore, in 1832, eleven times as much as Virginia did in eight years preceding, and nearly four times as much as South Carolina did in eight years preceding. Again, New York imported in one year, (1832) nearly fifty times as much as South Carolina in the same year, and about 110 times as much as Virginia.

THE COAL TRADE FOR 1838.

The following is the quantity of Coal shipped from the different regions in 1837 and 1838:

	1837.	1838.
Schuylkill	523,152	431,719
Lehigh	192,595	152,699
Lackawana	115,387	78,207
Beaver Meadows	33,617	44,966
Hazleton		14,221
Laurel Hill		2,001
	864,751	723,813
	723,813	

Decrease in 1838.140,938 tons.

The consumption of Coal, as near as can be ascertained, was in

	Annual increase.
1831.	177,000
1832.	329,000150,000
1833.	413,000 84,000
1834.	456,000 41,000
1835.	556,000100,000
1836.	682,090126,000
1837.	664,000decrease.

FRENCH CORN AVERAGES.

The following are the official average prices of Wheat in France for the month of November in each year, during the under-mentioned twenty years, from 1819 to 1838, the whole reduced into English measure and money :

		<i>Per Hectolitre.</i>		<i>Per Quarter.</i>	
		15f.	4c.	equal to	34s. 5d.
1819	.....	19	60	..	44 10
1820	.....	15	28	..	35 0
1821	.....	15	71	..	36 0
1822	.....	15	58	..	35 8
1823	.....	14	74	..	33 9
1824	.....	15	79	..	36 2
1825	.....	15	58	..	35 8
1826	.....	20	22	..	46 4
1827	.....	22	55	..	51 8
1828	.....	21	97	..	50 4
1829	.....	22	49	..	51 6
1830	.....	22	52	..	51 7
1831	.....	17	96	..	41 1
1832	.....	14	95	..	34 3
1833	.....	14	88	..	34 1
1834	.....	14	43	..	33 1
1835	.....	17	26	..	39 6
1836	.....	17	75	..	40 8
1837	.....	21	92	..	50 3
1838	.....			

The average of the whole period is 17f. 81c. per hectolitre, which is equal to 40s. 9d. per quarter ; and it will be farther remarked—

1. That the return of 1835 is the lowest of the whole period.
2. That the return of 1828 is the highest of the whole period.
3. That the return of the present year exceeds the return of the preceding year by 9s. 7d. per quarter.
4. That the return of the present year exceeds by 9s. 6d. per quarter the return of the whole period.

To compare the average prices of wheat in France with those of England and Wales, it is necessary to add 20 per cent to the latter, for difference in the quality of the wheat, and the difference in the mode of taking averages ; and it then appearing that the average price of wheat in England and Wales, for the six weeks ending the 3d ult. is 71s. 6d. the quarter, this, with the addition of 20 per cent, makes 85s. 10d. ; and the average price of wheat in France, for the same period, being 50s. 3d., it follows that wheat is 41.46 per cent lower in France than in England.

The average price of wheat at Paris, for the preceding month of November, is 23f. 63c. per hectolitre, which answers to 54s. 1d. per quarter.

COMMERCE AND NAVIGATION OF THE UNITED STATES.

An Abstract of the last official Annual Statement of the Commerce and Navigation of the United States.

Imports for the Year ending September 30, 1838.

	Total amount,	\$113,717,404
Of which were imported in American vessels,		103,087,448
In foreign vessels,		10,629,950
<i>Exports.</i>		
	Total amount,	108,486,616
Of which were domestic produce,		96,033,821
Foreign produce,		12,452,795
<i>Domestic Articles.</i>		
Exported in American vessels,		79,855,599
Exported in foreign vessels,		16,178,222
<i>Foreign Articles.</i>		
Exported in American vessels,		9,964,200
Exported in foreign vessels,		2,488,595

Navigation.

American shipping entered the ports of the United States for the year ending September 30, 1838,	1,302,974
Ditto cleared from ditto,	1,408,761
Foreign shipping entered during the same period,	592,110
Ditto cleared from ditto,	604,166
Registered tonnage, as corrected September 30, 1838,	822,591
Enrolled and licensed,	1,041,105
Fishing vessels,	131,102
<hr/>	
Total tons,	1,993,798
Employed in the Whale Fishery,	129,629
Shipping built in the United States during the year ending Sept. 30, 1838 :	
Registered,	41,359
Enrolled,	71,275
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Tons,	113,134

The imports of the previous year, ending 30th of September, 1837, amounted to \$140,989,217, and the exports to \$117,419,376. It will be observed that while the imports of 1837-8 are less by \$27,000,000 than in 1836-7, the exports are less by only \$9,000,000 more. This looks like getting out of debt. The tonnage of American shipping which entered in 1837-8 is greater than in 1836-7, by 3,254 tons, while the foreign tonnage is less by 173,593 tons. This, again, is a favorable indication. The actual tonnage owned in the United States has increased within the year from 1,896,685 tons, to 1,994,798; or 98,113 tons. Rather less tonnage was built in 1837-8, than in 1836-7.

MERCANTILE MISCELLANIES.

NEW SPECIES OF COTTON.

An improved species of cotton has been discovered in Alabama. The Southern Agriculturist says that it grows much taller than the common plant, and bears a number of short lateral branches, only four or five inches in length, and bearing twin pods or clusters of 6 or 7 pods on each branch. The cotton is finer than any other kind of short staple, commands 4 or 5 cents more, and the product is very much more abundant. The plant, with leaves like other cotton, resembles the okra in other respects, and in rich land will reach a height of 8 or 9 feet. The seed is not yet in general use, and the small quantity to be had sells at very high prices. It ripens earlier than the other cotton, and stands a better chance, therefore, of escaping *the worm*, which is very destructive to late crops in the south-west.

UNITED STATES MINT—COINAGE FOR 1838.

The Director of the Mint, Dr. Patterson, has made his annual report of the operations of the Mint and its branches for the year 1838, from which we extract the following particulars, viz. :

1. Whole amount of gold coinage is \$1,809,595, of which there was coined—

At Philadelphia	\$1,622,515
Charlotte, N. C.	84,165
Dahlonega, Ga.	102,915
New Orleans	none.
	<hr/>
	\$1,809,595

Of the above quantity, 7,200 pieces were in eagles; 286,588 pieces were in half eagles; and 47,030 pieces were in quarter eagles.

Of the bullion deposited, there was supplied from the mines of the United States—

At Philadelphia	\$171,700
Charlotte	127,000
Dahlonega	135,700
New Orleans	700
	<hr/>

Total native bullion. \$435,100

2. The whole amount of silver coined is \$2,333,243, of which the whole was coined at Philadelphia, except \$40,243, in dimes, at New Orleans, the other branch mints being not yet authorized to coin silver, the bill which passed the Senate to authorize them to coin silver change having not passed the House of Representatives, and being now in the Senate.

Of the silver coined at the mint in Philadelphia, there was

In half dollars	\$1,773,000
quarters	208,000
dimes	199,250
half dimes	112,750

2,293,000

Add dimes at New Orleans. 40,243

2,333,243

From this it will be seen that the total coinage of the mint and branches, in gold and silver, is \$4,142,838. Besides this, the copper coinage amounted to \$63,702; making a totality of \$4,206,540.

Statement of the Annual Amounts of Deposites of Gold for Coinage at the Mint of the United States, Philadelphia, from the Mines of the United States.

Year.	Virginia.	N. Carolina.	S. Carolina.	Georgia.	Total.
1824		\$5,000			\$5,000
1825		17,000			17,000
1826		20,000			20,000
1827		21,000			21,000
1828		46,000			46,000
1829	\$2,500	134,000	\$3,500		140,000
1830	24,000	204,000	26,000	\$212,000	466,000
1831	26,000	294,000	22,000	176,000	520,000
1832	34,000	458,000	45,000	140,000	678,000
1833	104,000	475,000	66,000	216,000	868,000
1834	62,000	380,000	38,000	415,000	898,000
1835	60,400	263,500	42,400	319,000	698,500
1836	62,000	148,000	55,200	201,400	467,000
1837	52,000	116,900	29,400	83,600	282,000
1838	55,000	66,000	13,000	36,000	171,700
	\$482,000	2,648,500	340,500	1,799,900	5,298,200

Of the \$5,298,200, the sum of \$13,900 was from Tennessee since 1831, and the sum of \$13,400 from other sources since 1831.

Statement exhibiting the Value of Bullion and Specie imported and exported from the 1st of July, 1834, to the 30th September, 1838.

Gold Imported.

	Bullion.	Specie.
1834, 1st July to 30th Sept.	\$147,181	\$2,786,000
1835, year ending 30th Sept.	655,457	1,669,739
1836, year ending 30th Sept.	1,913,137	5,318,725
1837, year ending 30th Sept.	536,549	1,895,265
1838, year ending 30th Sept.	230,694	11,431,840
	\$3,483,019	\$23,101,355

Gold Exported.

	Bullion.	Specie.
1834, 1st July to 30th Sept.	—	\$64,359
1835, year ending 30th Sept.	—	625,678
1836, year ending 30th Sept.	\$25,787	275,940
1837, year ending 30th Sept.	101,563	1,828,653
1838, year ending 30th Sept.	—	736,265
	\$127,350	\$3,530,894

AN HONORABLE MERCHANT.

The following incidental notice of the richest of the long race of wealthy Salem merchants, is from the pen of Capt. J. S. Sleeper, the able editor of the Boston Mercantile Journal, who formerly sailed in the service of the distinguished man whose character he describes. It is our intention, from time to time, to furnish biographical sketches of eminent merchants—of men who, by their enterprise, industry, and integrity, have amassed princely fortunes, and by their liberality and benevolence in the endowment of splendid charities, and the more private acts of humanity, shed a lustre over the mercantile character.

“The late William Gray, by his successful mercantile career, well illustrated the truth of the homely adage, ‘Honesty is the best policy.’ His ships were found in every sea, deeply laden with the products of every country. Although bold in his speculations, he was prudent in his calculations—and fortune smiled upon his undertakings. But William Gray was, emphatically, *an honest man*. Not a dollar of his immense wealth was acquired by violating, directly or indirectly, the laws of any country. Having, on a number of occasions, had charge of large amounts of property belonging to him, we have had abundant opportunities of knowing the manner in which he transacted his commercial operations—and we have often had occasion to admire the *stern integrity* which formed a prominent feature in his character.

“The agents or shipmasters, whom he employed, were always cautioned, in the plainest language, against infringing, in the slightest degree, upon the revenue laws of any nation—and if it came to his knowledge that his orders, in this particular, had not been strictly obeyed, even if the departure from the straight line of rectitude had been dictated solely by the desire of the captain or supercargo to promote the interest of his employer, the offender was promptly dismissed with disgrace from his service. And this was but a part of the system of integrity which entered into *all* his actions—and which should always constitute the basis of the character of a mercantile man.”

THE BENEVOLENT MERCHANT.

The life of THEODORE LYMAN, Esq., recently deceased at Waltham, (Mass.,) was, throughout, a beautiful illustration of pure benevolence and Christian charity. As a merchant, he ranked among the earliest, wealthiest, and most distinguished in Boston; but it is to his enlarged and comprehensive exertions in the cause of charity—to the comfort which he carried to the abode of the poor and destitute—to the warmth which he communicated to the cheerless hearth of the widow and the fatherless—to the aid he gave to the suffering and the dying,—that we turn with the most unmingled satisfaction, and the sincerest admiration. He seemed to consider himself an almoner for the Almighty; and, in the city of Boston, five hundred widows, and four hundred fatherless children, can testify to his liberality, which enabled the Trustees of the Fatherless and Widows' Society to extend their assistance wherever the aid of the society was needed or invoked. To thirty destitute widows, in the city of Boston, Mr. Lyman has, for two years past, sent a daily supply of milk; and all can estimate the advantages of this supply, where, as in many instances, it formed the principal food of small children. Of the Seaman's Aid Society, he has, for three successive winters, purchased bed coverings, to be distributed in his walks of charity; thus, while relieving human destitution with one hand, stimulating honest industry and assisting meritorious institutions with the other.

The records of the institution of the Children's Friend Society, in Boston, enrolls his name as its largest benefactor. This charity embraces fifty small children, saved from the contamination of evil example, some of them surrendered to the Trustees by their dying mothers, that their departing spirits might find peace and happiness in the certainty that they would be carefully, kindly, and religiously brought up, and be protected, not only from the abuse, but from the vicious example of careless or intemperate fathers.

And this man has gone to his reward, preceded by the prayers of the sick, the destitute, and the dying, and as encouragement to our enterprising merchants, who, in the ardent pursuit of gain, too often lose sight of that charity which “never faileth.” He died rich. Hear it, ye anxious seekers after wealth. He died rich in this world—with a large investment made in heaven. It may be laid down as a maxim, that no man ever reduced himself, or impoverished his estate, by an intelligent and active charity, but, on the contrary, that his benefactions to the poor have, even in this world, been returned “ten fold into his bosom.” We do not mean that ostentatious charity which blazons itself forward, and requires excitement and public display to urge it on to action, but that pure and spontaneous benevolence, that free-will offering of the heart, which, as in the case of Mr. Lyman, sought out those who shrunk, oftentimes,

with decent pride, from the exposure of want, and required to be searched for to be relieved; and among the number whose prayers arose with the most fervency in his behalf, may be mentioned those who, depressed in spirit, and almost prostrated by the pressure of poverty, were relieved and saved by some of the methods he was daily devising to extend the circle of his charities.

To all, and more especially to our merchants, who read this brief notice of Theodore Lyman, we say "go and do likewise."

"HITS AT THE TIMES."

We make the following extract from an admirable volume recently published by Lea and Blanchard of Philadelphia, entitled, "The Little Frenchman and his Water Lots, with other Hits at the Times, by George P. Morris," which is already nearly out of print. Our mercantile readers will recognise the *portraits* contained in these sketches.

Want of Confidence.—A little Frenchman loaned a merchant five thousand dollars when times were good. He called at the counting-house a few days since, in a state of agitation not easily described.

"How do you do?" inquired the merchant.

"Sick—very sick," replied monsieur.

"What is the matter?"

"De times is de matter."

"*Detimes?*—what disease is that?"

"De malaide vat break all de merchants, ver much."

"Ah—the times, eh?—well, they are bad, very bad, sure enough; but how do they affect you?"

"Vy, monsieur, I lose de confidence."

"In whom?"

"In everybody."

"Not in me, I hope?"

"Pardonnez moi, monsieur; but I do not know who to trust à present, when all de marchants break several times, all to pieces."

"Then I presume you want your money?"

"Oui, monsieur, I starve for want of *l'argent*."

"Can't you do without it?"

"No, monsieur, I must have him."

"You must?"

"Oui, monsieur," said little dimity breeches, turning pale with apprehension for the safety of his money.

"And you can't do without it?"

"No, monsieur, not von other leetle moment longare."

The merchant reached his bank book—drew a check on the good old Commercial for the amount, and handed it to his visiter.

"Vat is dis, monsieur?"

"A check for five thousand dollars, with the interest."

"Is it bon?" said the Frenchman, with amazement.

"Certainly."

"Have you *de l'argent* in de bank?"

"Yes."

"And is it parfaitement convenient to pay de sum?"

"Undoubtedly. What astonishes you?"

"Vy, dat you have got him in dees times."

"Oh, yes, and I have plenty more. I owe nothing that I cannot pay at a moment's notice."

The Frenchman was perplexed.

"Monsieur, you shall do me one leetle favor, eh?"

"With all my heart."

"Well, monsieur, you shall keep *de l'argent* for me some leetle year longer."

"Why, I thought you wanted it."

"*Tout au contraire.* I no vant *de l'argent*—I vant de grand confidence. Suppose you no got de money, den I vant him ver much—suppose you got him, den I no vant him at all. *Vous comprenez*, eh?"

After some further conference, the little Frenchman prevailed upon the merchant to retain the money, and left the counting-house with a light heart, and a countenance very different from the one he wore when he entered. His confidence was restored, and, although he did not stand in need of the money, he wished to know that his property was in safe hands.

This little sketch has a moral, if the reader has sagacity enough to find it out.