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HUNT'S

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JULY, 1843.

Art. I.—THE SANDWICH OR HAWAIIAN ISLANDS:

WITH A REVIEW OF THE PAST AND PRESENT CONDITION OF THE POLYNESIAN GROUPS GENERALLY, IN CONNEXION WITH THEIR RELATIONS TO COMMERCE AND CHRISTIANITY.

This group has very generally, until within a recent period, retained the appellation bestowed upon it by its re-discoverer, Captain Cook. But of late, its true and more euphonious title, the Hawaiian islands, or "Hawaii nei," pronounced, according to English idiom, *Harwhyee neigh*, is becoming more common, not only in standard works, but in maps and in charts. It is certainly desirable that the aboriginal appellation of countries new to the civilized world should be retained, if for no other reason, than that the indigenous population, after they may have disappeared before, or become absorbed in, the tide of modern civilization, should still yield a trace of their former existence, though it be but a name. The Hawaiian Court and Hawaiian Government are terms now well known in diplomacy; and during the present year a Hawaiian embassy has been received and acknowledged by the government of the United States, and the courts of England, France, and Belgium. It has been discovered that, unexpected by any one, except those zealous friends who have diligently watched and nurtured its growth, a nation, though occupying as it were but a speck upon the waters, asserts its claims, upon legitimate grounds, to the rights, titles, and immunities of the civilized world—that it has not only the desire, but the capacity to shroud itself beneath the folds of international law, and to rest its merits upon that palladium of national liberty. So successful has the embassy fulfilled the designs of its mission, that the United States, England, France, and Belgium, have either acknowledged their unconditional independence, or have engaged so to do. Diplomatic agents are to be appointed from each of those countries, to reside at the Hawaiian court; and in every respect are the Hawaiians, though but just emerging from the swaddling bands of childhood, to be respected as a free member of the community of nations.

Much of this good fortune is owing to their rapid advance in the arts of civilized life, their just and honorable course to all people who have visited their shores, and partly to their isolated and advantageous position in the North Pacific, which renders them the inn-keepers of that vast ocean. Under any one of the great naval powers, their situation would make them the law-givers and regulators of all commerce in their vicinity; but in neutral hands, the vessels of all nations meet in harmony upon common ground, with common privileges, and common interests. Consequently sound policy, as well as justice, dictated that they should remain independent, and that no one nation should there enjoy a monopoly of power or hospitality.

That a people who so lately were classed as heathen of the worst cast; who were charged with barbarously murdering England's celebrated navigator; with being pirates, and even cannibals; naked, barbarous in the extreme, and warlike, should, within so few years, cast aside their idols and their iniquities, and envelop themselves in clothing, and worship the one Jehovah, spurning and disgorging the vices and crimes of the past, and grasping and pressing forward to the virtues and progress which Christianity presented to their view, is indeed wonderful. It presents, in a strong view, the claim of man upon man—the savage upon the civilized —brethren all, though they differ in their gifts. Love has been found more cogent than force; and benevolence has accomplished brighter results in a short space of time, than centuries of warfare can exhibit. Commerce and Christianity have united in the good work—antagonistic in a few points, but often, despite of themselves, co-operating for mutual good. The history of our race hereafter will treat more of principles and their progress—of the advancement or retrogation of mankind as one family, or members of a social community united by common interests, than of the squabbles of ambitious men, or disputes of boundary lines. Whatever adds to the well-being of the world at large, the expansion of commerce, and the regulation of trade, annually becomes of deeper interest. A railroad or canal, an opening of a new channel to mercantile prosperity or Christian benevolence, now awaken a deeper and more genuine sympathy than ever did the lordly baron, in his call for chivalrous or quixotic exploit. A steamboat or locomotive are the knight-errants of the present day. Whatever will serve to aid this progress of good, deserves perpetuation. Experience useful for the future, is to be gleaned from the past. The civil and moral revolution which has been silently but rapidly going on throughout Polynesia, is deserving not only of regard, but of study. In the present article, I shall endeavor to illustrate the general result of the action of civilization upon barbarism in that quarter of the globe, and also trace the various effects to their respective causes. In a succeeding one, it is my design to show the present commercial condition of the Hawaiian islands, their statistics, resources, prospects, &c. But no one can properly appreciate the change which twenty years has produced, without rightly comprehending the original condition of the South Sea groups generally, and the varied causes which have been in operation since, to effect this change.

Every writer, of late years, who has treated on this subject, has thought it necessary to dwell upon the enmity either existing or supposed to exist between missionaries and those more particularly engaged in commerce. If his tastes and connexions led him to favor the missionaries, his pages

were filled with eulogiums on their zeal, disinterestedness, wisdom, and purity, and with diatribes against the vice, selfishness, and violence of their opponents. If, on the contrary, he formed his ideas from intercourse with the residents abroad, he lauded in equally strong terms their liberality, enterprise, and intelligence, while he accused the missionaries of bigotry, worldliness, ambition, and many other bad qualities. Now in these, as in all partisan accounts, there is a mixture of truth and error; and the latter is particularly conspicuous in the high coloring which is given to the animosity which prevails between the two classes.

To present this subject in a proper view, I must draw the attention of my readers to the actual condition of the savages of Polynesia, before their character became modified by intercourse with foreigners. Then, by showing what causes have operated to effect the many changes which have since occurred, resulting in their present state of semi-civilization, we shall be able to judge how much of this can be attributed to commerce. It will also be necessary to advert to the missionary operations, and their results.

All the early navigators found the natives disposed to treachery and plunder; characteristics which have been repeatedly experienced, even to this day, by those whose duties or interests have led them to visit groups either wholly or partially unknown. When exceptions occur, they appear to be rather the results of fear and cupidity, than of a friendly spirit. A supreme selfishness dominated in the breasts of these savages, affording a painful contrast to the hospitality which the American Indian exercises towards those whose necessities are greater than his own. Tasman and Marion were attacked at New Zealand, Wallis at Tahiti, La Perouse at the Navigators, and Lieut. Hergest, of the Dedalus, with Mr. Gooch, the astronomer, were massacred at Oahu. Captain Broughton, of the Providence, lost several marines at Niihau in 1795—murdered from cupidity. As late as 1840, two of the officers of the United States Exploring Expedition were treacherously cut off at the Fijiis, evidently done with no other motive than to possess themselves of their arms and clothing. There is scarcely a group of islands which has not been the scene of some deplorable cruelty, at the commencement of intercourse with the whites. The first impulse of the natives, at the sight of a ship, appears to have been to surprise and capture it; and it has been only by repeated defeats, or prompt and efficient punishment, that they have been taught their own weakness. In a few instances, they regarded their first white visiters as gods, and as such revered them. While this opinion obtained, they were civil, obsequious, and hospitable. But this deportment was the result of their fear of disastrous consequences to themselves, should they offend the deified strangers, and continued no longer than their belief. They were kind or cruel, as their immediate selfish interests might direct. Even at this day, the Fijii islander considers the shipwrecked mariner and his property as lawful prizes—the one to grace his cannibal feast, and the other to gratify his vanity. No other right than that of the strongest or most artful is acknowledged. This spirit is not shown alone in their relations to foreigners. Selfish and cruel as these savages are towards strangers, they are none the less so to their own race. Navigators differ somewhat in their respective accounts of the various tribes they have visited, but not more so than would naturally arise from the different circumstances under which their acquaintance was made. No one can

peruse their pages without being convinced that the savages of Polynesia were, at the date of their discovery, a desperately wicked and sensual race. Incest and sensuality were universal, and produced no shame. Lying was not considered a fault. Child-murder was common, and not regarded as a crime. Human sacrifices were required by law. Cannibalism extensively prevailed. None were superior to theft. Cruelty was the boast of the warrior, and not even the ties of kindred were proof against treachery. Intoxicating, or rather stupifying drinks, were in daily use. Always at war, their vilest passions were ever dominant. Their chiefs practised the most grinding tyranny, and the common people had all the meanness and cunning of slaves. Their most attractive quality—it cannot be called a virtue—was a kind of easy and listless good nature, never to be depended upon, when any of their passions were called into play. If, indeed, a better disposition was sometimes displayed, and their dark characters occasionally enlivened by touches of humanity, they were sufficient only to redeem their claim to that title. And when we meet with individuals enabled by the force of their natural talents to rise superior to the common vices of their race, it marks but more strongly the degradation of the remainder.

If such, then, in plain reality, is their character, it must be worse than heathen corruption that could add anything to their vileness. Still, much has been said of the sad results which followed from the introduction of the vices and mal-practices of civilized nations among the simple inhabitants of these secluded isles—these guileless children of nature—but until some proof is adduced more cogent than the sighs of poetic sentimentality, the correctness of such an opinion must be doubted. In fact, so far from any deterioration having resulted from foreign intercourse, there is strong ground for believing that its influence has been decidedly beneficial.

The navigators who first became acquainted with the islanders, were generally men of character, seeking fortune and reputations by their adventurous voyages. Many were commanders of national expeditions. Policy, interest, and humanity, alike prompted them to secure the goodwill of the natives; and an exception to such a course is rarely to be met with. The names of Wallis, Vancouver, La Perouse, and Wilson, need not be mentioned to confirm this assertion. At times, indeed, unprovoked and treacherous attacks compelled them to severe but necessary measures of retaliation; but they were conducted in such a manner as to subserve at once the design of justice, and to forcibly impress upon the natives the power of their visiters, and their promptness to punish any aggressions. The difference in warfare, the distinction made between the guilty and innocent, the forbearance shown to the helpless non-combatants, and the care taken of the wounded, could not but produce favorable results in their minds. Useful advice for their future conduct was also freely given, presents judiciously bestowed, and the natural resources of their countries enhanced by the introduction of valuable plants and animals. A desire for foreign productions was awakened, which could be gratified only through those whose intellectual superiority they were thus unconsciously acknowledging. In this manner, they acquired the principles of a new policy, and learned that their true interest lay in maintaining a fair commerce with the strangers. The vessels flocked to their shores, and articles of foreign manufacture were exchanged for the pro-

ducts of their soil. Newly awakened wants were gratified, and instead of meeting the white man as a foe, they greeted him as a friend. Such was their first step towards civilization.

After a short time, some few adventurers, attracted by the love of license, and the natural pleasantness of the climate, left their ships, and took up their residence on shore, where they exercised an important influence over the natives. They were, indeed, generally of the lowest class —in the words of Byron,

> "Men without country, who, too long estranged,
> Had found no native home, or found it changed;
> And, half uncivilized, preferred the cave
> Of some soft savage, to the uncertain wave."

Almost any person born and educated in a civilized country, however low he may be sunk in vice and ignorance, would be superior to these savages, both in moral sentiments and cultivation. Probably few, if any white men, ever banded among them, who did not feel and express a horror of the customs of human sacrifice, child-murder, cannibalism, and other atrocities practised by the natives. The most frequent charge brought against them, is their unbounded licentiousness. But it should be remembered that the natives were, in this respect, already sunk to the lowest depths of degradation; and though these men might conform to the customs of the country, they could add nothing to the prevalent vice. Indeed, we may suppose its grossest forms would soon disgust them; and we rarely find one so utterly lost to the associations of early life, as not, by his conduct, to at least set a better example in this respect.

The lowest class exercised at first the most influence over the natives, because in habits and propensities they were so nearly on a level with them. Consequently, the latter would be more forcibly impressed by their remonstrances. The whites, moreover, generally attached themselves to some powerful chief, of an energetic character, who, by their assistance, made himself master of the group; and thus, of course, put a natural end to savage warfare, with all its horrid results. From the mechanics, the natives would gradually become acquainted with the simplest of the arts, which the chiefs, for their own profit, would require them to learn and practice. A gradual but perceptible improvement in their dwellings, culture of lands, and clothing, took place. This constituted the second step in their progress towards civilization.

When it was once known that life and property were safe in any island, and that it afforded an opportunity of acquiring wealth, adventurers of a higher rank, men of education and character, made their appearance. The natives began to acquire a notion of the manners, style of living, and employments of enlightened nations. The chiefs were always the first to feel the influence of this example, and to adopt new customs; and from them the taste spread among the common people. The latter, moreover, perceiving that their chiefs were treated by the foreigners with a kind of careless superiority, gradually lost much of that slavish awe of them which was one of the principal obstacles to their improvement. A general desire became developed for a better form of government, and for an education which might raise them to an equality with their visiters.

At New Zealand, the worst features of barbarism, as well as the greatest advance in civilization of any of the Southern islands, exists. Many

tribes retain their primitive habits, but they are such only as are farthest removed from foreign influence; while those in the vicinity of the settlements have not only discontinued their savage rites, but have adopted the customs of the whites. Their wars are far less frequent and bloody, cannibalism has generally ceased, and their enterprise is now directed towards the acquisition of property. The settlers employ them to cultivate their lands, and as body servants; while many drive a lucrative trade, by supplying the markets and shipping from the produce of their farms. Some become sailors; others are employed as artisans. The money which they derive from these services is spent for articles of foreign manufacture. The external forms of Christianity are recognized, and they are about being united under one general government. Yet New Zealand affords one of the worst pictures of the influence of foreigners; for those who first settled there, were generally of the most abandoned character—convicts escaped from New South Wales, runaways from vessels, and others of equally unequivocal caste. These men brought all their vices with them, and spent their time and earnings in scenes of the grossest debauchery. Some may have compared, in vileness and crime, with the debased savages around them. Nevertheless, that their general influence tended to produce a favorable change in their barbarous associates, is evident from the fact that men of better character were soon attracted thither; and, bringing their families, became denizens of the country where, but a short period before, it would have been unsafe to land. Many benevolent persons declaim with much earnestness against the settlement of whites on lands held by savages, and draw a lamentable picture of the condition of the native tribes in case of such an event. They conjure up scenes of past felicity and innocence, when the children of the soil, untrammelled by the artificial restraints of civilization, roamed in unrestrained freedom over the land, and all was mirth and gladness. Their readers have presented to them a scene of Arcadian bliss. This they contrast with the toil and drudgery of laboring for the whites, of their utter denationilization, loss of language, and rapid passing away from the soil where repose the bones of their ancestors. All this powerfully appeals to the sympathies; and without further reflection, we should come to the conclusion that the contact of the two races brought nothing but misery, disease, and death, to the weaker. How far this is the case, it may be well to examine before leaving the subject; but for the present I shall confine myself to the question of colonization.

That the whites found the savages a cruel and sensual race, has already been shown. The great mass of the people being mere slaves, and always at war to gratify the base passions of their chiefs, could have but little attachment to the soil, and nothing of the spirit of patriotism. Fear was with them the most cogent motive, and almost the only principle which entered into their government or religion. Any change would be an improvement; and we find that after an amicable intercourse has been once opened by the whites, they are eager to enter their service. The chiefs would at first freely alienate their lands to acquire foreign luxuries, or the means of adding to their power, through the superior knowledge of their visiters. Thus the first exchanges of lands, goods, and services, were simply acts of trade, by which both parties were benefited. As the whites increased, the chiefs would naturally become more jealous; as the body of the people would reap many benefits from their intercourse, and

lose much of the debasing subserviency so natural to despotism. But it is needless to trace the progress of all the changes which result from this system. The effect is simply this: the natives are benefited just in that proportion as the settlers are superior to them in virtue and intelligence. A few of the rulers might regret the days of violence and tyranny, when their breath was law; but this could arise only from a reprehensible selfishness. At those islands in the Pacific at the present day, where whites are numerous, or the intercourse with them has been frequent, we find good order established; laws and government suitable to the condition of the people, by which the rights of trade and property are respected; commerce and agriculture flourishing; the Christian religion recognized; in short, the elements of incipient prosperity.

Who would change this spectacle for that which formerly everywhere prevailed, even though every island in the Pacific might be densely populated by the aborigines? Had purer causes been brought to operate upon them, more good would have been accomplished. Much of this revolution has been brought about through force and bloodshed. Ambition, licentiousness, and avarice, have swayed the minds of many. Still, such are the effects; and men and manners must be viewed as they actually exist. There is something melancholy in witnessing the gradual disappearance of a race of men from the earth, and in beholding their hearths and altars occupied by another. Yet it seems a fiat of the Creator, that by death all shall live. By storms and lightning, by the earthquake's shock, the avalanche, and all the terrible machinery of the Almighty's arm, equally as with the constant recurrence of seasons, the quiet growth of vegetation, and renewal of life, the physical world is kept in order for man's abode. Pestilence, war, and famine, are no less powerful agents under His guidance, for the moral world. Who shall question the designs of Providence, or attempt to improve them? If we but view the human race simply, as Christianity teaches us, as one family, and not permit our sympathies to be confined by boundary lines, treaties, and all the artificial distinctions which separate men on earth, we shall see at a glance that this gradual extinction and blending of races follows laws as immutable and as necessary as those which regulate the physical world. Death itself is but a result of this arrangement. In no way is this truth brought more forcibly to our perception, than in the destinies of nations. Separate the distinction of color and language from our minds, and we view them all as one people, and their gradual intermingling and passing away as a succession of generations. And this is their true state. On a certain island, one portion of the human family is found sunk into the lowest depths of degradation; on another, the highest in intellect and advancement. They come in contact. Those of the former capable of receiving the cultivation of the latter, become assimilated to and amalgamated with them—consequently, the power, wealth, and government, passes into their hands. Those of the latter who are too vile and indolent to improve, gradually decay, and are swallowed up in the mass of the former. As soon as the change is completed, we have a better and more numerous race of men, civilized and enlightened, to inhabit an island where all was heathenism before. Should another race, superior to this, follow, the same results would ensue. All this is in strict accordance with the plan of universal benevolence by which this world is governed; and the operations of such causes are as inevitable as they are permanent.

The vices and enormities too commonly practised by a lawless portion of the foreign population in the Pacific, are frequently so prominent as to entirely fill up the foreground of the picture, and justly to draw forth the most severe condemnation. Still, those who indulge in such censures are apt to lose sight of the original character of the heathen, and to occupy themselves too much with the present contrast between such countries and the most civilized—a comparison as unjust as it is erroneous. They should remember that these men, so far from being capable of adding to the natural depravity of the natives, actually suffer by contact with them. The restraints of law, domestic affections, and religion, which operate to a greater or less extent in a civilized community, to restrain their passions, do not exist here; while every allurement to sin is temptingly spread before them. Yet, instances of whites becoming complete savages, in minds and habits, are rare indeed; and the odium in which such individuals are held, shows how deep is the abhorrence of such degradation. Outlawed alike by all nations, they most commonly meet with a violent death from the hands of their savage associates.

The greatest benefit which has occurred to savages through foreign influences, has been the introduction of Christianity. In many instances, its success can be traced to the previous impressions made by visiters, whom interest or adventure led to their islands. Even those who were personally unfriendly to its progress, have indirectly afforded it aid, by keeping up in the natives the desire for improvement. The most hostile, in precept and example, likewise contributed, though unintentionally, to its advancement; for the obvious distinction between their conduct, and the deportment of those who are swayed by humane and generous feelings, would inevitably prepossess them in favor of upright and honest dealings. The punishments which follow crimes among the whites, so frequently witnessed by them, would confirm this impression, and consequently their minds become more susceptible to moral distinctions. Such has often been the experience of missionaries. Those who came out before the islands were frequented by ships, were uniformly unsuccessful. At the Marquesas, their lives were endangered, and they were obliged to flee: at the Friendly islands, four of them were murdered; and at the Society group they protracted their labors unsuccessfully for sixteen years, until other influences, such as we have been treating of, were brought to the aid of their cause. If Pomare had not, chiefly by the assistance of foreigners, been enabled to make himself sovereign of Tahiti, who can say how long the favorable result might have been delayed?

Neither is it a matter of astonishment that the first reception of missionaries was hostile and unfriendly. How could savages, possessing characters so sensual and selfish as we have seen they displayed alike to strangers and the nearest of kin, conceive of a benevolence which would lead men to exile themselves for the benefit of others. The property they brought with them would also be a strong temptation to plunder; and, indeed, we find that they invariably suffered in this respect. Yet the savages treated them no worse than they would have treated their own flesh and blood, had the temptation been the same. And there is no fact more indisputable than that commerce first taught them to fear and respect the white man, and also made them dependent upon him for the very necessaries of life; and by this means they first learned to appreciate the character of a missionary. First, unchecked avarice governed them—

this punished, then fear, and finally interest, taught them to treat the pale-faced strangers as their friends. Of late, little of this difficulty has been experienced. The islanders are almost always eager to receive and cherish their teachers—a change which is in a great measure to be attributed to the new perceptions they have acquired from foreigners.

Next to New Zealand, Tahiti, of all the Southern islands, is most frequented by foreigners. Missionaries have resided there upwards of forty years, and have finally succeeded in introducing all the outward forms of Christianity—of indeed converting the natives from heathenism; and although their efforts have not been attended with so full and brilliant success as at some other points, yet this is to be attributed to the unfavorable circumstances that always attend a first experiment. The Tahitians were a nation luxurious and licentious above all others in the Pacific; and these qualities will never be entirely eradicated. They form as much a part of the nation as their color and language; and we have it from the missionaries themselves, that these vices have rather changed their forms than diminished their degrees. True it is that it is disguised; and so much improvement has taken place, that a semblance of outward decency is preserved. In other respects, the Tahitians are infinitely changed for the better. The Sabbath is observed, schools attended, the grinding tyranny of the chiefs abolished, laws respected, and tolerably regular government established. All that missionaries can well do without the assistance of foreigners, has been done, and quite as successfully as could have been anticipated. They have even attempted to introduce some of the arts of civilized life; and their zeal for encouraging agriculture, and the attempt to form an export for the islands, deserves much praise. Partial success has rewarded their labors in these particulars, but full as much as would naturally arise, from circumstances which necessarily render these considerations of a secondary nature. With a missionary, moral efforts are the great primary object; and his attention can only be devoted to the improvement of the physical condition of the people, as auxiliary to the former—consequently, it can be but partially successful. But with the merchant, the case is reversed. All his time, energies, and capital, are devoted towards the accumulation of property, and the labors of others is necessary to effect this. He cannot succeed in any honorable traffic, without benefiting others; and thus, through a law of benevolence, the good of one is made conducive to the welfare of all. Tahiti has been heretofore mostly under missionary influence; and by Christianizing the inhabitants, it is slowly becoming a desirable residence for the capitalist and merchant. They now begin to flock thither, and their enterprise will find employment for the natives. By the combination of these influences, each neutralizing in a great measure the defects of the other, a much better state of affairs will result, than if either altogether predominated.

A charge frequently brought against foreigners, has been their supplying natives with fire-arms, and otherwise encouraging them in their wars. This is true, but its results have generally been beneficial. We find that wars have ceased as soon as one leading chief secured the ascendancy; and his power has been frequently established through the assistance of whites. They would naturally prefer the service of the most energetic and capable man, as he would best appreciate their assistance; and we rarely hear of their joining indiscriminately both parties, and aiding and protracting a long and bloody warfare. At the Sandwich islands, the

Society, and indeed others, the way was opened for Christianity through these very means. When missionaries have succeeded in establishing themselves before this has occurred, wars have resulted between the advocates of the new religion and the adherents of the old. The Christian party has finally triumphed, but by the aid of fire-arms, and the superior knowledge derived from more immediate contact with the whites.

Missionaries have been established for several years at the Samoa and Friendly group, and the natives have made rapid advances in Christianity. These islands having no foreign population, and being but an occasional resort for shipping, show conclusively how much can be accomplished by missionaries, undisturbed or unaided by other influences. Their remarkable success in turning the people from their idols, and the great moral reform which has followed their labors, are unanswerable arguments in favor of missions; for no like changes have occurred where they have not been established. Still they raise a people but to a certain point, when they either remain stationary, or retrograde; unless, indeed, by imitating the Jesuits in Paraguay, and becoming their rulers, remodel their polity, introducing the customs, laws, and manufactures of Europe, and thus force them, as it were, to be civilized. This may appear to be an uncharitable conclusion, but it is far otherwise; and in making it, no censure is intended. However faithfully they may devote themselves to their work as missionaries, this will be the inevitable result. The reason is obvious. By their own inclinations, and characters as preachers of the gospel, they must necessarily confine themselves to moral and doctrinal teachings. Their hearers are engaged in every work of vice and crime, and even all their games and amusements partake of sensuality. In proportion as they become influenced by the new religion, they discontinue their old customs, and the whole government must be revolutionized. Despotism must be abolished, as inconsistent with their new belief; wars cease; and those sports whose only merit consisted in their manly activity, while they depraved and corrupted the mind, are necessarily forsaken. Industry is inculcated, both by precept and example, by their teachers; and every advice and direction for culture of the earth, instruction in simple trades, and engaging in new avocations, given. But until some more powerful motive than the mere desire to be industrious is presented, or there is a demand for labor, men will not become so. Hope of reward is necessary to stimulate them. At Samoa, the manners of the natives are rapidly becoming revolutionized. But the novelty of this change will soon wear away; and unless something occurs to employ their time profitably to themselves, a moral reaction will necessarily take place. Their natures remain much the same. At present, the desire for learning, attending meetings, and other sources of missionary instruction, which are necessarily multiplied in order to keep the minds of the natives alive to these subjects, will occupy them. But the experience of missions show that this soon palls; and unless something else is brought forward, they will do those things in secret which their new laws may forbid, but which have been sanctioned by usage with them from time immemorial. The guilt, in their view, will lay more in detection, than in any criminal act itself. The brightest conversions among the natives are those the most engaged in regular occupations.

A nation may change its religion; and by so doing, those sources of activity by which its energies (however wrongfully directed) were tried,

and hopes stimulated, are dried up, because in direct opposition to the spirit of the new. Something must now intervene, (for in these islands the mere labor for subsistence occupies but a small portion of time,) or else the nation will perish, or return to their former practices. Agriculture, trade, and commerce, are now the resort; and as missionaries cannot engage profitably in them, and retain their original character, men whose business these are, should be encouraged to settle. In this way, the dormant industry of the country will be awakened, its natural resources developed, and the natives provided with the means of becoming civilized, without which it is vain to think of keeping them Christianized.

The Roman Catholic missionaries at the Gambier islands have been eminently successful in converting the people to their faith; but in this they have been aided by many incidental circumstances. The islands are small, and contain but 2,200 inhabitants. They are far separated from other islands, little or no shipping touching there, and the people consequently were without any previous bias; and, undisturbed by conflicting doctrines, have no temptation to forsake their present faith. The population is now on the increase—the men are employed in shelling, while all the women learn to spin. The poverty of the island compels the natives to labor for their subsistence, and the various arts which are taught keep them industrious.

Before closing this article, it will be worth our attention to take a view of those islands which are wholly without missionary influence, but partially under that of foreigners. Their condition will go far to refute or confirm the assertions which I have before made. A few teachers of the Methodist persuasion have settled at the Fijii group. As their labors, though indefatigable in their cause, cannot be said to have produced a sincere convert, and the islands are so populous and extensive, I shall class them among those to which we now refer. Their white population was originally the same as that which first frequented New Zealand; but the barbarous habits of the savages seem to have had a favorable effect upon them, by strengthening the sense of their own moral superiority, which has secured to them a deserved respect among their heathen associates. This influence has been sufficiently powerful, in places where they have settled in any numbers, to put an end to cannibalism, and to associate with it a feeling of horror and disgust—certainly a great step towards changing the manners of so ferocious a race. In other respects, their example has been decidedly beneficial; particularly in regulating the intercourse with vessels that touch for trade and refreshments, and securing them from any treacherous attacks. Of late, they are even desirous to secure a missionary to reside with them, for the purpose of instructing their children; and the most favorable points for the introduction of Christianity are said to be where they reside.

Next in importance to these islands is the King's Mill group, and others in the immediate vicinity. A few stragglers from civilization are said to reside on them, but so little is known of their history, that I cannot speak of their condition with any certainty. Of some, rumor says they are in character pirates, being runaways from vessels in which they experienced ill treatment, and are now determined to revenge themselves on any whites whom misfortune or want of prudence may put into their power. Even if this is the case, the savages will soon perceive that such visiters are an injury alike to them and their own race; and the penalty which

such crimes so richly deserve must sooner or later overtake them. The savages will not fail to contrast their conduct with those who treat them justly, and the reaction of sentiment will be much in favor of the latter. A few years since, the captain and crew of a shipwrecked whaler were massacred at the group. Some time afterward, the captain of another vessel, hearing of this circumstance, sailed for the place, and opened a destructive fire upon their villages, which, of course, from its mere wantonness and injustice, only exasperated the savages, and rendered it still more dangerous for other vessels to approach their islands. In cutting off the crew of the whaler, they had acted according to the dictates of their own natural feelings and customs, and were unconscious of having committed any criminal offence. They should have been punished severely; but to have produced a good effect, it should have been with judgment, and not in a spirit of revenge. The distinction between the innocent and guilty should have been made as far as practicable, and the power and justice of the whites at the same time firmly impressed upon their minds. But, in this instance, they could perceive that the whites acted precisely as they would have done themselves in a similar case; and thus an opportunity of forcibly impressing upon them the moral as well as physical superiority of their civilized foes, which would have tended strongly to have prevented a recurrence of the like treachery, was lost. That kind treatment will conciliate even the lowest of savages, is evident from the following fact, which was related to me by the master of a vessel, who has had much experience with the South Sea tribes. Not long after the catastrophe above mentioned, he sailed for the same group. Upon making them, his vessel was surrounded with canoes filled with warriors, who immediately commenced an attack. A few balls were then fired through several of their canoes, which sunk them, and the crews of the remainder made for the shore in great trepidation. The succeeding day, they came alongside in a peaceful manner, and gave up all their weapons, which were at once destroyed. They were then admitted on board the ship, and presents distributed among them, and every method attempted to conciliate, and at the same time to impress upon their minds the power of the strangers. This treatment had the desired effect; and every time that vessel appears, the natives flock to her with gifts of fruits and vegetables, and with every demonstration of joy. And this is simply the effect of making them dread the power, and at the same time see it is for their interests to receive their visiters kindly.

It is a lamentable fact that unprovoked aggressions have been made upon natives of the South Seas, but they are now of rare occurrence. Some, it seems, have fired upon them, out of mere abuse of superior power —to *amuse* themselves at the surprise and terror of the ignorant islanders. Others, in revenge for some real or fancied injury, have lowered themselves to the level of the most cruel of the savages themselves. These cases are to be deplored; and while they lessen the amount of benefit received, they do not disprove the general fact of the utility of a commercial intercourse with the aborigines. Indeed, they are to be viewed only as exceptions to a general rule. On many islands, it is well known white men are held prisoners, and the strictest caution used to prevent their escape, so important are their services to the inhabitants. Even those unfortunate individuals who resided on Lord North's island, although suffering every privation themselves, yet, when they were released, cheerfully acknowledged

their indebtedness to the miserable beings they had been among, as having treated them well, according to *their* ideas, and preserved their lives. They rewarded them to the best of their ability, and no doubt left a most favorable impression among them of the honor and justice of the pale-faced race; and any person whom misfortune may hereafter drive upon those shores, will have reason to be thankful for the lesson. The inhabitants of Rotuma and Ascension have become, through the civilizing influences of commerce, tractable and hospitable. The former are frequently employed as sailors by whaling and other vessels, and bear a high character for industry and honesty. At the latter, property is safe, and trade with foreigners eagerly desired. They both offer great encouragements as missionary stations, and will probably before long be occupied. The inhabitants of Pitcairn's island are a remarkable instance of purity and simplicity of manner, the result of the instructions of an ignorant but simple-minded foreigner.

In the preceding remarks I have endeavored to show that commerce, even in intercourse with the most savage of the human race, has produced decidedly beneficial effects. If, however, the following description, from the pages of a popular author of the last century, is correct, I am altogether in the wrong; and happy would it have been for the "spotless minds" of these children of an earthly paradise, had the white man never visited their favored land. The missionary could bring no glad tidings to a sinless race, nor commerce benefit them—their happiness was complete.

"Is it not enough that European avarice and ambition disturb the repose of distant nations?—why should their vices and diseases taint the spotless mind or the uncontaminated frame? O! why were you ever drawn from your primeval obscurity, ye once happy natives of Otaheite? We have only taught you to feel wants which cannot be gratified, we have planted ills which never can be cured. Such are the blessings that the civilized confer on savages."

Similar opinions were entertained by many of the great and good of the past age, and are not altogether eradicated from the present. But the belief which most generally prevails at the present day among a numerous class, and one which some authors seem particularly desirous of extending, is, that the influence of commerce is necessarily prejudicial to the aborigines of a country, and an antagonist to the precepts of the gospel. This is a sophism, dangerous alike to both causes, and calculated to strengthen the enmity of feeling which unfortunately exists between the partial advocates of either view. No one will attempt to argue that it would have been better for humanity or civilization that the islands of the South Seas had never been visited, though some may contend that the latter has spread itself at the extent of the former. Unfortunately, the criminal conduct of many voyagers and traders, in their intercourse with the natives, gives room for the assertion. Who has not read of frequent acts of barbarity, committed through mere wantonness of power, by men whose boasts were of such deeds, and who themselves were savages in all but a white skin; of duplicity in trading, diseases introduced, and of the many wrongs and outrages which cause us to blush for our race? The guileless trader and innocent voyager have, in many instances, suffered by the retribution which should have been doubly visited upon the guilty. Such men are a pest to mankind; their deeds are the plague-spots of history; savage or civilized man are alike injured.

If we but look (as too many do) only upon the dark side of history, our hearts sicken at the view—the bad always appears the most prominent. Death, disease, crime, and suffering, are always in bold relief, and strike us forcibly; while the many acts of benevolence which alleviate, of generosity which cheers, and counsels that soothes or builds anew the shattered frame of man or state, the example that operates almost imperceptibly—all these, emanating from the better feelings of man, spread over the world like oil upon water, so noiselessly, that we rarely detect them but in their effects.

The South Sea islanders, upon their discovery, were made the special objects of the benevolence of the great of Europe. They had been represented in the most glowing colors, and were looked upon almost as children of a new and fairer creation. Unlike the Indians of America, their lands were respected—no mines of gold brought a cruel and avaricious conqueror to their shores to exterminate, or the priest, with cross or faggot, to proselyte. Gifts were showered down upon them; all strove to impart to them the knowledge and resources of civilization. Some of this was done with more zeal than discretion. The Duchess of Choiseul, in 1769, "ordered a considerable sum to be expended in seeds, implements of husbandry, and other articles, for the improvement of the island of Tahiti."

The noble and disinterested conduct of Vancouver, in endeavoring to pacify the hostile parties of the Sandwich islands, is familiar to all readers—also the expense incurred in introducing cattle, various fruits and vegetables, and, in short, everything which could be useful to the natives, or enable them to support a traffic with foreigners. Instances of this nature might be indefinitely multiplied. England was the most famous in this active benevolence, and by it she is justly entitled to the good will of the islanders. When we look at them in their original state, we see tribes of naked or but half-clad natives, filthy in their habits, and with little call for industry to support them; their lives being mostly spent in sensuality, the rites of a bloody and debasing theology, or in a cruel and never-ending warfare. Their fruits, vegetables, and animals, were few in variety—of the natural resources of their soil, they knew nothing. Months were spent in manufacturing articles of domestic use, which half a day's labor for the whites would have purchased. Riches lay everywhere around them, and yet they knew it not. They were children in knowledge, but adepts in all that was brutal and sensual. The white man came—their eyes were opened, and they saw their own nakedness. To him they were indebted for the cow, the horse, the goat, and mule; in short, for all those appendages to civilization, without which, the most fertile country is but a wilderness. Articles of but little value to them were exchanged for those which, to savages, are always inestimable.

Commerce gave a value to the sandal-wood, biche le mar, tortoise-shell, and other articles, which, without it, are as useless as the sands on the sea-shore. Commerce made it for their interest to cease warring—if the stranger could not be protected, their wants could not be supplied; nor without labor and industry could they collect the articles necessary for exchange. Commerce clothes them, and gives them the means of subsistence. It has taught them the value of the gifts of Providence—to extract sugar from the cane, to rear the tender silk-worm, to gather coffee, plant corn, and is constantly opening to their view the inexhaustible

resources of agriculture. By its means, settlers have established their home upon their shores, bringing with them the arts and refinements of civilization. Many intermarry, and thus raise them in character and respectability; and all are interested in promoting and preserving good order, in abolishing bad habits and laws, and in every way improving their adopted country. Knowledge is communicated by daily intercourse, and every resident is a missionary as far as his example for good goes. The manners and usages of civilized nations are taught them by visiters, while families show them the advantages of well-regulated households, and the virtues and enjoyments of domestic life. Commerce offers a premium to morality and intelligence, as it pays those best who possess those qualities in the highest degree. Commerce has made them sailors, artizans, and traders—it teaches them the value of property, and indirectly the rights of man. It has remodelled their polity, freed their labor, and is rapidly teaching the chiefs that, if they would have their own rights respected, they must respect the rights of others; that oppression and enterprise cannot flourish in unison; and that, if they would retain their authority, they must exert themselves to keep pace with the advance of mind and general improvement about them. Commerce keeps the springs of enterprise in motion, awakens new ideas, liberalizes their governments, and brings the arts and improvements of other lands to theirs. It would have carried them far in advance of their present condition, had they but seconded her efforts by the enaction of suitable laws to encourage the settlement of respectable whites, of securing apprentices to trades, and other means by which the interests of all are protected in more advanced countries. Commerce is an all-active principle. All that cannot float on its current, is lost in its depths. Commerce has, in all ages, been the friend of the common people. Commercial countries are always the most free; and well may the natives remember the day, with gratitude, when they first beheld the "floating island," as they deemed the ships approaching their shores. True, it contained not "gods;" but it was a harbinger of the gifts of a bountiful Providence, to raise them from their degradation, and free them from the most sensual of all slavery.

In conclusion, we shall revert in general terms to the labors of missionaries at the Sandwich islands, and their influence in developing principles of civilization and Christianity.

On their arrival, they found the islanders victims to most cruel and debasing superstitions. These, the untiring efforts of years have uprooted, to a great extent, with their accompanying vices and crimes, and planted in their stead the worship of the one Jehovah. Religious instruction occupied their attention mostly, at first; but as soon as the mass of the people had become familiar with the doctrines of the Bible, schools and seminaries were established, in which all the common branches of education were taught. But before this could be done, the language was to be reduced to writing, and books translated—a work of labor little appreciated, but arduous in the extreme. The translation of the Bible is in itself a monument of industry. The missionaries have always furnished gratuitous medical advice and medicine to the natives, and have endeavored to destroy their barbarous customs of treating diseases, by the dissemination of correct knowledge upon this subject. Too little credit has been given them for the attempt to teach the mechanical arts, and introduce agricultural improvements. A farmer and his family were

among the first body of missionaries that arrived at Hawaii; but, owing to the indifference of the chiefs, were obliged to suspend their labors, and return home.

Many of the native mechanics were instructed by the missionaries. They have also established manual-labor schools, and their precepts and examples tend directly to the encouragement of industry, and the introduction of the trades and manufactures of civilized life. In the female seminary at Waileiku au Mani, the girls are taught to sew, spin, braid, and knit, and other employments suitable to their sex. In all the other schools, these branches are taught as far as practicable. Every assistance and encouragement has been given to the natives, to enable them to find a profitable market for their produce, and to create exports for the purchase of foreign goods. As far as missionaries, without compromising their character as such, can go in effecting these desirable changes, they have done so; but their success depends more upon individual wants and interests, and requires the co-operation of the merchant and agriculturist. The missionary has endeavored to civilize the natives, by inducing them to live in better houses, and forsake their old habits. It is by examining into the minutiæ of daily life, that we can rightly judge of what has been accomplished. But it is needless to descend further into particulars. The labors of the missionary have been directly employed in Christianizing the natives, and indirectly in civilizing. That they have done this, and that the results are gratifying in the extreme, none can deny. They have also introduced the same system of free schools which has raised New England to her high station of intellectual power. Originating from the freest and most enlightened country, and educated in the bosom of a democratic church, their influence has been to extend human liberty and thought, and to introduce those institutions which have crowned their native land with so much honor. They have laid a broad foundation for national happiness and greatness; and their influence, whether upon natives or whites, will cease only with the end of all things. Their character, like that of the Puritans, will leave its impress upon after ages; and there are few of the present who do not award that sect the just praise of sowing those seeds of individual and national freedom, which have operated so powerfully in rendering America what she is. To say that their system is faultless, would be erroneous; or that what has been done, in some instances, might not have been done better. The same truth holds good of all other human means—imperfection and decay are but too closely united with humanity.

The two principles of Christianity and civilization, modifying each other, give knowledge and freedom to the world. They are the choicest gifts of Providence to man, and his greatest happiness lies in their proper union. For their advancement, distinct professions are necessary, though each is essential to the healthy existence of the other. Mankind have moral and intellectual wants, as well as physical. Let not the professors of either narrow down their views to the horizon of their selfish interests, but look about upon the world as the common field of their labors—its improvement as their common end. Their pursuits are all necessary, all noble; and should expand the soul, and make it grasp at brighter things than the mere possession of some trifling gratification, or petty triumph to particular opinions or designs. J. J. J.

Art. II.—INTERNAL TRADE OF THE UNITED STATES.

NUMBER III.

The increasing tendency to reside in towns and cities which is manifested by the inhabitants of all countries, as they make progress in the arts and refinements of civilization, is sufficiently obvious to most men who think on the subject. But it is not so apparent to those whose attention has not been particularly turned to the matter, that the improvements of the last century have so much strengthened that tendency as almost to make it seem like a new principle of society, growing out of the combined agency of steam power and machinery. Mr. Hume, who had as clear apprehension of the relations of the various conditions of society, and the operation of the causes modifying them, as any man of his time, expresses the opinion that no city of antiquity probably ever contained more inhabitants than London, which, at the time he wrote, near one hundred years ago, was estimated at 800,000. He thought there were internal and inherent causes to check and stop the growth of the most favorably situated cities when they reached that size. Taking the then existing condition of society as the basis of his reasoning, it seems probable that he judged correctly. Neither the spinning jenny, nor the power loom, nor the steam engine, nor the canal, nor the McAdam road, nor the railway, had then been brought into use; nor had the productive power of the soil, aided by science and art, been, at that time, tasked to its utmost to bring forth human sustenance. Mr. Hume looked with the eye of a philosopher on the past and the present; but, in predicting of the future, his mistakes were nearly as numerous as his vaticinations. To judge of the future by the past may seem safe and philosophic to those who believe not in the certain advance of mankind towards a more perfect condition and nature. So to judge was in accordance with the sceptical mind of Mr. Hume. Let us avoid, so far as we may, his mistake; though to us it seems not practicable to avoid falling into some degree of error of the same sort, when we undertake to foretell future conditions and events, in a rapidly progressive community.

What has been the effect of the improvements, physical and moral, of the past century, on the growth of towns? and what is likely to be their future effect, aided by other and probably greater improvements, on the growth of towns, during the hundred years to come? We define town to mean any place numbering 2,000 or more inhabitants. It is to Great Britain we are to look for the main evidences of the effects of the labor-saving improvements of the last century. The first canal was commenced in that country by the Duke of Bridgewater, no longer ago than 1760. The invention of the spinning jenny, by Hargreaves, followed seven years after. Not long after this, the spinning frame was contrived by the ingenuity of Arkwright. In 1775, Mr. Crompton produced the machine called the mule, a combination of the two preceding. Some time afterwards, Mr. Cartwright invented the power loom, but it was not until after 1820 that it was brought into general use. The steam engine, the moving power of all this machinery, was so improved by Watt, in 1785, as to entitle him to claim, for all important practical purposes, being its inventor. At the same time that these great inventions were being brought into use, the nation was making rapid progress in the construction of ca-

nals and roads, and the duplication of her agricultural products. Indeed, great part of her works to cheapen and facilitate internal trade, including her canals, her McAdam roads, and her railways, have been constructed within the last thirty years. The effect of these, in building up towns, is exemplified by the following facts. Mr. Slaney, M. P., stated in the house of commons, in May, 1830, that, "in England, those engaged in manufacturing and mechanical occupations, as compared with the agricultural class, were 6 to 5, in 1801; they were as 8 to 5, in 1821; and 2 to 1, in 1830. In Scotland, the increase had been still more extraordinary. In that country they were as 5 to 6, in 1801; as 9 to 6, in 1821; and, in 1830, as 2 to 1. The increase of the general population for the preceding twenty years, had been 30 per cent; in the manufacturing population it had been 40 per cent; in Manchester, Liverpool, Coventry, and Birmingham, the increase had been 50 per cent; in Leeds, it had been 54 per cent; in Glasgow, it had been 100 per cent." The increase of population in England and Wales, from 1821 to 1831, was 16 per cent. This increase was nearly all absorbed in towns and their suburbs, as the proportion of people engaged in agriculture has decreased decidedly with every census. More scientific modes of culture, and more perfect machines and implements, combined with other causes, have rendered an increased amount of human labor unnecessary in the production of a greatly augmented amount of food. In 1831, but one-third of the people of England were employed in the labors of agriculture. In 1841, very little more than one-fourth were so employed. In Scotland, seven of the best agricultural counties decreased in population, from 1831 to 1841, from 1 to 5 per cent; whereas, the counties, in which were her principal towns, increased during the same period from 15 per cent to 34.8 per cent; the latter being the increase of the county of Lanark, in which Glasgow is situated. The average increase of all Scotland for those ten years, was 11.1 per cent. According to Marshall, the increase of population in England for the ten years preceding 1831, was 30 per cent in the mining districts; 25½ in the manufacturing; and 19 in the metropolitan, (Middlesex county;) while, in the inland towns and villages, it was only 7¾ per cent.

The railways, which now traverse England in every quarter, and bring into near neighborhood its most distant points, have been nearly all constructed since 1830. Their effect, in aid of the other works, in augmenting the present great centers of population, will, obviously, be very considerable; how great, remains to be developed by the future. London, with its suburbs, has now about 2,000,000 of inhabitants; but she is probably far below the culminating point of her greatness. The kingdom of which she is the commercial heart, doubles its population in forty-two years. It is reasonable, then, to suppose that, within the next fifty years, London and the other great *foci* of human beings, in that kingdom, will have more than twice their present numbers; for it is proved that nearly the whole increase in England is monopolized by the large commercial and manufacturing towns with their suburbs.

Will similar causes produce like effects in the United States? In the States of *Massachusetts*, *New York*, *Pennsylvania*, and *Ohio*, the improvements of the age operated to some extent on their leading towns from 1830 to 1840. *Massachusetts* had little benefit from canals, railways, or steam power; but her towns felt the beneficent influence of her labor-saving machinery moved by water power, and her improved agriculture

and common roads. The increase of her nine principal towns, commencing with Boston and ending with Cambridge, from 1830 to 1840, was 66,373, equal to 53 per cent; being more than half the entire increase of the state, which was but 128,000, or less than 21 per cent. The increase, leaving out those towns, was but 11 per cent. Of this 11 per cent, great part, if not all, must have been in the towns not included in our list.

The growth of the towns in the State of *New York*, during the same period, is mainly due to her canals. That of the fourteen largest, from New York to Seneca, inclusive, was 204,507, or 64½ per cent; whereas, the increase in the whole state was less than 27 per cent, and of the state, exclusive of these towns, but 19 per cent. Of this, it is certain, that nearly all is due to the other towns not in the list of the fourteen largest.

Pennsylvania has canals, railways, and other improvements, that should give a rapid growth to her towns. These works, however, had not time, after their completion, to produce their proper effects, before the crash of her monetary system nearly paralyzed every branch of her industry, except agriculture and the coal business. Nine of her largest towns, from Philadelphia to Erie, inclusive, exhibit a gain, from 1830 to 1840, of 84,642, being at the rate of 39⅓ per cent. This list does not include Pottsville, or any other mining town. The increase of the whole state was but 21¾ per cent.

Ohio has great natural facilities for trade, in her lake and river coasts; the former having become available only since the opening of the Erie canal, in 1826, and that to little purpose before 1830. She has also canals, which have been constructing and coming gradually into use since 1830. These now amount to about 760 miles. For the last five years, she has also constructed an extent of McAdam roads exceeding any other state, and amounting to hundreds of miles. Her railways, which are of small extent, have not been in operation long enough to have produced much effect. From this review of the state, it will not be expected to exhibit as great increase in town population, from 1830 to 1840, as will distinguish it hereafter. The effects of her public improvements, however, will be clearly seen in the following exhibit. Eighteen of her largest towns, and the same number of medium size and average increase, contained, in 1830, 58,310, which had augmented, in 1840, to 138,916; showing an increase of 138 per cent. The increase of the whole state, during the same period, was 62 per cent. The northwest quarter of the state has no towns of any magnitude, and has but begun to be settled. This quarter had but 12,671 inhabitants in 1830 and 92,050, in 1840.

The increase of the twenty largest towns of the United States, from New York to St. Louis, inclusive, from 1830 to 1840, was 55 per cent, while that of the whole country was less than 34 per cent. If the slave-holding states were left out, the result of the calculation would be still more favorable to the towns.

The foregoing facts clearly show the strong tendency of modern improvements to build towns. Our country has just begun its career; but as its progress in population is in a geometrical ratio, and its improvements more rapidly progressive than its population, we are startled at the results to which we are brought, by the application of these principles to the century into which our inquiry now leads us.

In 1840, the United States had a population of 17,068,666. Allowing its future increase to be at the rate of 33⅓ per cent, for each succeeding period of ten years, we shall number, in 1940, 303,101,641. Past experience warrants us to expect this great increase. In 1790, our number was 3,927,827. Supposing it to have increased each decade, in the ratio of 33⅓ per cent, it would, in 1840, have amounted to 16,560,256; being more than half a million less than our actual number, as shown by the census. With 300,000,000, we should have less than 150 to the square mile for our whole territory, and but 220 to the square mile for our organized states and territories. England has 300 to the square mile. It does not, then, seem probable that our progressive increase will be materially checked within the one hundred years under consideration. At the end of that period, Canada will probably number at least 20,000,000. If we suppose the portion of our country, east and south of the Appalachian chain of mountains, known as the Atlantic slope, to possess at that time 40,000,000, or near five times its present number, there will be left 260,000,000 for the great central region between the Appalachian and Rocky mountains, and between the Gulf of Mexico and Canada, and for the country west of the Rocky mountains. Allowing the Oregon Territory 10,000,000, there will be left 250,000,000 for that portion of the American states lying in the basins of the Mobile, Mississippi, and St. Lawrence. If, to these, we add 20,000,000 for Canada, we have 270,000,000 as the probable number that will inhabit the North American valley at the end of the one hundred years, commencing in 1840. If we suppose one-third, or 90,000,000 of this number to reside in the country as cultivators and artisans, there will be 180,000,000 left for the towns—enough to people 360, each containing half a million. This does not seem so incredible as that the valley of the Nile, scarcely 12 miles broad, should have once, as historians tell us, contained 20,000 cities.

But, lest one hundred years seem too long to be relied on, in a calculation having so many elements, let us see how matters will stand fifty years from 1840, or forty-seven years from this time. The ratio of increase we have adopted cannot be objected to as extravagant for this period. In 1890, according to that ratio, our number will be 72,000,000. Of these, 22,000,000 will be a fair allowance for the Atlantic slope. Of the remaining 50,000,000, 2,000,000 may reside west of the Rocky mountains, leaving 48,000,000 for the great valley within the states. If, to these, we add 5,000,000 as the population of Canada, we have an aggregate of 53,000,000 for the North American valley. One-third, or say 18,000,000, being set down as farming laborers and rural artisans, there will remain 35,000,000 for the towns, which might be seventy in number, having each half a million of souls. It can scarcely be doubted that, within the forty-seven years, our agriculture will be so improved, as to require less than one-third to furnish food and raw materials for manufacture for the whole population. Good judges have said that we are not now more than twenty or thirty years behind England in our husbandry. It is certain that we are rapidly adopting her improvements in this branch of industry; and it is not to be doubted, that very many new improvements will be brought out, both in Europe and America, which will tend to lessen the labor necessary in the production of food and raw materials.

The tendency to bring to reside in towns all not engaged in agriculture that machinery and improved ways of intercourse have created, has

already been illustrated by the example of England and some of our older states. Up to this time, our North American valley has exhibited few striking evidences of this tendency. Its population is about 10,500,000; but, with the exception of New Orleans, Cincinnati, and Montreal, it has no large towns. As a whole, it has been too sparsely settled to build up many. Too intent on drawing out the resources of our exuberantly rich soil, we have neglected the introduction of those manufactures and mechanic arts that give agricultural productions their chief value, by furnishing an accessible market. This mistake is, however, rapidly bringing about its own remedy. In Ohio, the oldest (not in time but in maturity) of our western states, the arts of manufacture have commenced their appropriate business of building towns. Cincinnati, with its suburbs, has upwards of 50,000 inhabitants; a larger proportion of whom are engaged in manufactures and trades, than of either of the sixteen principal towns of the Union, except Lowell. The average proportion so engaged in all these towns, is 1 to 8.79. In Cincinnati, it is 1 to 4.50. Indeed, our interior capital has but two towns (New York and Philadelphia) before her, in number of persons, engaged in manufactures and trades. Our smaller towns, Dayton, Zanesville, Columbus, and Steubenville, having each about 6,000 inhabitants, have nearly an equal proportion engaged in the same occupation.

These examples are valuable only as indicating the direction to which the industry of our people tends, in those portions of the west, where population has attained a considerable degree of density. Of the ten and a half millions now inhabiting this valley, little more than half a million live in towns; leaving about ten millions employed in making farms out of the wilds, and producing human food and materials for manufactures. When, in 1890, our number reaches 53,000,000, according to our estimate, there will be but one-third of this number (to wit, 18,000,000) employed in agriculture and rural trades. Of the increase up to that time, (being 42,500,000,) 8,000,000 will go into rural occupations, and 34,500,000 into towns. This would people sixty-nine towns, with each half a million.

Should we, yielding to the opinion of those who may believe that more than one-third of our people will be required for agriculture and rural trades, make the estimate on the supposition that one-half the population of our valley, forty-seven years hereafter, will live on farms, and in villages below the rank of towns, the account will stand thus: 26,500,000 (being the one-half of 53,000,000 in the valley) will be the amount of the rural population; so that it must receive 16,500,000 in addition to the 10,000,000 it now has. The towns, in the same time, will have an increase of 26,000,000, in addition to the 500,000 now in them. Where will these towns be, and in what proportion will they possess the 26,500,000 inhabitants?

These are interesting questions, and not so impracticable of an approximately correct solution, as, at first blush, they may seem.

One of them will be either St. Louis or Alton. Everybody will be ready to admit that. Still more beyond the reach of doubt or cavil, is Cincinnati. We might name also Pittsburg and Louisville; but we trust that our readers, who have followed us through our former articles, are ready to concur in the opinion that the greatest city of the *Mississippi* basin will be either Cincinnati or the town near the mouth of the Mis-

souri, be it Alton or St. Louis. Within our period of forty-seven years, we have no doubt it will be Cincinnati. She is now in the midst of a population so great and so thriving; and, on the completion of the Miami canal, which will be within two years, she will so monopolize the exchange commerce at that end of the canal between the river and lake regions, that it is not reasonable to expect she can be overtaken by her western rival for half a century.

But such has been the influx of settlers within the last few years to the lake region, and so decided has become the tendency of the productions of the upper and middle regions of the great valley to seek a market at and through the lakes, that we can no longer withstand the conviction that, even within the short period of forty-seven years, a town will grow up on the lake border greater than Cincinnati. The following facts, it is believed, will force the same conviction to our readers:

The states of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, are bordered by both lake and river. All have large river accommodation, but Illinois has it to an unrivalled extent; whereas it has but one lake port.

Now let us see what has been the relative and positive growth of the river region and lake region of these states, from 1830 to 1840. Southern Ohio, including all south of the national road, and the counties north of that road which touch the Ohio river, had, in 1830, 550,000 inhabitants, and in 1840 730,000; showing an increase of 180,000—equal to 33½ per cent. Northern Ohio, in 1830, numbered but 390,000, which in 1840 had increased to 805,000; exhibiting an increase of 413,000, or 105 per cent. In 1830, Southern Ohio had 160,000 more than Northern Ohio; whereas, in 1840, the latter excelled the former 75,000. This preponderance of the lake region has not been owing to the superiority of its soil, or the beauty of its surface; for, in these respects, it is inferior to its southern rival.

Let us now see how the river and lake regions of Indiana compare, in 1830 and 1840. The national road is the dividing line.

Southern Indiana had, in 1830,	252,000	
Northern Indiana " "	89,000	
Southern Indiana had, in 1840,	397,000	
Northern Indiana " "	278,000	
Southern Indiana, in 1830,	252,000	Gain 145,000, or 58 pr. ct.
" " " 1840,	397,000	
Northern Indiana had, in 1830,	89,000	Showing a gain of 189,000,
" " " " 1840,	278,000	or 212 per cent.

Such has been the rapidity of settlement of the northern counties of Indiana, for the three years since the census was taken, that we cannot doubt that the north has nearly overtaken, in positive numbers, the south half.

Illinois exhibits the preference given to the lake region, in a still more striking manner. A line drawn along the north boundaries of Edgar and Coles counties, and thence direct to the town of Quincy, on the Mississippi, will divide the state into two nearly equal parts. The three counties, Morgan, Sangamon, and Macon, we divide equally, and give two-thirds of Adams to the north, and one-third to the south.

Southern Illinois had, in 1830,	122,732
Northern Illinois " "	33,852
Southern Illinois had, in 1840,	242,873
Northern Illinois " "	232,222

Southern Illinois, in 1830,	122,732	Showing a gain of 120,141,
" " 1840,	242,873	equal to 97 per cent.
Northern Illinois had, in 1830,	33,852	Showing a gain of 198,370,
" " 1840,	232,222	equal to 586 per cent.

There can be no doubt, with those who know the course of immigration, that Northern Illinois, at this time, contains many thousands more than Southern Illinois.

It may be said that the lake region of these states, being of more recent settlement, and having more vacant land, has, chiefly on that account, increased more than the river region. This might account for a *higher ratio*, but it would not account for a greater *amount* of increase. For instance: the state of New York, between 1820 and 1830, had a greater amount of increase than any western state, though most of them increased in a far higher ratio. So, by the census of 1840, it appears that the *amount* of increase of Ohio, for the ten years previous, was about three times as great as that of Michigan, although the *ratio* of increase of Michigan was more than nine times as high as that of Ohio.

Let us compare, then, the *amount of increase* of the lake and river regions of these states.

Increase from 1830 to 1840 of	Northern Ohio,	413,000
	" Indiana,	189,000
	" Illinois,	198,370
		800,370
Increase from 1830 to 1840 of	Southern Ohio,	180,000
	" Indiana,	145,000
	" Illinois,	120,141
		445,141

Arkansas and Michigan, were it not that the latter has the advantage of not holding slaves, would afford almost a perfect illustration of the preference given to the lake region over the river country. Each has extraordinary advantages of navigation, of its peculiar kind. No state in the valley has as extensive river navigation as Arkansas, and no state can claim to rival Michigan in extent of navigable lake coast.

In 1830, Michigan had a population of	32,538
" Arkansas " "	30,388
In 1840, Michigan numbered	212,276
" Arkansas "	97,578

These facts exhibit the difference in favor of the lake country sufficient to satisfy the candid inquirer that there must be potent causes in operation to produce such results. Some of these causes are apparent, and others have been little understood or appreciated. The staple exports, wheat and flour, have for years so notoriously found their best markets at the lake towns, that every cultivator, who reasons at all, has come to know the advantage of having his farm as near as possible to lake navigation. This has, for some years past, brought immigrants to the lake country from the river region of these states, and from the states of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, which formerly sent their immigrants mostly to the river borders. The river region, too, not being able to compete with its

northern neighbor in the production of wheat, and being well adapted to the growth of stock, has of late gone more into this department of husbandry. This business, in some portions, almost brings the inhabitants to a purely pastoral state of society, in which large bodies of land are of necessity used by a small number of inhabitants. These causes are obviously calculated to give a dense population to the lake country, and a comparatively sparse settlement to the river country. There are other causes not so obvious, but not less potent or enduring. Of these, the superior accessibility of the lake country from the great northern hives of emigration, New England and New York, is first deserving attention. By means of the Erie canal to Oswego and Buffalo, and the railway from Boston to Buffalo, with its radiating branches, these states are brought within a few hours' ride of our great central lake; and at an expense of time and money so small, as to offer but slight impediment to the removal of home, and household gods. The lakes, too, are about being traversed by a class of vessels, to be propelled by steam and wind, called Ericson propellers, which will carry immigrants with certainty and safety, and at greatly reduced expense.

European emigration hither, which first was counted by its annual thousands, then by its tens of thousands, has at length swelled to its hundred thousands, in the ports of New York and Quebec. These are both but appropriate doors to the lake country. It is clear, then, that the lake portion will be more populous than the river division of the great valley. This is one reason why the former should build up and sustain larger towns than the latter.

It has been proved that an extensive and increasing portion of the river region seeks an outlet for its surplus productions through the lakes. In addition to the proof given on that subject, we will compare the exports, in bread-stuffs and provisions, of New Orleans and Cleveland—the former for the year beginning 1st September, 1841, and ending 31st August, 1842; and the latter for the season of canal navigation, in 1842. All the receipts of Cleveland, by canal, are estimated as exports; as there is no doubt that she receives, coastwise and by wagon, more than enough to feed her people. The exports from New Orleans of the enumerated articles, and their price, are as stated in No. 4, vol. 7, of this magazine. Of the articles, then, of flour, pork, bacon, lard, beef, whiskey, corn, and wheat—

New Orleans exported to the value of	.....	$4,446,989
Cleveland " "	.....	4,431,739

The other articles of bread-stuffs and provisions received at New Orleans during that year, from the interior, are of small amount, and obviously not sufficient for the consumption of the city. Not so with Cleveland. The other articles of grain and provision, shipped last year from this port, added to the above, will throw the balance decidedly in her favor. If we suppose, what cannot but be true, that all the other ports of the upper lakes sent eastward as much as Cleveland, we have the startling fact that this lake country, but yesterday brought under our notice, already sends abroad more than twice the amount of human food that is shipped from the great exporting city of New Orleans, the once-vaunted sole outlet of the Mississippi valley. Another striking fact, in favor of the position that on the lakes are to be the leading commercial cities of our valley, is the growth

of Cleveland, compared with Portsmouth. When the Ohio canal was completed, that portion of the state traversed by it, lying nearest to Portsmouth, was superior, in population and productiveness, to that which was nearest Cleveland. Portsmouth is at the river end of the canal, and Cleveland at the lake end.

Portsmouth, including the township in which it is situated, numbered, in 1830,.....	1,464
In 1840,.....	1,844
Increase of Portsmouth, including the township, in ten years,..	380
Cleveland village numbered, in 1830,.....	1,076
" city, including Ohio* city, in 1840,.....	7,648
Increase of Cleveland in ten years,.....	6,572

The case of Alton and Chicago is calculated to illustrate the same position. The former is so finely situated on the Mississippi, just above the entrance of the turbulent Missouri, at the best point for concentrating the river trade on all sides, and doing the business of one of the finest and best settled portions of Illinois, that we have thought it might yet excel St. Louis, and perhaps rival Cincinnati. The country in its rear was settled long before that lying back of Chicago; and Alton, in consequence, sooner became an important commercial point. How many inhabitants it had in 1830, we have at hand no means of ascertaining. Certain it is that, at that time, it was far more populous than Chicago.

In 1840, Alton numbered.....	2,340
" Chicago "	4,470

Two short canals—one of about one hundred miles, connecting the Illinois canal with the Mississippi, at or near the mouth of Rock river; and the other of about one hundred and seventy-five miles, connecting the southern termination of the Wabash and Erie canal, at Terre Haute, with the Mississippi, at Alton—would, with the canals already finished or in progress, secure to the lakes not less, probably, than three-fourths of all the external trade of the river valley. With the Wabash and Erie, and the Miami canal, brought fairly into operation, the lakes will make a heavy draft on the trade of the river valley; and every canal, and railroad, and good highway, carried from the lakes, or lake improvements, into that valley, will add to the draft. The lake towns will then not only have a denser population in the region immediately about them, and monopolize all the trade of that region, but they will have at least half the trade of the river region. They will be nearer and more accessible to the great marts of trade and commerce of the old states and the old world; and this advantage will be growing, in consequence of the progressive removal of impediments to navigation between the lakes and the ocean.

The facts we have adduced, taken altogether, seem conclusive in favor of the lake towns. As a body, they come out of the investigation decidedly triumphant. But how shall we decide on their relative merits? There are several, whose citizens would claim pre-eminence for each—

* Ohio city is separated from Cleveland only by a narrow stream, and has grown since 1830.

Oswego, Buffalo, Cleveland, the Maumee town, (be it Maumee city or Toledo,) Detroit, and Chicago. Unless we have failed in our opening article, New Orleans, Montreal, and Quebec, although destined greatly to increase in size and wealth, may be left out of the contest.

Oswego has a fine position, as a point of shipment, between the lakes and the eastern states; and on the completion of the enlarged Welland canal, she will probably gain rapidly on Buffalo, in amount of goods forwarded west, and produce of the lakes sent to the Hudson. Her water-power will enable her to compete successfully with Rochester, in the manufacture of flour; and it must, before many years, be used extensively in other manufactures. As a point for the wholesale or jobbing of goods, she will be inferior to Buffalo. But both towns are too near, and too convenient to New York and Boston, to become great marts for the sale of European and eastern manufactures. Buffalo, in her suburb of Black-rock, has an almost exhaustless water-power, which, long within the period of forty-seven years, will make her a considerable manufacturing town. If the Erie canal enlargement should be delayed many years after the completion of the Welland canal, it would not surprise us to see Oswego overtake Buffalo, in size and business.

Buffalo has a cramped harbor; and, like Oswego, she has but a small country in her rear, to sustain her trade. Her position for carrying on foreign trade, after the enlargement of the Welland canal, will be less favorable than Cleveland, Maumee, Detroit, or Chicago. But before entering on the comparison of Buffalo and Cleveland, it will be well to lay down some principles that may be reasonably supposed to control or influence their future growth. And first, it may be asserted that a position favorable to an interchange of productions of a large country lying about it, is more advantageous than a situation which merely favors the passage of a great amount of productions through it. Boston and Charleston will illustrate this principle. The former exchanges, in her own market, the productions gathered into it from the coast, from the interior, and from foreign countries. Charleston is far less a gathering point of commodities, but she has a much larger value passing through the hands of her merchants.

Boston, between 1830 and 1840,	*increased*	33,611
Charleston, " " "	*decreased*	1,628

Other causes, no doubt, aided in this result; but that under consideration we believe to have been the chief.

Second. While a country is new, the first exchanges will be of agricultural products of one climate for those of a different climate, and of agricultural products for manufactured articles of first necessity. As society progresses in wealth, in addition to these articles finer fabrics, and of greater variety, become the subjects of exchange; so that when its condition approximates that of England, much of its exchangeable capital comes to be composed of the highly wrought productions of the various cities—each mainly engaged in its own peculiar production, and therefore dependent on all the others for all its articles of consumption, except the one article of its own fabrication.

Let us apply these principles. Buffalo has the advantage of a greater transit of produce and goods. In the former, however, she is not very much in advance, and Cleveland is rapidly gaining upon her. In propor-

tion to her population, Cleveland is already far ahead. As to goods passing to the upper lakes from the old states and Europe, Buffalo will divide chiefly with Oswego the advantages of their receipt and shipment up the lakes. Hers, for some time to come, will be the lion's share—at least until the completion of the Canadian improvements. But these goods, though of great value, will employ no great amount of tonnage, especially when sugar, molasses, cotton, rice, and tobacco, shall be sent to the lakes by the Miami and Illinois canals, as will soon be the case.

Long within the period under consideration, the position of Cleveland will be much more favorable for concentrating the business of the surrounding country than that of Buffalo. Canada will, before that time, form a part of our commercial community, whether she be associated with us in the government, or not. She will then have about five millions of people. The American shores of the lakes lying above the latitude of Cleveland will be still more populous.

Cleveland is the lake port for the great manufacturing hive at the head of the Ohio river—so made by the Mahoning canal, which connects her with Pittsburg. She commands, and she will long command, by means of her five hundred miles of canal and slackwater navigation, the trade of a part of western Pennsylvania, most of western Virginia, and nearly all the east half of the state of Ohio, in the intercourse of their inhabitants with the lake coasts, the eastern states, Canada, and Europe. Her position is handsome; and although her water-power is small, the low price of coal will enable her to sustain herself as a respectable manufacturing town. Her harbor, like that of Buffalo, though easy of entrance, is not sufficiently capacious. If coal should not be found on Lake Huron, more accessible to navigation than the beds on the canal, south of Cleveland, this article will greatly increase her trade with the other lake ports. It is now sold on her wharves at eight cents per bushel.

A glance at a map of the country will suffice to show that Buffalo is not well situated to be a place for the exchange of agricultural productions of the cold regions for those of the warm regions of the valley. In that respect Cleveland, though not unrivalled, is clearly in a better position than Buffalo. As a point for exchanging the products of the field for manufactured goods, Buffalo will not probably, for any long time, have the advantage of Cleveland. Such traders as live within the influence of the canals and rivers that pour their surplus products into Cleveland, and stop short of New York and Boston, will, it seems to us, be more likely to purchase in Cleveland than in Buffalo. Not every man who supplies a neighborhood with store-goods relishes a voyage on the sometimes tempest-tost waters of the lake; and, as we before remarked, Buffalo now being but a few hours' ride from New York or Boston, by a pleasant and safe conveyance, will hardly stop many purchasers of goods from those great markets. On the completion of the Canadian canals, Cleveland will have the advantage of Buffalo, in foreign trade, for the following reasons:—Her articles of export will be cheaper; and by that time, as we believe, more abundant. By means of her canals and roads, Cleveland is a primary gathering-point of these articles. Not so Buffalo. To arrive at her store-houses, these products must be shipped from the store-houses of other ports up the lakes, where they must be presumed to bear nearly the same price as at Cleveland. The cost of this shipment, together with a profit on it, will then be added; and, by so much, enhance

their price in Buffalo. A vessel entering Lake Erie by the Welland canal, seeking a cargo for a foreign port, would therefore clearly prefer going to the head of the market, where it could be bought at the cheapest rate. If the difference in price of exportable products, between the market at Buffalo and the market at Cleveland, is such as to warrant the payment of a freight to Buffalo, and the cost of a transhipment there to the foreign vessel, there can be no doubt of its being the interest of the foreign vessel to proceed directly to Cleveland for her cargo; and so to any other considerable market on Lake Erie, and probably the lakes above. It seems likely, therefore, that within our allotted period of forty-seven years, Cleveland will be larger than Buffalo or Oswego.

Is it probable that, within the period under consideration, Cleveland will have a successful rival in Maumee, Detroit, or Chicago? It will be proper, on account of its comparative obscurity, and the peculiarity of its position, for us to explain in regard to Maumee.

The estuary of the Maumee river receives the tide of Lake Erie, and the waters of the river, at a point thirteen miles above its mouth. This estuary forms a harbor of Lake Erie, thirteen miles long, with a navigable channel of about one hundred rods. Its depth, in a low stage of the lake, is from six and a half to twenty-four feet. It is entered by a wide channel through the bay, having in its shoalest part 8.25 feet, when the lake is in its lowest stage. On the southwest end of this harbor, Maumee city and Perrysburg are situated; the former on the north, and the latter on the south bank. Both are on the same plane, sixty-three feet above the harbor. Eight miles below, on the north bank, is Toledo, most of it on a plane about forty-five feet high; and three or four miles below Toledo, is Manhattan, elevated in its highest part about twenty-five feet above the water. Their population, respectively, including the civil township, was, according to the census of 1840—Maumee city, 1,290; Perrysburg, 1,065; Toledo, 2,053; Manhattan, 282. Each of these places has access to the canal by a side-cut, and flight of locks. It is not our purpose to decide on their relative merits; but for convenience, and because that is the name of the harbor, we will call the successful point *Maumee*.

The contest is now fairly narrowed down to Cleveland, Maumee, Detroit, and Chicago. Which of these will be greatest in 1890? We have shown, in a previous article, (No. 2 of this series,) that the Miami canal route will command the eastern and European trade of Kentucky, most of Tennessee, large portions of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, and small portions of Missouri, Arkansas, Mississippi, and Alabama. So long, then, as this eastern and European trade shall continue of paramount importance to the great country embraced by the description above, as controlled by the Miami canal, so long must the point most favorably situated at its lake termination have the advantage of the other lake towns. We have also shown, in the same article, that the interior exchanges, the exclusively home-trade of the North American valley, between the lake regions of the north and the river regions of the south, will be chiefly carried on through the same Miami canal. Of the towns now under comparison, Maumee is the smallest, and Detroit the largest. This, in the minds of the superficial, will be taken as conclusive in favor of the latter. The claim in favor of a town just emerging from the forest, to rival, at a future time, an already populous city, is usually met by ridicule from such

persons; and, in general, is treated with little attention or respect by any class. We dare say that when the people of the city of old and renowned York were informed that, in the wilds of America, some settlers had named their collection of rude houses New York, they felt no other emotion than contempt, and treated the presumptuous ambition of the settlers with derision. It is probable that the inhabitants of old Boston held in like contempt the assumption of the name of their town by those who planted the capital of New England. Who, forty-seven years ago, would not have ridiculed the opinion, if any one had been visionary enough to express it, that, within that time, there would grow up, in the valley of the Ohio, a city containing fifty thousand inhabitants; and that, within the same period, that part of the northwestern territory, now composing the state of Ohio, would contain nearly two millions of people? We then had, as a basis of increase, but four millions; whereas it is now over eighteen millions;—and, including Canada, near twenty millions. For the past forty-seven years, our growth has been from four millions to near twenty millions. During the next forty-seven years it will be, according to our estimate, from near twenty millions, to seventy-seven millions; or, according to the more elaborate and probably more correct estimate of Professor Tucker, fifty-five millions. This increase will certainly make it necessary that many towns, now small, should become great; and sensible men, when contemplating their probable destiny for half a century in advance, will look at the natural and artificial advantages of our lake towns, rather than at the few thousands, more or less, of present population. The towns under consideration are all destined to become large. The leading advantages of Cleveland have been already stated. Detroit has a pleasant site, and a noble harbor. A few McAdam roads, leading north, northwest, and west, into the interior, would give her the direct trade of a large and fertile portion of Michigan. Until such roads, or some reasonably good substitute, are made, the railways leading north and west will, at least while they are new and in good order, make the chief gathering points of trade at their interior terminations, and at convenient points on their line. Pontiac, Ypsilanti, Ann Arbor, and other towns west, will cut off from Detroit, and centre in themselves the direct trade with the farmers, which, with good wagon-roads, without the railways, would have centered in Detroit. One train of cars will now bring to her warehouses what would have been brought to her stores by one hundred wagons. These wagons would have carried back store-goods and the products of Detroit mechanics, whereas these will now be bought in the interior towns. Most of the money borrowed by Michigan, and for which she is so largely in debt, has been expended with a view to center the trade of the state mainly in Detroit and Monroe; but we much doubt whether the effect of the railways constructed for that purpose will not be the reverse of what is anticipated by their projectors. The effect of the Erie and Kalamazoo railway, from Toledo to Adrian, has been to convert a small cluster of houses at the latter place into a flourishing town of near two thousand inhabitants; while at Toledo, its effect has been mainly perceptible in the filling a few warehouses with produce and goods, and leaving its business-street nearly deserted of wagons, and its hotels almost destitute of any but minute-men travellers. We do not believe that machines so expensive, and so complicated in their construction and operation as railways, can be sustained in an agricultural country, so new and

sparsely settled as Michigan. But whether this is a correct view or not, matters little to Detroit, if, as we suppose, her railways will but substitute trains of cars, passing through to her warehouses, for the throng of wagons that, but for her railways, would have crowded her broad avenue. The extent of country that will find in Detroit its most convenient point of exchanges, is not very great; yet sufficient, when well settled and improved, to sustain her in a considerable advance beyond her present size and business.

If we now narrow down our comparison by leaving out Detroit, we trust we shall be justified by our impartial readers.

Cleveland, Maumee, and Chicago, only remain to contest the prize. Of these, Maumee alone has a harbor capacious enough to accommodate the commerce of a great city. Good harbors may be made, without a very heavy cost, at Cleveland and Chicago, either by excavating the low grounds bordering their present harbors, or by break-waters and piers in the lakes outside. Some expenditure will also be needed to deepen the entrance into the Maumee harbor, and to remove obstructions within it. In water-power, Maumee has greatly the advantage over her rivals. Chicago has, and she can have none. Cleveland has but a small amount; whereas Maumee has it to an extent unrivalled by any town on the lake borders, above Buffalo—and it is so placed as to possess the utmost availability. Along her harbor, for thirteen miles, the canal passes on the margin of the high bank that overlooks it. This canal—a magnificent mill-race, averaging near seven feet deep, and seventy feet wide at the water-line—is fed from the Maumee river, seventeen miles above the head of the harbor, and is carried down on the level of low water in the river above, for twenty-two miles, to a point two miles below the head of the harbor; where it stands on a table-land, sixty-three feet above the harbor. Descending, then, by a lock seven feet, the next level is two miles long, and stands fifty-six feet above the harbor. Descending again, by a lock, seven feet, the level below is three and a half miles long, and stands forty-nine feet above the harbor. Again descending, within the city of Toledo, by four locks, thirty-four feet, the next and last level is nearly five miles long, and stands fifteen feet above the harbor. At many points of these thirteen miles, the water may be used conveniently from the canal to the harbor; and at most of these points, it may be used directly on the harbor. The Board of public works, in their last report, say:—"From the experience the Board have had, as to the quantity of water required to propel one pair of four and a half feet mill-stones, with all the labor-saving machinery necessary for the manufacture of superfine flour, they are fully of opinion that there will be power sufficient, that can be used on these levels, to propel two hundred and twenty-five pairs of stone." The lowest estimate for the dryest season, allows it this amount of power. At other times, the amount is so great, that for all practical purposes, for many years to come, it may be set down as without limit. The current occasioned by the use of the great power estimated by the Board, would not be one mile an hour. If more should be used, so as to occasion a current of one mile and a half an hour, the obstruction to navigation would be rather nominal than real. The down-freights, for many years, will be three or four times as heavy as the up-freights. The current, then, would aid the movement of three or four tons, where it would hinder the movement of one ton. If, at some future day, the water furnished during the

dry seasons should not be sufficient for the machinery then needed at this point, steam may be used temporarily, during the lowest stage of water. Coal will be afforded at ten cents per bushel; and wood, for many years, will not cost more than $1 50 to $2 00 per cord. Will this be a good point for the use of water-power? This will depend on its facilities for procuring raw materials, and distributing the manufactured articles to consumers. As to facilities for procuring wheat for the manufacture of flour, there can be, as all will admit who know the country within reach of the canals, no better point in the states. Sheep are so rapidly multiplying in Indiana and Illinois, and are already so abundant in the Miami country of Ohio, that a supply of wool to an extent beyond any probable demand for its manufacture, may be safely anticipated. As to cotton, it has been proved that the Miami canal is the best channel for its import to the lakes. From Florence, in Alabama, it may be brought to the factory on the Maumee by a course three hundred miles shorter than its usual route to New Orleans. Should the Tennessee river fail to furnish enough cotton, the Arkansas, and the Mississippi above the mouth of the Arkansas, will be able to supply any additional demand. For the distribution of the manufactured goods, the whole west is easily accessible by means of lakes, canals, and rivers.

As a point for manufacturers and mechanics, the aids and facilities abovementioned give Maumee an incontestible superiority over Cleveland and Chicago. Let us now compare their commercial advantages. Those of Cleveland have been already set forth to some extent, in comparing her claims with those of Buffalo. In the exchange of agricultural products of a warm and of a cold climate, Cleveland, by her canals and her connexion with the Ohio, can claim south, as against the Miami canal, no farther than western Virginia and eastern Kentucky. Maumee will supply the towns on the lakes Erie, Huron, and probably Ontario, with cotton, sugar, molasses, rum, (may its quantity be small,) rice, tobacco, hemp, (perhaps,) oranges, lemons, figs, and, at some future day, such naval stores as come from the pitch-pine regions of Tennessee, Mississippi, and Louisiana. Chicago will furnish a supply of the same articles to Lake Michigan, Lake Superior, when that lake becomes accessible to her navigation, and perhaps the northern portion of Lake Huron. How important these commodities are in modern commerce, need not be enlarged on in a magazine whose readers are mostly intelligent merchants. During the forty-seven years under consideration, the countries to be supplied with these articles from Maumee will continue to be more populous than those depending on Chicago for their supply. This position seems too obvious to need proof. It is clear, then, that as a point of exchange of agricultural products of different climates, Maumee has advantages over Chicago—the only place on the lakes that can set up any pretension of rivalry in this branch of trade.

What are the relative merits of these towns for the exchange of agricultural products for the manufactures of Europe and the eastern states? The claims of Cleveland, in this respect, have already been considered; and to some extent, also, those of Maumee. The control of Cleveland, south and southeast, embraces a country of about 40,000 square miles; being a quarter larger than Ireland. For early spring supplies, and light goods, this domain may be invaded from Philadelphia and Baltimore; but for the shipments east, and the bulk of goods from New York and Europe, it belongs legitimately to Cleveland.

Maumee will have in this trade the chief control of not less than 100,000 square miles—say 12,000 in Ohio, 30,000 in Kentucky, 30,000 in Indiana, 10,000 in Illinois, 13,000 in Tennessee, 5,000 in Mississippi and Alabama, and 5,000 in Michigan—to say nothing of her claim on small portions of Missouri and Arkansas. This domain is half as large as the kingdom of France, and twice as fertile. The Miami canal, connecting Maumee with Cincinnati, will, with that part of the Wabash and Erie which forms the common trunk after their junction, be two hundred and thirty-five miles long. The Wabash and Erie canal, from Maumee to Terre Haute, will be three hundred miles long. Of this, all but thirty-six miles, at its northern extremity, will be in operation the present season. By means of these canals, and the rivers with which they communicate, great part of this extensive region will enjoy the advantage of a cheap water transport for its rapidly increasing surplus.

Chicago, on the completion of the Illinois canal, may command, in its exchange of agricultural for manufactured products, an extent of territory as large as that controlled by Maumee. Admitting it to be larger, and of this our readers must judge for themselves, it does not seem to us probable that within forty-seven years it can even approximate, in population or wealth, to the comparatively old and well-peopled territory that comes within the range of the commercial influence of Maumee. We have not sufficient data on which to calculate the extent of country that will come under the future commercial power of Chicago. That it is to be very great, seems probable, from the fine position of that port in reference to the lake, and an almost interminable country southwest, west, and northwest of it. An extension of the Illinois canal, to the mouth of Rock river, seems destined to give her the control of the eastern trade throughout the whole extent of the upper Mississippi, except what she now has by means of the Illinois river. She will also probably participate with Maumee in the lake trade with the Missouri river and St. Louis. On the whole, we deem Chicago alone, of all the lake towns, entitled to dispute future pre-eminence with Maumee. The time may come, after the period under consideration, when the extent and high improvement of the country making Chicago its mart for commercial operations, may enable it at least to sustain the second place among the great towns of the North American valley, if not to dispute pre-eminence with the first.

When we properly consider the future populousness of our great valley; the tendency of modern improvements to build up large towns; the great and increasing inclination of population and trade to and through the lakes, and the decided advantages which Maumee possesses over any other lake port, we need not fear being over sanguine in anticipating for the leading town on that port a growth unrivalled by any city whose history has been recorded.

The conclusions to which we have come, in this and the preceding articles on internal trade, are not expected to be universally or generally acceptable. Many of them run counter to the hopes and preconceived opinions of too many persons for us to expect that they will be considered with candor, or judged with impartiality. The facts therein contained will be encountered with less alacrity. On these we rely. For these we ask a dispassionate and fair examination. If other and different conclusions are deducible from them than those we have drawn, it would give us pleasure to acknowledge our error, and correct it. But if, after a

thorough examination of the subject, we have gone beyond the anticipations of men, who, with more ability, have bestowed much less thought on it, let them not condemn merely because our conclusions seem to them extravagant; but let them examine for themselves, or, if they will not do that, let them hesitate before they pass a hasty judgment on what we have investigated with the utmost care, and with an earnest desire to arrive at the truth.

J. W. S.

Art. III.—PROGRESS OF POPULATION AND WEALTH IN THE UNITED STATES, IN FIFTY YEARS.

AS EXHIBITED BY THE DECENNIAL CENSUS TAKEN IN THAT PERIOD.

CHAPTER XVII.

DISTRIBUTION OF THE INDUSTRIOUS CLASSES.

In 1820, for the first time, the census took an account of the number of persons who were severally employed in agriculture, commerce, and manufactures. In the succeeding census, no notice was taken of the occupations of the people; but that of 1840 gave a fuller enumeration of the industrious classes, distinguishing them under the several heads of mining, agriculture, commerce, manufactures, navigating the ocean, internal navigation, and the learned professions. The result of each census may be seen in the following tables:—

Table I.

Showing the number of persons engaged in Agriculture, Commerce, and Manufactures in the several States, according to the census of 1820.

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	Agriculture.	Commerce.	Manufactures.	STATES AND TERRITORIES.	Agriculture.	Commerce.	Manufactures.
Maine,	55,031	4,297	7,643	South Carolina,	166,707	2,684	6,747
New Hampshire,	52,384	1,068	8,699	Georgia,	101,185	2,139	3,557
Vermont,	50,951	776	8,484				
Massachusetts,	63,460	13,301	33,464	Southern States,	718,510	11,883	54,484
Rhode Island,	12,559	1,162	6,091				
Connecticut,	50,518	3,581	17,541	Alabama,	30,642	452	1,412
				Mississippi,	22,033	294	650
New England S.,	284,903	24,185	81,922	Louisiana,	53,941	6,251	6,041
				Tennessee,	101,919	882	7,860
New York,	247,648	9,113	60,038	Arkansas,	3,613	79	179
New Jersey,	40,812	1,830	15,941				
Pennsylvania,	140,801	7,083	60,215	Southwestern S.	212,148	7,958	16,142
Delaware,	13,259	533	2,821				
Maryland,	79,135	4,771	18,640	Kentucky,	132,161	1,617	11,779
Dist. of Columbia,	853	312	2,184	Ohio,	110,991	1,459	18,956
				Indiana,	61,315	429	3,229
Middle States,	522,508	23,842	159,839	Illinois,	12,395	233	1,007
				Missouri,	14,247	495	1,952
Virginia,	276,422	4,509	32,336	Michigan,	1,468	392	196
North Carolina,	174,196	2,551	11,844				
				Northwestern S.	332,577	4,625	37,110
Total of United States,					2,070,646	72,493	349,506

TABLE II.

Showing the number of persons engaged in Mining, Agriculture, Commerce, Manufactures, Navigating the Ocean, Internal Navigation, and the Learned Professions, according to the census of 1840.

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	Mining.	Agriculture.	Commerce.	Manufactures.	Navigating the Ocean.	Internal navigation.	Learned professions.	Total.
Maine,	36	101,630	2,921	21,879	10,091	539	1,889	
New Hampshire,	13	77,949	1,379	17,826	452	198	1,640	
Vermont,	77	73,150	1,303	13,174	41	146	1,563	
Massachusetts,	499	87,837	8,063	85,176	27,153	372	3,804	
Rhode Island,	35	16,617	1,348	21,271	1,717	228	457	
Connecticut,	151	56,955	2,743	27,932	2,700	431	1,697	
New England S.,	811	414,138	17,757	187,258	42,154	1,914	11,050	675,082
New York,	1,898	455,954	28,468	173,193	5,511	10,167	14,111	
New Jersey,	266	56,701	2,283	27,004	1,143	1,625	1,627	
Pennsylvania,	4,603	207,533	15,338	105,883	1,815	3,951	6,706	
Delaware,	5	16,015	467	4,060	401	235	199	
Maryland,	320	72,046	3,281	21,529	717	1,528	1,666	
Dist. of Columbia,	.....	384	240	2,278	126	80	203	
Middle States,	7,092	808,633	50,077	333,947	9,713	17,586	24,512	1,251,580
Virginia,	1,995	318,771	6,361	54,147	582	2,952	3,866	
North Carolina,	589	217,095	1,734	14,322	327	379	1,086	
South Carolina,	51	198,363	1,958	10,325	381	348	1,481	
Georgia,	574	209,383	2,428	7,984	262	352	1,250	
Florida,	1	12,117	481	1,177	435	118	204	
Southern States,	3,210	955,729	12,962	87,955	1,987	4,149	7,887	1,073,879
Alabama,	96	177,439	2,212	7,195	256	758	1,514	
Mississippi,	14	139,724	1,303	4,151	33	100	1,506	
Louisiana,	1	79,289	8,549	7,565	1,322	662	1,018	
Arkansas,	41	26,355	215	1,173	3	39	301	
Tennessee,	103	227,739	2,217	17,815	55	302	2,042	
Southwestern S.,	255	650,546	14,496	37,899	1,669	1,861	6,381	713,107
Missouri,	742	92,408	2,522	11,100	39	1,885	1,469	
Kentucky,	331	197,738	3,448	23,217	44	968	2,487	
Ohio,	704	272,579	9,201	66,265	212	3,323	5,663	
Indiana,	233	148,806	3,076	20,590	89	627	2,257	
Illinois,	782	105,337	2,506	13,185	63	310	2,021	
Michigan,	40	56,521	728	6,890	24	166	904	
Wisconsin,	794	7,047	479	1,814	14	209	259	
Iowa,	217	10,469	355	1,629	13	78	365	
Northwestern S.,	3,843	890,905	22,315	144,690	498	7,566	15,425	1,085,242
Total,	15,211	3,719,951	117,607	791,749	56,021	33,076	65,255	4,798,870

TABLE III.

Comparative View of the number of persons employed in Agriculture, Commerce, and Manufactures, in the five great divisions of the United States, in 1820 *and* 1840, *and the relative proportions of each class.*

GEOGRAPHICAL DIVISIONS.		Number of persons employed in			Total.	Centesimal proportions.		
		Agriculture.	Commerce.	Manufactures.		Agriculture.	Commerce.	Manufactures.
New England S.,.	1820	284,903	24,185	81,922	391,010	72.8	6.2	21.
	1840	414,138	17,757	187,258	619,153	66.9	2.9	30.2
Middle States,.....	1820	522,508	23,842	159,839	706,189	74.	3.4	22.6
	1840	808,633	50,077	333,947	1,192,657	67.8	4.2	28.
Southern States,...	1820	718,510	11,883	54,484	784,877	91.6	1.5	6.9
	1840	955,729	12,962	87,955	1,056,646	90.5	1.2	8.3
Southwestern S.,..	1820	212,148	7,958	16,142	236,248	89.8	3.4	6.8
	1840	650,546	14,496	37,899	702,941	92.5	2.1	5.4
Northwestern S.,..	1820	332,577	4,625	37,119	364,321	88.5	1.3	10.2
	1840	890,905	22,315	144,690	1,057,910	84.2	2.2	13.6
Total U. States,	1820	2,070,646	72,493	349,506	2,483,645	83.4	2.9	13.7
	1840	3,719,951	117,607	791,749	4,629,307	80.4	2.5	17.1

TABLE IV.

Showing the proportions in which the several industrious classes of the Union, according to the census of 1840, *are distributed among its great geographical divisions.*

GEOGRAPHICAL DIVISIONS.	Per centage of persons employed in—							Total.
	Mining.	Agriculture.	Commerce.	Manufactures.	Navigating the Ocean.	Internal navigation.	Learned professions.	
New England States,.....	5.3	11.1	15.1	23.6	75.3	5.8	16.9	14.1
Middle States, ...	46.7	21.7	42.6	42.2	17.3	53.2	37.6	26.1
Southern States,.....	21.1	24.8	11.	11.1	3.5	5.6	12.1	22.3
Southwestern States,.....	1.6	18.5	12.3	4.8	3.	12.5	9.8	14.9
Northwestern States,.....	25.3	23.9	19.	18.3	.9	22.9	23.6	22.6
	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.

TABLE V.

Showing the ratio which the number of persons in the several industrious classes of each great geographical division of the States bears to the whole population of such division, according to the census of 1840.

GEOGRAPHICAL DIVISIONS.	Number of persons employed in—							Whole laboring class, as 1 to
	Mining, as 1 to	Agriculture, as 1 to	Commerce, as 1 to	Manufactures, as 1 to	Navigating the Ocean, as 1 to	Internal navigation, as 1 to	Learned professions, as 1 to	
New England States,.....	2755	5.4	126	12.	53	1161	202	3.31
Middle States, ...	723	6.3	102	15.3	528	291	209	4.08
Southern States,.....	1038	3.5	257	37.9	1677	802	422	3.01
Southwestern States,.....	8806	3.4	155	56.6	1345	1206	351	3.14
Northwestern States,.....	1075	4.6	185	28.5	8336	546	267	3.8
	1122	4.58	145	21.5	304	516	261	3.55

It seems, by the preceding tables, that the whole number of persons employed in agriculture, commerce, and manufactures, bears nearly the same proportion to the whole population in both enumerations. In 1820, these classes, amounting to 2,483,645 persons, in a population of 9,638,131, were 25.7 per cent of the whole number; and, in 1840, the same classes amounted to 4,629,307 persons in a population of 17,069,453, which is 27.1 per cent. If the four classes, then added, be taken into the estimate, the proportion will be 28 per cent. This proportion must be regarded as a very large one, when it is recollected that the three classes in question comprehend a very small number of females, and that one-half, or very nearly half of the males, are under seventeen years of age.

The proportion of adult males, in the industrious classes of Great Britain, seems to be nearly the same as in the United States, so far as we can compare them by means of the very different plans adopted in the two countries of enumerating those classes by the census. There, only the males of twenty years of age and upwards are reckoned; whilst here, all persons employed in the several branches of industry are counted, without distinction of age, sex, or condition.

In 1831, the whole number of males in Great Britain, twenty years of age and upwards, was 3,944,511, who were thus distributed, according to the census:—

Employed in agriculture, as occupiers or laborers,.....	1,243,057,	equal to	31.5 p. cent.
" manufactures,.....	404,317	"	39.7 "
" in retail trade or handicraft,.....	1,159,867		
Laborers, employed in labor not agricultural,.....	608,712		
Servants,.....	78,669	"	28.8 "
Capitalists, professional and other educated men,.....	214,390		
Other males,.....	235,499		
Total,.....	3,944,511		100.

From this enumeration, it appears that, exclusive of the two last mentioned classes, amounting to 449,889 persons, there were 3,494,622 males above the age of twenty who were engaged in profitable, and, for the most part, manual occupations; and, consequently, according to Mr. G. R. Porter, one of the most accurate statistical writers of that country, the residue, who were not thus engaged, constitute 114 out of every 1,000 males of twenty years of age; and if the males included in the army and navy, and as seamen in registered vessels, be added to the whole population, the number will be reduced to 106 of every 1,000, or 10.6 per cent.

To ascertain the number of the industrious class in the United States, correspondent to that in the British enumeration, we must deduct, from the whole number returned by the census of 1840, the slaves comprehended under that class, the free colored persons, the white females, the white males under twenty years of age, and the professional men, for none of which deductions, except the last, have we any data at once precise and authentic. The following conjectural estimate, however, is probably not wide of the truth. 1. *The slaves.* As in this part of the population, both women and children are employed in field labor, especially in the cotton growing states, we are led to assign to the laboring class a far greater proportion of the whole number than is usual; but, on the other hand, that proportion must be greatly reduced when we recol-

lect that nearly 34 per cent of the whole number are under ten years of age; and that much the larger part of the females, as well as a considerable number of the males, both adults and boys, are employed as household servants, who were not reckoned in this part of the census. When, to these deductions, we make a fair allowance for the infirm and superannuated, two-fifths of the whole number would seem to be a liberal estimate for the slave labor comprehended in the census; and this rough estimate receives confirmation from a careful inspection of the returns, and a comparison between the number of productive laborers in the slave-holding and other states. 2. The occupations of the free colored being nearly the same as those of the slaves, we will also deduct two-fifths of their whole number. 3. *The white females.* These are rarely employed in any branch of industry noted in the census, except in the manufactories of cotton, and other woven fabrics. The whole number thus employed, in doors and out of doors, was, according to the census of 1840, 109,612. If, in some of these establishments, the females are the most numerous, in others, there are few or none. We will, therefore, suppose one-half of the whole number to be females. 4. *The white males under twenty years of age.* In the absence of all other data, let us suppose that the number of this description is equal to the whole number of white males between fifteen and twenty years of age, (756,022,) after deducting the scholars attending the colleges and grammar schools, (180,503.) This would make the boys, comprehended in the industrious classes, 575,519, though the number can scarcely be so great.

If the several deductions be made, in conformity with the preceding views, the result will be as follows:—

In all the departments of industry,.....persons		4,798,870
Deduct, for two-fifths of the colored population,.....	1,149,598	
" the white females employed in manufactures,.....	54,806	
" white males under 20 years of age,.....	575,519	
" professional men,.....	65,255	
		1,845,178
The whole number of white males above 20 years of age employed in trade and manual labor,.....		2,953,692

Now, the whole number of free white males over twenty years of age, was, by the census of 1840, 3,318,837; from which, if the above number of 2,953,692 be deducted, the difference, which is 365,145, and which comprehends the professional, the superannuated, and the idle classes, is equivalent to 110 adult males out of 1,000, or 11 per cent. If, however, two-fifths be too large a proportion for the working slaves reckoned in the census, as many will think, a reduction of their number will, to the same extent, increase the number of white male laborers, and diminish the number of the professional and unproductive class. But the proportion of this class is not likely to differ much in the two countries; for, in truth, nineteen-twentieths of the men in every country are compelled to work by their hands or their wits for the means of subsistence, suited to their habits and tastes, and the difference between different countries is not so much in the quantity of the labor performed, as in its quality and efficiency.

Whilst all civilized countries are so much alike as to the amount of labor put in requisition to satisfy human wants, they differ very greatly as to the distribution of that labor among the three principal branches of industry; and the difference is very great in this respect, not only between

the several states, but in the whole United States, in 1820 and 1840. It is seen by Table III, that the proportion of labor employed in agriculture and commerce had diminished; while that employed in manufactures had, in twenty years, increased from 13.7 per cent to 17.1 per cent of the whole. The positive increase in that time was from 349,506 persons employed in 1820, to 791,749 employed in 1840.

This increase was greatest in the New England states, whose manufacturing population had enlarged from 21 per cent, in 1820, to 30.2 per cent, in 1840; in which time the same class of population had nearly trebled in Massachusetts, and more than trebled in Rhode Island. In the southwestern states, alone, the proportion of agriculture had increased; in all the others it had diminished. In the middle and northwestern, the proportion employed in commerce experienced a small increase. In several of the states, not only was the proportion less in 1840 than it had been in 1820, but the number of persons actually employed in commerce was less. This was the case in Maine, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Maryland, and, to a smaller extent, in Delaware, North Carolina, and South Carolina. Is this falling off to be attributed solely to the loss of our legitimate share of the West India trade since 1830, or in part, also, to some difference in the mode of taking the census, by which a part of the seamen, who, in 1840, were separately numbered, were, in 1820, reckoned among the persons employed in commerce? The first cause seems quite adequate to the effect produced.

If we suppose that the whole labor of Great Britain is distributed among the several departments of industry in the same proportions as the labor of the males above twenty years of age, the difference of distribution in that country and this is very striking. In that country, agricultural labor is but 31.5 per cent of the whole; here, it is 77.5 per cent. In that country, manufactures and trade employ 28.8 per cent of the whole labor; here, they employ but 18.9 per cent. Each country employs its industry in that way which is most profitable and best suited to its circumstances.

Table IV shows how the different departments of productive industry are distributed among the five great divisions of the states, in centesimal proportions. Two-thirds of the mining labor is in the middle and southern states. The southern states stand foremost in agricultural labor, though they hold but the third rank in population. The middle states employ the least labor in agriculture, in proportion to their numbers. In commerce, however, they employ the most, and next to them, the New England states. The same two divisions take the lead in manufactures, they contributing nearly two-thirds of the labor employed in this branch of industry. Three-fourths of the seamen are furnished by New England, of which nine-tenths belong to Massachusetts and Maine. More than half the labor employed in inland navigation is in the middle states, and, next to them, are the northwestern states.

Of that department of industry which comprehends the learned professions, and which is at once the best fruit of civilization, and the most powerful agent of its further advancement, the New England and middle states have the largest proportion, though there is less diversity in this than in the other industrious classes.

Of the individual states, New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia employ the greatest number in mining; in agriculture, New York, Virginia,

and Ohio; in commerce, New York, Pennsylvania, Louisiana, and Massachusetts; in ocean navigation, next to Massachusetts and Maine, but far behind, is New York; in internal navigation, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Virginia furnish 20,000 out of the 30,000 employed.

In Table V, we see the various ratios which the persons employed in the several branches of industry bear to the whole population in the several divisions of the states. According to this table, without regarding local diversities, taking the whole United States together, the great classes of occupation range themselves in the following order, viz:—

The number of	persons	employed in	agriculture is	1 out of	4½
"	"	"	manufactures is	"	21½
"	"	"	commerce is	"	145
"	"	"	the learned professions is	"	261
"	"	"	navigating the ocean	"	304
"	"	"	internal navigation,	"	516
"	"	"	mining,	"	1122

Taking all the employments together, the number engaged is 355 out of every 1,000 of the whole population; which implies, on the grounds already stated, that there can be but a very small proportion of males who are not occupied in some mode of profitable industry.

CHAPTER XVIII.

EDUCATION.

In addition to the new subjects already mentioned, the census of 1840, also, for the first time, embraced the statistics of education. For this purpose, all schools for the instruction of youth were divided into three classes, viz: 1. Universities or colleges. 2. Academies and grammar schools. 3. Primary schools; and the number of each description, together with the number of scholars attending each, in the several states, were given. It also enumerated the scholars educated at the public charge in each state, and the number of white persons over twenty years of age who could not read and write.

Of the many substantial benefits of educating the people, it is scarcely necessary now to speak; since, wherever the experiment has been made, it has been found to favor industry, prudence, temperance, and honesty, and thus eminently to conduce to the respectability and happiness of a people. But the motives for giving knowledge a wide diffusion are peculiarly strong in this country, where the people, being the sole source of political power, all legislation and measures of public policy must, in a greater or less degree, reflect the opinions and feelings of the great mass of the community, and be wise and liberal, or weak and narrow-minded, according to the character of those by whose suffrages authority is given and is taken away. If the body of the people be not instructed and intelligent, how can they understand their true interests—how distinguish the honest purposes of the patriot from the smooth pretences of the hypocrite—how feel the paramount obligations of law, order, justice, and public faith?

Table showing the number of Universities or Colleges, of Academies and Grammar Schools, of Primary and Common Schools, in the United States, with the number of Scholars of each description, the number of Scholars at public charge, and the number of White Persons over 20 years of age who cannot read and write, according to the census of 1840.

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	Universities and colleges.	Students.	Academies & Gram'ar Schools.	Scholars.	Primary Schools.	Scholars.	Scholars at public charge.	Illiterate.
Maine,	4	266	86	8,477	3,385	164,477	60,212	3,241
New Hampshire,	2	433	68	5,799	2,127	83,632	7,715	942
Vermont,	3	233	46	4,113	2,402	82,817	14,701	2,276
Massachusetts,	4	769	251	16,746	3,362	160,257	158,351	4,448
Rhode Island,	2	324	52	3,664	434	17,355	10,749	1,614
Connecticut,	4	832	127	4,865	1,619	65,739	10,912	526
New England States,	19	2,857	630	43,664	13,329	574,277	262,640	13,041
New York,	12	1,285	505	34,715	10,593	502,367	27,075	44,452
New Jersey,	3	443	66	3,027	1,207	52,583	7,128	6,385
Pennsylvania,	20	2,034	290	15,970	4,978	179,989	73,908	33,940
Delaware,	1	23	20	764	152	6,924	1,571	4,832
Maryland,	12	813	133	4,289	565	16,851	6,624	11,817
District of Columbia,	2	224	26	1,389	29	851	482	1,033
Middle States,	50	4,822	1,040	60,154	17,514	741,565	116,788	102,459
Virginia,	13	1,097	382	11,083	1,561	35,331	9,791	58,787
North Carolina,	2	158	141	4,398	632	14,937	124	56,609
South Carolina,	1	168	117	4,326	566	12,520	3,524	20,615
Georgia,	11	622	176	7,878	601	15,561	1,333	30,717
Florida,	.....	.....	18	732	51	925	14	1,303
Southern States,	27	2,045	834	28,417	3,411	79,274	14,786	168,031
Alabama,	2	152	114	5,018	639	16,243	3,213	22,592
Mississippi,	7	454	71	2,553	382	8,236	107	8,360
Louisiana,	12	989	52	1,995	179	3,573	1,190	4,861
Arkansas,	.....	.....	8	300	113	2,614	.....	6,567
Tennessee,	8	492	152	5,539	983	25,090	6,907	58,531
Southwestern States,	29	2,087	397	15,405	2,296	55,756	11,417	100,911
Missouri,	6	495	47	1,926	642	16,788	526	19,457
Kentucky,	10	1,419	116	4,906	952	24,641	429	40,018
Ohio,	18	1,717	73	4,310	5,186	218,609	51,812	35,394
Indiana,	4	322	54	2,946	1,521	48,189	6,929	38,100
Illinois,	5	311	42	1,967	1,241	34,876	1,683	27,502
Michigan,	5	158	12	485	975	29,701	998	2,173
Wisconsin,	.....	.....	2	65	77	1,937	315	1,701
Iowa,	.....	.....	1	25	63	1,500	.....	1,118
Northwestern States,	48	4,222	347	16,630	10,657	376,241	62,692	165,463
Total,	173	16,233	3,248	164,270	47,207	1,845,113	468,323	549,905

Table showing the Ratio which the number of College Students, of Scholars in the Grammar Schools and in the Primary Schools, and the number of the Illiterate in each State bear to the white population of such State.

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	Rat. to white pop. of sch. in			Ratio to Illiter'e.	STATES AND TERRITORIES.	Rat. to white pop. of sch. in			Ratio to Illiter'e.
	Colleges.	Gram. Schools.	Primary Schools.			Colleges.	Gram. Schools.	Primary Schools.	
	As 1 to	As 1 to	As 1 to	As 1 to		As 1 to	As 1 to	As 1 to	As 1 to
Maine,.....	1883	59.	3.	154.	Florida,.....	.....	38.1	30.2	21.4
N. Hamp.,..	656	48.8	3.4	300.					
Vermont,....	1250	70.8	3.5	128.	Southern S.,	939	67.5	24.2	11.4
Massachus.,.	948	43.5	4.5	164.					
R. Island,...	326	28.8	6.	65.4	Alabama,....	2205	66.8	20.6	14.8
Connecticut,	362	62.6	4.6	574.	Mississippi,.	394	70.1	21.7	21.4
					Louisiana,..	160	79.4	44.3	32.6
N. Engl'd S.	774	50.6	3.8	169.6	Arkansas,...	.....	258.	29.6	11.8
					Tennessee,.	1302	115.	25.5	10.9
New York,.	1851	68.5	4.7	53.5					
New Jersey,	793	116.	6.7	55.	S'western S.	666	90.2	24.9	13.7
Pennsylvan.	825	105.	9.3	49.4					
Delaware,...	2546	76.6	8.4	12.1	Missouri,....	654	168.	19.3	16.6
Maryland,...	391	74.3	16.9	26.9	Kentucky,..	416	120.	23.9	14.7
Dist. of Col.,	136	2.2	36.6	29.6	Ohio,.....	874	348.	6.8	42.4
					Indiana,.....	2107	233.	14.	17.8
Middle S.,...	998	80.	6.5	47.	Illinois,.....	1518	240.	13.5	17.1
					Michigan,...	1382	436.	7.1	97.3
Virginia,....	678	60.9	20.9	12.6	Wisconsin,.	.....	473.	15.9	18.
N. Carolina.	3662	110.	32.4	8.5	Iowa,.....	.....	1717.	28.6	38.4
S. Carolina,.	1542	59.9	20.7	12.5					
Georgia, ...	655	51.7	26.2	13.2	N'west'n S.,	912	231.	10.2	23.3
					Total,....	874	86.37	7.69	25.27

The preceding table shows that the number of college students amounts to somewhat more than a nine-hundreth part of the white population; that the scholars of the academies and grammar schools are ten times as numerous as the college students; that the scholars of the primary schools are near twelve times as numerous as the last; and that the scholars of every description are equal to just one-seventh of the white population. The relative numbers, distributed in centesimal proportions, would be as follows:—

College students,.....	0.8 per cent.
Scholars in grammar schools,.....	8.1 "
" primary schools,.....	91.1 "
	100.

If the free colored be added to the white population, in consideration of that class furnishing a proportion of the scholars in the primary schools, the proportion which each description of scholars bears to the free population would be thus reduced, viz: college students, as 1 to 8.98; scholars in grammar schools, as 1 to 88.$\frac{7}{10}$; scholars in primary schools, as 1 to 7.$\frac{9}{10}$; and the scholars of every description, as 1 to 7$\frac{19}{100}$.

The diversity among the states, as to the proportion of scholars, is principally in those of the primary schools. In the number of college students, no division of the states has greatly above or below the average of 1 to 874 of the white population; and in the scholars of the grammar schools, the northwestern states differ widely from the other divisions.

But in the primary, or elementary schools, the proportion in New England is nearly double that of the middle states, nearly three times that of the northwestern states, and between six and seven times as great as those of the southern and southwestern states. The difference as to the number of illiterate, is yet greater. If the other divisions be compared with New England, the number who cannot read and write is three and a half times as great in the middle states; seven times as great in the northwestern states; twelve times in the southwestern states; and nearly fifteen times in the southern states.

These diversities are attributable to several causes, but principally to the difference in density of numbers, and in the proportion of town population. In a thinly-peopled country, it is very difficult for a poor man to obtain schooling for his children, either by his own means, or by any means that the state is likely to provide; but where the population is dense, and especially in towns, it is quite practicable to give to every child the rudiments of education without onerously taxing the community. This is almost literally true in all the New England states and New York, and is said to be the case in the kingdom of Prussia. It is true that, in the northwestern states, and particularly those which are exempt from slaves, the number of their elementary schools is much greater than that of the southern or southwestern states, although their population is not much more dense; but, besides that, the settlers of those states, who were mostly from New England or New York, brought with them a deep sense of the value and importance of the schools for the people; they were better able to provide such schools, in consequence of their making their settlements, as had been done in their parent states, in townships and villages. We thus see that Michigan, which has but a thin population even in the settled parts of the state, has schools for nearly one-seventh of its population. The wise policy pursued first in New England, and since by the states settled principally by their emigrants, of laying off their territory into townships and of selling all the lands of a portion before those of other townships are brought into market, has afforded their first settlers the benefits of social intercourse and of co-operation. In this way, they were at once provided with places of worship, and with schools adapted to their circumstances.

The census also shows a great difference among the states, as to the number of scholars at public charge; but this difference is owing principally to the different modes in which they have severally provided for popular instruction. In some, the primary schools are supported by a tax, as Massachusetts, Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont; in others, by a large public fund, as in Connecticut, Virginia, and some others; and others, again, partly by the public treasury, and partly by private contribution, as in New York. In both the last cases, the children are not considered as educated at the public expense, though the difference between them and the first class of cases is essentially the same, so far as regards the public bounty.

Of the three descriptions of schools, the elementary, by their great number, seem to be far the most deserving of consideration, if we look merely to their direct influence on individuals; but if we regard the political and general effects of each, it is not easy to say which contributes most to the well-being of the community. The primary schools give instruction and improvement to the bulk of the voters, the great reservoir

of political power. The grammar schools educate that class whose views and feelings mainly constitute public opinion on all questions of national policy, legislation, and morals, and who thus give political power its particular directions. It is from the least numerous class—the collegiate—that the most efficient legislators, statesmen, and other public functionaries are drawn, as well as those professional men who take care of the health, the rights, and the consciences of men.

There is another important class of instructors of which the census takes no separate notice, that is, the ministers of religion, who, once a week or oftener, besides performing the rites of worship, each according to the modes of his sect, indoctrinate large congregations in articles of faith, and inculcate man's religious and moral duties. The number of ministers of every denomination was computed to exceed 20,000, at the taking of the last census, and the deeply interesting character of the topics on which they treat gives to this class of teachers a most powerful influence over the minds of men; but fortunately it is so divided by the mutual counteractions of rival sects, that it can no longer upheave the foundations of civil society, or seriously affect the public peace; yet the influence of the ministers over their respective followers is rather enhanced than diminished by the rivalry of different sects, and the more as they are all improving in information and oratorical talent. They now bear away the palm of eloquence, both from the bar and the deliberative assemblies. If this vast moral power spends its force yet oftener on speculative subtilties, than on awakening emotion or influencing conduct; if it aims, in a word, more to teach men what to think, than how to feel or to act, this circumstance affords, perhaps, as much matter of congratulation as regret, when we recollect how easy the pure, mild, and healthy influence which religion might exert, and which we sometimes see it exert, could be converted into bitter intolerance and the excesses of wild fanaticism.

There is yet another source of popular instruction—the periodical press—which is noticed by the census as a branch of manufacturing industry, and which is exclusively occupied, not only with worldly affairs, but with the events of the passing hour. It keeps every part of the country informed of all that has occurred in every other, that is likely to touch men's interests or their sympathies—volcanoes, earthquakes, tempests, conflagrations, and explosions. Nor, in attending to the vast, does it overlook the minute. No form of human suffering escapes its notice, from the miseries of war, pestilence, and famine, to the failure of a merchant, or the loss of a pocket-book. Every discovery in science or art, every improvement in husbandry or household economy, in medicine or cosmetics, real or supposed, is immediately proclaimed, as are all achievements in any pursuit of life, whether in catching whales or shooting squirrels, or in riding, running, jumping, or walking. There scarcely can be an overgrown ox or hog make its appearance on a farm, or even an extraordinary apple or turnip, but their fame is heralded through the land. Here we learn every legislative measure, from that which establishes a tariff to that which gives a pension—every election or appointment, from a president to a postmaster—the state of the market, the crops, and the weather. Not a snow is suffered to fall, or a very hot or very cold day to appear, without being recorded. We may here learn what every man in every city pays for his loaf or his beefsteak, and what he gives, in fact, for almost all he eats, drinks, and wears. Here, deaths and marriages, crimes and follies, fash-

ions and amusements, exhibit the busy, ever-changing drama of human life. Here, too, we meet with the speculations of wisdom and science, the effusions of sentiment, and the sallies of wit; and it is not too much to say, that the jest that has been uttered in Boston or Louisville, is, in little more than a week, repeated in every town in the United States: or that the wisdom or the pleasantry, the ribaldry or the coarseness, exhibited in one of the halls of Congress, is made by the periodical press to give pleasure or distaste to one hundred thousand readers.

Nor is its agency limited to our own concerns. It has eyes to see, and ears to hear, all that is said and done in every part of the globe—and the most secluded hermit, if he only takes a newspaper, sees, as in a telescope, and often as in a mirror, everything that is transacted in the most distant regions; nor can any thing memorable befall any considerable part of our species, that it is not forthwith communicated, with the speed of steam, to the whole civilized world.

The newspaper press is thus a most potent engine, both for good and evil. It too often ministers to some of our worst passions, and lends new force to party intolerance and party injustice.

Incenditque animum dictis, atque aggeratiras.

But its benefits are incalculably greater. By communicating all that is passing in the bustling world around us, whether it be little or great, virtue or crime, useful or pernicious, pleasurable or painful, without those exaggerations and forced congruities which we meet with in other forms of literature, it imparts much of the same just knowledge of men and things as experience and observation. Its novelties give zest to life. It affords occupation to the idle, and recreation to the industrious. It saves one man from torpor, and relieves another from care. Even in its errors, it unconsciously renders a homage to virtue, by imputing guilt to those it attacks, and praising none to whom it does not impute merit and moral excellence. Let us hope that it will, in time, without losing any of its usefulness, less often offend against good taste and good manners, and show more fairness in political controversy.

According to the census of 1840, there were then in the United States 138 daily newspapers, 1,142 issued weekly, and 125 twice or thrice a week, besides 227 other periodical publications. Such a diffusion of intelligence and information as there numbers, has never existed in any other country or age.

Art. IV.—THE PROTECTIVE SYSTEM.

NUMBER II.

ITS EXPEDIENCY AND NECESSITY.

In our first number, we attempted to show that the doctrine of protection was designed not so much for the rich, as for the poor—not for the capitalist, but for the laborer; and that this doctrine was interwoven with our institutions, so that the object for which our government was formed could not be secured without its exercise. We also attempted to show, and we think succeeded in showing, that this doctrine was free from all constitutional objections. It was there seen that the power to "lay duties" was restrained by nothing but the "general welfare" of the coun-

try, and that this general welfare required the exercise of the protective principle. It was also clearly shown that the phrase, "to regulate commerce," engrafted upon the constitution, was understood by the people to include the power "to encourage manufactures"—that this meaning of the phrase was settled by the usage of all nations, and particularly by the usage of the states under the confederation; and that, when this power was granted to Congress, it was understood by the framers of the constitution, and by the people who ratified it, that the commercial power thus granted included the power to foster our own industry, and protect our manufacturing interests. It was further shown that the first Congress which assembled under the constitution, composed of many of the distinguished statesmen who framed the constitution, and who were members of the state conventions where that instrument was ratified—that this Congress were *unanimous* in the opinion that the constitution gave full power in the premises; and that they passed a protective tariff bill, setting forth, in the preamble, that duties were imposed "for the discharge of the debt of the United States, and *for the encouragement and protection of manufactures.*" It was likewise shown that this cotemporaneous construction of the constitution, given by its authors, had been acquiesced in by all departments of the government, for more than half a century; that every President and every Congress had given it their support; and that there had never been a moment, since the passage of the first tariff by the first Congress, when protection had not been the law of the land.

From this view of the argument, I think it will be seen that whatever may be thought of the expediency, there can be no doubt of the constitutionality of protection.

The propriety of sustaining our own interests, and fostering our own industry, is so obvious, that little need be said upon the subject, further than to answer some of the principal objections which have been made against this policy. But before we consider these objections, it may be well to take a passing notice of the doctrine of "free trade," which is put forth at the present day with some degree of confidence. And what is this boasted doctrine of free trade? If it means anything which is intelligible, it means that all duties on imports should be removed; and that all laws and treaties which secure any advantage to our own commerce and shipping, over that of other nations, should be annulled. In a word, this doctrine goes on the ground that an American Congress should cease to legislate for the American people, and legislate for the world. I do not say that the advocates of free trade avow this, or that this is their design; but I do say that their principles involve this idea—and if they were carried out to their full extent, such would be the practical result. The doctrine of free trade also implies "direct taxation;" and the advocate of it must, to be consistent, maintain that all the burdens of the government should be borne by a direct tax upon the people.

Now who is prepared for this? Who is willing that all restrictions should be removed from our commerce, and that no preference should be given to American, over foreign productions? The most numerous class of free trade men will probably be found among our merchants, and those engaged in the navigating interest. They maintain that all restrictive tariffs impair our commerce, and hence should be removed. But while they are pleading for free trade for others, they are enjoying protection for themselves. From the establishment of the government to the present

time, a preference has been given to American shipping. A duty on tonnage, for the express purpose of securing our own carrying trade to our own shipping, was imposed by the first Congress; and other provisions have been added, from time to time, seeking the same end. We are far from objecting to these provisions; we contend that they are wise and proper—that, in our navigation and coasting trade, there should be a preference given to American bottoms. But it is totally inconsistent for those who are enjoying this protection to advocate free trade. It would seem, however, that, like many other theorists, they hate the doctrine for others—not for themselves. Great Britain, since the days of Adam Smith, has been for free trade in theory; but whenever she has been called upon to carry this doctrine into practical effect, she has always felt herself "free" to adopt such regulations as were the most productive of her own interests, regardless of the interests of other nations. And so of our commercial men, who advocate free trade. They demand protection for themselves, but deny it to others. Is it not so? Are those concerned in navigation willing that all laws imposing duties on foreign tonnage should be repealed, and that foreigners be permitted to compete with them for our carrying and coasting trade? Are the ship-builders disposed to yield the protection which is extended to them? Until they are disposed to give up the advantages which they derive from our legislation, the cry of "free trade" comes from them with an ill grace.

There is another class of free trade men, who shrink from the necessary corollary, *direct taxation.* They would have all duties on imports repealed, and hence all revenue from that source cut off; but, at the same time, they would not consent to impose a direct tax upon the people! Now I should like to know what such men would have? If they are in favor of free trade, let them come up to the work like men, and provide the means for carrying on the government by a direct tax. But they tell us that they are in favor of a tariff for revenue; that they go for a 20 per cent horizontal rate of duty. But what can be more absurd than this? Opposed to all restrictions upon commerce, and at the same time in favor of a duty of 20 per cent upon all articles! This is as far removed from free trade, as our present system. During the last commercial year, the free articles imported into the country exceeded $66,000,000—being but a fraction short of one-half of our foreign imports; and if to these we [redacted] articles paying less than 20 per cent, it would amount to considerable more than one-half of our entire imports. Now, according to this notion of unrestricted commerce, one-half of all our imports which are now free, or nearly so, are to be embarrassed by a duty of 20 per cent; and this is called "free trade!"

I mention these things, to show the extremes into which the advocates of free trade are compelled to go. Beginning with a system which is totally impracticable, they are compelled to have recourse to almost every subterfuge to defend it. The fact is, free trade is impossible in the nature of things; and an attempt to adopt it would be destructive of our best interests.

Suppose we should at once repeal our tariff of duties, and blot from our statute-book every act which gives a preference to American shipping—would this constitute free trade? Take our commerce with England for example. We open all our ports to her, and receive her commodities free of duty. What treatment do we receive from her in return? Does

she open her ports, and admit our staples free of duty? No—in her revised tariff of 1842, she imposes a duty which, if carried out ad valorem, would amount to the following rates:—Salted beef, 59 per cent; bacon, 109 per cent; butter, 70 per cent; Indian corn, average, 30 per cent; flour, average, 30 per cent; rosin, 75 per cent; sperm oil, 33 per cent; sperm candles, 33 per cent; tobacco, unmanufactured, 1,000 per cent; tobacco, manufactured, 1,200 per cent; salted pork, 33 per cent; soap, 200 per cent; spirits from grain, 500 per cent; spirits from molasses, 1,600 per cent.

Here is the free trade which Great Britain extends to us. She imposes such duties as her own interest requires. It is an absurdity to talk of *free* trade, unless it is reciprocated. Opening our ports to Great Britain, and admitting her commodities duty free, while she pursues her present policy, is far from constituting what can with any propriety be called free reciprocal commerce. But there is a sort of looseness in the phrase, "free trade," which renders this discussion embarrassing. The advocates of this doctrine do not tell us with sufficient precision what they mean by the phrase. If they mean that we should take off all restrictions from commerce, whether other nations do or not, it is one thing; but if they mean that we should do it towards those nations which will reciprocate the favor, is quite another thing. But the phrase must imply a trade which is mutually beneficial, or it must not. If it does not imply a trade that is mutually unrestricted and mutually beneficial, that is a good reason for rejecting it. I have not made sufficient proficiency in the science of political non-resistance, to advocate a system of trade which enriches other nations by impoverishing us. I cannot consent to open our ports, duty free, to those nations which throw every embarrassment in the way of our commerce. My political creed does not require me to love other nations better than my own. But if free trade implies a trade mutually advantageous, I am willing to adopt it; but this can never be done by taking off all commercial restrictions. If the trade is to be mutually beneficial, it must not only imply a reciprocity in commercial regulations, but a similarity in condition. The position of one nation may give her such an advantage, that the removal of all commercial restrictions would enable her to swallow up all others. Great Britain has, in her manufactures, "so got the start of the majestic world," that she is able "to bear the palm alone." The same rate of duty which she requires to protect her manufactures, would be no protection to us. She has other advantages, besides the perfection of her manufactures. As compared with us, she is densely populated; the capital there employed is not worth more than two-thirds as much as it is in this country, and labor can be had there for one-third of what it costs here. Now, under these circumstances, a removal of all commercial restrictions would operate to her advantage, and to our injury. The English manufacturer, owing to the low price of iron for his machinery, the reduced rate of interest, the cheapness of labor, and other causes, can prepare his mill for operation some twenty per cent less than the manufacturer in this country; and after it is in operation, his labor will cost him less than half the sum the American manufacturer would be compelled to give. The mutual repeal of all duties on manufactured goods, would be the ruin of our manufactures; and, in fact, bring labor in this country down to the low price given in Europe. And the same would be true of our shipping interest. Remove the protection given to this interest, and England would do our carrying and

coasting business for us, at the ruin of our shipping interest. Unrestrained trade between us and Great Britain would be like free intercourse between the wolf and the lamb. In both cases, the stronger would devour the other.

And what is true of Great Britain, is substantially true of France and Germany. The low rate of interest, and the cheapness of labor, give them a decided advantage over us in their manufactures; and unrestrained commerce between them and us would redound to their advantage, and to our injury. We, as a nation, are peculiarly situated. We are separated from the old world by distance, and by the nature of our institutions. Our leading characteristic is, that our citizens are freemen, and are laborers. The nature of our institutions tends to elevate the working classes, and to secure to the laborer an ample remuneration for his toil. This raises the price of labor—it makes the laborer a *man*. So long as we maintain this, our national characteristic, by protecting our own industry, our country will be prosperous. But let the pleasing but delusive doctrine of free trade obtain in our land—let that policy under which we have grown up and prospered, be abandoned, and let us open our ports to the fabrics of those nations whose hardy laborers can obtain but a shilling a day, and board themselves, and it requires no spirit of prophecy to predict the embarrassment and distress which would ensue. When our navigators are driven from the ocean, and our manufacturers and mechanics from their mills and their workshops, and all are compelled to cultivate the soil, the beauties of free trade would be realized. We might have agricultural products, but we should have no market. Being dependent upon other nations for many of the comforts of life, and at the same time deprived of a market for our produce, we should be compelled to toil for a mere pittance, and should, like Tantalus in the fable, perish in the midst of agricultural plenty.

But it seems unnecessary to depict the evils of free trade, as there is not the least prospect of its being adopted, unless we blindly open our ports to those nations which close theirs against us. The new tariff of Great Britain, which has been hailed as an approach to free trade, does not practically make the same amount of reduction that has generally been supposed. We have already noticed the duties she imposes upon some of our staples. The rate of duty on the articles we have mentioned, would average more than 350 per cent, ad valorem. She has made considerable reductions in her new tariff, but many of them are of but little practical consequence. Some articles which were formerly prohibited, she now admits, but on a duty so nearly prohibitory, that they can never come in, except in extreme cases. Another large class of articles on which she has made liberal reductions, consists of raw materials used in her manufactures; and such reductions render her policy more protective. On manufactured articles, her duty is generally low, for the plain reason that she fears no competition on such fabrics. But when she comes to any article where other nations are in advance of her, she is careful to impose a duty sufficient to protect her own interests. Take silk, for example. Fearing the competition of France, Italy, &c., she imposes an average duty of about 30 per cent on imported silks, which is much higher, under the circumstances, than we impose upon the same article. Our duty upon silks will average about 33 per cent, being nominally 3 per cent higher than that of Great Britain. But when we take the situation of the two nations into view, her duty is much higher in effect—much more protective than ours. Labor and capital, the two great elements which go into all manufactured articles, are

nearly as cheap in Great Britain as on the continent; and in skill she may be considered as their equal. Under these circumstances, a duty of 30 per cent is a high duty. But with us the case is different. Our capital costs us one-third more, and our labor three times as much as it would in France and Italy. This, to all practical purposes, brings our duty on silks down to one-half of the rate imposed by Great Britain. In her situation, 30 per cent is as protective as 60 per cent would be in ours. If Great Britain can protect herself against those nations which are her equals or inferiors in the art of manufactures, by a duty of 30 per cent, it by no means follows that the same rate of duty is sufficient for us, who are England's inferior in these manufactures; and especially when our capital and labor are much dearer than hers. If England is to be our model, let us impose duties as protective in our case, as her duties are in hers. The new tariff of Great Britain, which has been hailed as the harbinger of the free trade millenium, is, after all, strictly protective; and the great falling off in her revenue from imposts, during the past year, is a guarantee against further reductions.

And even the reductions which England has adopted, have been induced, not by her love of free trade, but by the fact that Russia, France, and the Prussian Commercial Union, had adopted, or were about to adopt new tariffs, retaliatory upon her. Sir Robert Peel saw that manufactures were springing up upon the continent, and that these nations were about to protect them by law; and his sagacity enabled him to perceive, at once, that it was for the interest of Great Britain to reduce her scale of duties, hoping thereby to prevent the continuation, or the adoption of measures upon the continent, which would operate to the exclusion or diminution of her fabrics in those countries. And if we look nearer home, we shall find the protective policy strictly adhered to on the western continent. Mexico, a neighboring republic, has, within the last year, adopted a tariff which is absolutely prohibitory upon all articles which she can grow or manufacture. Among the prohibited articles, are some of our staples, viz: Rice, flour from wheat, except from Yucatan; raw cotton, cotton-yarn and thread, coarse cottons, hogs' lard, tallow, tobacco, &c.

Now, does the policy of other nations afford us any encouragement to relax our policy on the subject of discriminating, protective duties? Within the last eighteen months, Russia, Prussia, France, and Mexico, have revised and increased their duties; and Great Britain, though she has reduced her tariff, still retains her protective policy, and with these reductions can safely compete with us or any other nation. Such is the policy of the nations with which we have our principal commercial intercourse; and it seems to be no time for us to relax, when they are becoming more restrictive. Under these circumstances, it would be madness; it would be suicidal in us to abandon our protective system; and how any true friend of American interests can advocate such a policy, is more than I can comprehend.

But we have already devoted more space to this branch of the subject than we intended. We will now adduce some considerations in favor of the protective policy, and notice some objections which have been urged against it.

In the first place, there is a class of manufactures, necessary to national defence, which our government ought to protect. No nation has a right to expect perpetual peace; and it is a maxim, venerable for age, "in peace prepare for war." Some articles, such as arms and ammunition,

are essential to the defence of the country; and unless we have the means of supplying them ourselves, we might, in case of war, be reduced to the greatest extremity. The fact that we are thus dependent upon foreign nations for the munitions of war, would naturally invite aggression, and might prove the cause of involving us in hostilities. Arms, ammunition, and clothing, are indispensable in war. Every man who knows how much we suffered in our revolutionary struggle for the want of these, will readily appreciate the weight of this argument. And even in our late war with Great Britain, some of these evils were severely felt. In looking over the expenses of that war, one is forcibly struck with the large amount, and the high prices paid for *blankets*, and other articles of woollen, for the clothing of the army and navy. These expenses would have been greatly reduced, if the manufacture of woollens had enjoyed the protection of the government prior to that period. We would pursue this branch of the argument farther, but most of the advocates for free trade allow that, so far as national defence is concerned, it is the duty of the government to protect manufactures.

Now this admission, on the part of the friends of free trade, yields the very principle for which we contend. It is an admission which will cover the whole ground of the protective policy. The articles necessary for national defence are very numerous, and extend to almost every department of manufactures; and the same principle which will justify the protection of these, will justify all the protection for which we plead. The various manufactures of iron for cannon, mortars, muskets, pistols, swords, gun-carriages, camp utensils, chains, cables, anchors, spikes, bolts, tools for ship-building, intrenching, and constructing works and bridges; machinery for steamships and steam-batteries—of hemp for sails, cordage, and tents—of leather for shoes, cartridge-boxes, belts, and harnesses—of salt for the preservation of provisions—of clothing of all kinds—of powder;—these, and a great variety of other articles of manufacture, are necessary for the defence of the country. Soldiers must have shoes, as well as arms; and clothing is as essential to a successful campaign as ammunition. But national defence implies something more than mere military operations. It has been justly said that "money is the sinew of war;" and in order to carry on military operations, the people must have the ability to supply the means. It is as much the duty of the government to aid the people in supplying the means to carry on a war, as it is to aid the soldier, by supplying him with arms. The people, especially in this country, are the source of all power—upon them, the government are dependent for men and for money. And if it is wise in the government to protect certain manufactures, that thereby they may save themselves some thousands of dollars in time of war, it is certainly as wise in the government to protect other manufactures, that millions may be saved to the people, and thereby the people rendered more able to supply the means for prosecuting the war. If we were involved in a war with such a nation as England or France, and had no manufactures, the extra expense for manufactured articles, which would be thrown upon the people, would be a hundred fold greater than the extra expense which would be thrown upon the government. And shall we be told, in this day of boasted political light, that this paramount interest of the people should be neglected, and the minor, the paltry interest of the government, guarded? Is the interest of the people to be sacrificed on the altar of the government? The dis-

tinction which the friends of free trade make between the people and the government, when they admit that the government should protect certain articles for the benefit of the government, but should not protect other articles for the benefit of the people, is entirely at variance with our free institutions. It is the language of other countries, the doctrine of despots—which is well enough when applied to some foreign governments, but totally repugnant to the institutions of a free people. The fathers of the republic repudiated the idea that our government had an interest distinct from the people. But it seems that the friends of free trade, in their zeal to carry out what they denominate *democratic* principles, are disposed to revive some of the old, exploded, and odious doctrines of despotisms. We admit no such distinctions. The government are the people, and the people are the government. The government has no right to protect any article, unless that protection will subserve the interests of the people; and the interests of the people are no greater in war than in peace. If the government protect certain manufactures to promote the interest of the nation in times of war, they are equally bound to protect others to promote the interests of the people in times of peace. Thus it will be seen that the admission of the friends of free trade, that government should protect articles necessary in war, yields the whole principle, and furnishes us with an argument in support of the general system for which we contend; and that this conclusion cannot be avoided, unless we adopt the maxim of despots—that the people were created for the government, and not the government for the people. But if it be said, in answer to this, that the protection necessary to national defence is for the benefit of the people, and not of the government, we reply that the interests of the people, in time of peace, are as important as in time of war; and it is as much the duty of the government to protect us against the pauper labor, as the hired soldiers of the old world. It is certainly as essential to the nation that its millions of laborers should be prospered, as that its hundreds of soldiers should be successful in battle. The same reasons which would urge us to protect our troops, would urge us to protect our laborers.

Another argument in support of the protective system, is drawn from the policy of other nations. We have already seen that each nation guards its own particular interests; and that, by the operation of this foreign policy, our great staples, flour, pork, bacon, &c., are in a measure excluded from the principal markets of Europe. Now self-defence, that first law of nature, applicable alike to nations and to individuals, requires us to adopt some measures to counteract the influence of these restrictions upon our commerce. This principle is so self-evident, that the advocates of free trade, from Adam Smith downward, have generally admitted the propriety of countervailing duties, at least in all cases where this measure would tend to produce a relaxation of foreign policy, or would secure us against the evil effects of that policy. Here, again, our opponents yield us the whole for which we contend. Our protective system is, in its general principles, countervailing; and the success with which it has been attended shows conclusively that it comes within that class of cases in which countervailing duties can be wisely imposed. England and France impose heavy duties upon our flour and pork—we, in return, impose protective duties upon their manufactures; and if we do not induce them to take our flour and pork, we do that which is practically the same thing—we create a market for them at home. These duties build up manufactures in our own country; and, by

taking a portion of our labor from agriculture, we diminish the quantity of beef and pork; and, as the manufacturers must have meat and bread, they take what foreign nations exclude, and so a market is created for these staples. This one example will illustrate our whole protective policy, and show conclusively its propriety and wisdom. We allow that this policy may be unwisely exercised; but the abuse of a principle is no argument against the principle itself.

Here, then, we take our stand; and we are happy in being supported by intelligent free trade men, themselves. *It is the duty of our government to adopt measures to counteract the injurious effects which the policy of foreign nations is calculated to have upon our commerce.* If Great Britain or France, or any other nation, should enact a law to-morrow, imposing new and severe restrictions upon our commerce, there is scarcely a free trade man in the land who would not cry out for some countervailing measure on the part of our own government. What we should ask of foreign nations, in such a case, would be, that there should be a reciprocity of interest—a fair and equitable competition between our own and foreign labor. If this competition was destroyed by the special act of a foreign government, we should protest against it. Now it matters not from what cause this inequality arises—whether from a single act of foreign legislation, or from their general policy—if a fair competition is destroyed, it is the duty of the government to throw her protecting shield around her citizens, and prevent their being driven from their fields and their workshops by the degraded labor of foreign countries. If the manufacturers of Great Britain can destroy the manufactures of this country, I care not whether this ability arises from an order in Council or an act of Parliament—whether it is the result of one law, or fifty—whether the policy was introduced last year or last century—its effects upon our citizens are the same, and the duty of the government is in no degree altered. The advantages which the foreign manufacturer has over our own, arise, in a great degree, from causes which, if they are not produced by any one act of legislation, grow out of the general policy which their government have adopted. But whether it arises from their general policy, or from one special provision, the case is equally injurious. For example: Great Britain pays a bounty upon glass which is sent to this country. This gives the British manufacturer an advantage over our own. Those who are engaged in this species of manufacture here, find themselves undersold at their own doors. This competition, which is so ruinous to the glass-manufacturer in this country, arises, in this case, partly from the direct action of the British government. But there are other causes in this, and especially in some other cases—such as the low price of the raw material, the cheap rate of interest, a dense population, and consequent low price of wages—which give the foreign manufacturer a decided advantage over our own. The cheapness of capital and labor gives the foreigner his principal advantage; and we have the same right to come in, and by legislation counteract the influence of these causes, as we have to pass countervailing duties in any other case whatever.

Let the advocates for countervailing duties show us any difference, in principle, between protecting our citizens against a single enactment of a foreign nation, and that low price of wages which grows out of their general policy or local condition. In the one case, they ask the interference of the government—they complain that we are injured—that fair competition is destroyed. But no statute can be more ruinous to fair competi-

tion than the low price of money and labor in foreign countries; and, though this may not arise from any one act of the government, it is, in a great measure, to be ascribed to the general and long-cherished policy of those nations. Foreign manufacturers can obtain their capital for about two-thirds, and their labor for from one-third to one-quarter of what it costs the manufacturer in this country. The idea of anything like fair competition, under these circumstances, is altogether out of the question. Our manufacturers, therefore, must abandon their business altogether, or the price of labor must come down to the European standard. Is this desirable? Do the free trade men wish to see the hardy laborers of this country reduced to the necessity of toiling fourteen or sixteen hours per day, for the paltry sum of one shilling, exclusive of board? This is the European rate of wages, as appears from a report made to the English parliament in 1840. We will give a brief statement of the price of wages, as gathered from that report:—

Average prices per week of the hand-loom weavers in Europe, including the weavers of silk, cotton, linen, and woollen, in all their varieties, exclusive of board.

Great Britain,.....	8*s.* 0*d.*	per week.
France,.....	7*s.* 0*d.*	"
Switzerland,.....	5*s.* 7*d.*	"
Belgium,.....	6*s.* 0*d.*	"
Austria,.....	3*s.* 0*d.*	"
Saxony,.....	2*s.* 1*d.*	"

These are the average prices given for adult male laborers, female labor being from 30 to 80 per cent less. Here is a picture of foreign labor in 1840. But as low as these prices are, it appears by a report made to Parliament in 1841, that the prices had fallen at least 10 or 12 per cent from the preceding year. We ask, again, whether the friends of free trade, who profess to be the friends of the people, are desirous of seeing the free, independent laborers of this country, brought down to the European standard—to the miserable pittance of eight or ten pence per day? A greater evil could not be inflicted on our citizens—a more withering calamity could not befall our country. The wealth of a nation consists principally in the labor of its citizens; and, as a general thing, there can be no surer test of national prosperity than the price that labor will command.

It will be seen that we deduce the necessity of protective duties from the disparity there is between the price of capital and labor in this country and Europe. The argument from this source deserves great consideration; for, unless we are prepared to have the price of labor in this country reduced to six or eight shillings per week, we must protect it against foreign competition. I am aware that this argument has been regarded, by some free trade men, as deserving of no consideration; and that it has been said that the low price of capital and labor abroad furnish an argument against protection, as that policy deprives us of the benefits of their cheap capital and labor, which we might otherwise enjoy.*

This objection to our argument for protection, drawn from the low price of labor in foreign countries, is founded on the principle that sound political economy requires that a nation should, at all times, and under all circumstances, allow its citizens to buy where they can buy cheapest, and

* See Article II, June number of Merchants' Magazine for 1841, pp. 523, 524.

sell where they can obtain the highest price. But plausible as this doctrine may appear, it is far from being sound. In time of war, when our commerce is obstructed, a citizen might buy cheapest of the enemy, and in return dispose of his products to them at the highest price. But even the advocates of free trade would not contend for this. They would admit that such a trade should be restrained for public considerations—*for purposes of state.* Now the very principle which would justify restraint in this case, will justify a protective tariff. Public considerations justify the one as much as the other. If it be proper, in time of war, to interdict a trade which might prove profitable to some of our citizens, it may be equally proper in time of peace. Our government is instituted for the benefit of the people in peace as much as in war; and public consideration should have a controlling influence at one period as much as at another.

Again, this doctrine would be as fatal to our shipping as to our manufacturing interest. If it be wise at all times to purchase at the cheapest market, it would also be wise to employ the cheapest carriers. Now it is a notorious fact that foreigners can build ships, as well as factories, cheaper than we can; and the low rate of wages enables them to navigate their ships, as well as run their factories. at less cost than we can do it. One fact, drawn from an official source, will illustrate the effect of a trade comparatively free. In our commercial intercourse with the Hanseatic cities, established by treaty in 1828, we adopted the bases of equality of duties on navigation and commerce in the direct and indirect trade. "The liberality of the United States," says the Secretary of State, "extended to the Hanse towns under treaty, in allowing all ships *owned*, instead, as in the case of the English convention with those towns, all ships *built* within their dominions, to enjoy the privileges of the flag, has nearly shut American vessels out from the carriage in the German trade; and, as it respects the port of Bremen, (concerning the commerce of which, the department is placed in possession of more official information than that of Hamburg,) has thrown almost the entire carrying trade between that port and the United States into the hands of the Bremen shipowners. By an official statement of the number of vessels arriving at that port during the year 1840, from this country, it appears that there were ninety-nine—of which number seventy-five were Bremen, twenty United States, and four belonged to other German ports.

"In order to show the numerical proportion of arrivals from the United States, and their comparative increase, it may be stated that they were, on an average, from the years 1826 to 1830, inclusive, five-sevenths American, and two-sevenths Bremen; from 1831 to 1835, inclusive, three-sevenths American, and four-sevenths Bremen; and from 1836 to 1840, inclusive, one-fifth American, and four-fifths Bremen. From this estimate, drawn from official statements, the rapid increase of the Bremen shipping in the trade with the United States, and the proportionate diminution of our own, since the treaty between the two countries in December, 1828, must be obvious."*

Here is the practical effect of free trade upon our shipping interest; and what is true of our commerce with the Hanse towns, would be substantially true of our commerce with the other European powers. I will

* See the elaborate and able report of the Secretary of State, Mr. Webster, to the House of Representatives, March, 1842, pp. 42, 43, House Document No. 163, 2d session, 27th Congress.

give another example illustrative of this point. Up to 1830, there were restrictions upon the trade of the United States with the British American possessions. On that year, an act was passed by Congress, opening our ports, without any restrictions, to all British vessels from these colonies, provided these colonial ports should be opened on the same terms to us. By this arrangement, a trade perfectly free, so far as *shipping* was concerned, was opened between the United States and the British colonies in America; and this arrangement has proved highly detrimental to our navigation. This will be seen by the fact that, since that period, the British tonnage entering our ports has increased 500 per cent, while our own tonnage entering our ports has increased only about 50 per cent; and by the further fact that, in the districts of Passamaquoddy, Portland, &c., situated near the British provinces, they have monopolized almost the whole trade. Every view we can take of this subject, leads to the same result. The cheapness of foreign capital and labor would enable them not only to drive our laborers from their workshops, but our ships and mariners from the ocean. This is the result to which the argument before us would lead; for, if we ought to buy in the cheapest market, we ought also to employ the cheapest carriers. We ought to avail ourselves of the boasted advantages of the cheapness of foreign labor, in the latter case, as much as in the former. But the friends of free trade will probably say that our navigating interest requires protection, and that public policy calls upon us to support our commercial marine. But why should this interest be protected more than any other? According to the late census, there were but 56,000 persons engaged in navigation, while there were 791,000 engaged in manufactures; and we demand on what principle the claims of 56,000, employed on the ocean, are greater than fourteen times that number, employed upon the land? The same principles of public policy which call for the protection of our commercial marine, call for the protection of our industry at home; the latter being as essential to national independence as the former.

Thus we see that the soundness of the position that we should avail ourselves of the cheapest market, is admitted by the friends of free trade to fail in time of war, and with reference to our navigating interest. Nor are these the only cases in which that principle will fail. It is far from being a sound principle in political economy, always to buy at the cheapest market. It is not sound in the case before us. Such a policy, if adopted here, would turn 850,000 manufacturers and mariners out of employment; and this would inflict an evil upon the country greater than all the blessings to be derived from cheap purchases. Again—if the foreign market is the cheapest at the present time, there is no certainty that it would continue so. When, by their low prices, they have destroyed all our manufactures, and driven our ships from the ocean, we should be entirely at their mercy. By the monopoly they would have thus acquired, they could dictate to us such prices as their own interest might suggest. All that would be necessary to bring about such a state of things, is to have some two or three of the great powers of Europe combine; and they could dictate to us on the subject of commercial regulations and prices, as effectually as they did to the Grand Sultan, in relation to Greece and Egypt.

It is with a nation as it is with an individual—the market where he can buy cheapest is not always the best, even in a pecuniary point of view. It may be good policy in an individual to buy at the dearest market—it

may be nearest at hand, or it may be the best market at which to sell his products. The cheapest market for purchase may require payment in specie, while a dearer market may receive other commodities in payment. The cotton manufacturers at the north might purchase their cotton in India, as they undoubtedly would, to some extent, if the duty on cotton were taken off; and they might find it profitable to themselves, especially as they could buy cheaper, and at the same time open to some extent a new market for their fabrics; but, as this would injure the home market for the cotton-grower at the south, the injury inflicted upon the planting states would be greater than the benefits obtained by the northern manufacturer. For reasons of state, a preference should be given to domestic cotton. The northern manufacturer who consumes one hundred bales of cotton grown in this country, not only gives employ indirectly to those who labor to produce that article, but he gives employ to those who raise the meat and grain which the laborer consumes while raising the cotton; whereas the manufacturer who consumes one hundred bales of cotton raised in India, encourages foreign, instead of domestic industry. In the former case, the profits of the entire business are kept in the country; while, in the latter, half of the profits accrue to foreigners. The same remarks may be made upon other manufactured articles. He who patronizes domestic manufactures, creates a home market, and so encourages our own industry. The people of Tennessee, for example, by wearing American cottons, even if they should cost them a trifle more than the foreign fabric, would thereby not only promote the interest of the country, but their own. By patronizing the domestic manufacture, they not only prevent a greater competition in the production of their great staples, corn and wheat, but, by sustaining the manufacturer, they increase the demand for their own products. The southern planter, while growing his cotton, and the northern manufacturer, while converting it into cloth, are both living upon the corn and wheat of Tennessee; or, which is practically the same thing, on the corn and wheat of some other state, whose bread-stuff comes in competition with their own. But if they wear the fabrics of British looms, made of cotton grown in India, they lose all these advantages. The interest of the country, and the ultimate interest of the individual there, would be promoted by the purchase of the domestic fabric. If the first cost were higher, the individual advantages which would result from such a policy would more than balance the difference in price.

The idea that we must purchase abroad, rather than manufacture at home, is a dangerous one; and whenever it has been generally adopted by a people, their home industry, and consequently their prosperity, declines. There may be articles not adapted to our climate, such as *tea*, the *spices*, &c., which we must purchase abroad; and in such cases it is desirable that we raise some other article which we can exchange for them. But when we can produce the articles which we need, in our own country, and this exchange can be carried on between different sections of the United States, where the business cannot be disturbed by foreign legislation, it is the dictate of wisdom and of prudence to seek supplies at home, and thus be independent of foreign nations. If we adopt the policy of procuring everything abroad, because it can be obtained cheaper, we shall in a short time find our industry paralyzed, and our resources so reduced, that even cheap articles will be beyond our reach. Ask the industrious mechanics, and the hard-working farmers in the interior—those

whose means are limited, and who are compelled to husband their resources—and they will tell you the advantages of exchanging the products of their labor for the articles they purchase—"of getting things in their own line, without paying money," as the phrase is. This homely expression embodies more true political economy than the more elegant one, "of purchasing in the cheapest market." If the farmers who cultivate the rugged soil of New England, should neglect to raise their own breadstuff and pork, because these articles could be produced cheaper at the west, they would soon find that, cheap as western grain and pork were, they would not have the means of purchasing them. And the same is true of the country. If we employ foreign manufacturers and carriers, and turn 850,000 of our own out of their present employ, they will seek employment in agriculture; and instead of being 850,000 consumers of agricultural products, as at present, they would become 850,000 producers —making a difference of 1,700,000; a number equal to more than one-third of all employed in agriculture at the present time. The effect of this upon the agriculture of the country, must be obvious. The products of the soil, which are now so abundant that they would be almost valueless were it not for the market found in manufacturing districts, would become more abundant. And where would they be disposed of? Not in the domestic market, for that would be in a great measure destroyed; not in a foreign market, for the policy of other nations excludes them. With this increased production, and loss of the home market, agriculture, that parent calling, which employs more of our people than all others put together, would receive a severe blow. Wages would fall, industry would be paralyzed; and foreign fabrics would, to all practical purposes, become dear, for the plainest of all reasons, that we should have nothing comparatively to purchase with.

The protective system is as important to the agriculturist as to the manufacturer. Though the enemies of this system have represented it as hostile to the farmer, I am fully persuaded that this is a great mistake. In the first place, agricultural products enjoy as high a protection as manufactures, to say the least. I will give a few articles as a specimen, and will resolve the duty into an ad valorem rate, founded on the price current at Boston, six months after the present tariff went into operation.

Cotton, duty 3 cents per lb.,.....	equal to	40	per cent	ad valorem.
Wool, 30 per cent, and 3 cts. per lb.,	"	44	"	"
Beef, 2 cents per lb.,.....	"	62	"	"
Pork, 2 cents per lb.,.....	"	55	"	"
Ham and bacon, 3 cents per lb.,.....	"	50	"	"
Cheese, 9 cents per lb.,.....	"	175	"	"
Butter, 5 cents per lb.,.....	"	41	"	"
Lard, 3 cents per lb.,.....	"	44	"	"
Potatoes, 9 cents per bushel,.....	"	30	"	"
Flour, $1 25 per bbl.,.....	"	27	"	"
Wheat, 25 cents per bushel,.....	"	28	"	"

Here we have a list of eleven articles of agricultural products, and they average 54 per cent protection—a rate much higher than is enjoyed by manufactured articles. Neither have we, in this estimate, adopted the doctrine of anti-tariff men, and supposed that the duty increased the price to the amount of the duty. If we had adopted that mode of estimating

prices, we should have swelled the per cent of protection much higher. I know it is said that these duties are unavailing, as these articles need no protection; but this is a great mistake. These articles have been imported into the country, on an average, for the last five years, to the amount of nearly $2,000,000 annually.

There is an identity of interest between the manufacturer and the agriculturist. They are not enemies, nor even rivals, but intimate friends. Viewed on a large and liberal scale, manufactures and agriculture are only different departments of the same great system of national industry; and whatever tends to give prosperity to the one, will give prosperity to the other. They both need the fostering care of the government. The case of wool and woollens is an example in point. The wool-growing interest has become an important one, and is more widely diffused over the whole country than almost any other. The annual product may safely be estimated at $16,000,000. Withdraw protection from wool, and this great interest would languish—withdraw protection from the woollen manufactures, and the influx of foreign woollens would destroy the wool-growing interest. This example illustrates the immediate connexion there is between agriculture and manufactures. We have already seen that the destruction of manufactures would drive those now engaged in that business into agriculture; and by the loss of the home market, and by the increased competition in agriculture, the prices of the products of the former would decline to a ruinous extent.

The farmer has as direct an interest in the protective policy as the manufacturer. In the first place, he enjoys as much protection upon his products as the manufacturer does upon his fabrics. But the great advantage to the farmer arises from the home market which manufactures create. The great importance of a market is too often overlooked. How is it that wheat is worth $1 20 in one part of the country, and 12 1-2 cents in another? That an acre of land will, for agricultural purposes, sell for $300 in one place, and for but $2 in another? Every man knows that this is the fact; and why is it so? Simply because the one is near a market, and the other remote. I hesitate not to say, that the capital now invested in manufactures has augmented the value of real estate in the country to an amount vastly greater than the whole sum invested in manufactures. The value of the home market, created in a great degree by manufactures, will be seen by the fact that Massachusetts alone consumes as much of the beef, pork, ham, and lard of her sister states, as the whole amount that is exported to all foreign nations; and that she consumes a larger amount of the flour and grain of other states, than the average which has been exported to England and her provinces for the last six years. Take the whole country, and the amount of agricultural products consumed by manufacturers is infinitely greater than the amount sent abroad.

Compared with the foreign, the home market is the most valuable, in every respect. A market in a manufacturing district, at home, is always more sure than any foreign market. The demand is constant, and may always be relied upon; whereas the foreign market is always uncertain. Suppose that one of the western states had 100,000 barrels of flour to dispose of annually, and they looked to Great Britain for a market. That market would depend upon the crops in Europe. When the crop was good upon the continent, England would take but 50,000 barrels; and

when the crop was short, she would want 150,000 barrels. Though her annual demand would amount to 100,000 barrels, on an average, yet it would fluctuate from 50,000 to 150,000. Under these circumstances, the farmer could make no calculations how much wheat to sow. This uncertainty, depending upon contingencies which he could not possibly foresee, would hang like an incubus upon him, and paralyze his efforts. But let the same state depend upon the home market created by manufactures, and the farmer can calculate with great certainty. He knows that there are 100,000 persons employed in manufactures, and that they will want a barrel of flour each; and he knows that the crops on the eastern continent will have little or no connexion with the demand here. Under these circumstances, he knows, with a good degree of certainty, how much to sow; and, being sure of a market, his industry will redouble, and he will realize a greater profit from his labor. Every practical man knows that much depends upon the certainty of a market; and, from this glance at the subject, it must be seen, at once, that the home market is more sure than the foreign. But this difference between the foreign and home market would be still greater in time of war. In case of hostilities with a great maritime power, like Great Britain, whether our commerce were with her or with any other foreign nation, it would be in a great degree cut off, so that the foreign market would fail. These considerations show conclusively that the home market must, after all, be the farmer's chief dependence—his best market in peace, and his only reliance in war.

From the view we have taken of this subject, I trust it will appear that the farmers have as deep an interest in the protective system as the manufacturers; and that the hardy tillers of the soil, who did so much to obtain our independence, will be the last to abandon a policy which preserves us a free people.

But it is said that protection is injurious to commerce. No objection can be more fallacious than this. We have already seen that our commerce drew its first breath in the protective system, and that its last respiration is to be ascribed to the same policy. And it is a strange position, that the very policy which first created, and still sustains commerce, is injurious to it. But if it be said that the protection which is extended to manufactures injures commerce, we reply that, according to the late census, there are 791,000 persons engaged in manufactures, while there are but 117,000 engaged in commerce; and we know of no good reason why the many should be sacrificed to the few—why the interests of 800,000 should not be regarded as well as the interests of 117,000. But is the protection afforded to manufactures injurious to commerce? We think not. Our imports will be according to our ability to purchase, and our exports according to what we produce; and as the protective system stimulates our industry, and so increases our productions and ability to purchase, it will benefit rather than injure commerce. That general prosperity, which protection is calculated to produce, is the life of commercial enterprize; and whatever drives the plough or the machinery, tends, at the same time, to spread the sail. This consideration is of itself a sufficient reply to the objection that protection is detrimental to commerce. But there are other considerations which show the weakness of this objection. Many of the articles consumed in manufactures are brought from abroad; and as the raw materials are more bulky and heavy than the manufactured articles, more shipping is employed in supplying the

raw materials than would be necessary to supply the article manufactured. This principle is illustrated in the case of *refined sugar*. Without protective duties, a large portion of our sugar would be imported in its refined state; but the duty of six cents per pound upon refined sugar, induces the sugar-refiners to import the brown sugar, which they manufacture into loaf. Now it must be manifest that more shipping is employed in bringing to our refiners the raw sugar, than would be requisite to bring the lesser quantity of the refined, to supply the wants of the people. Our manufactures, by increasing the business connexion between different portions of the country, increase the coasting trade and the internal commerce. Add to this the amount of manufactured products which are shipped to foreign countries, and I think it will appear that our commerce is not injured by stimulating the industry, and developing the resources of the country. The manufactured articles, the fruit of protection, which are sent to every part of the world, amounted the last year to about $11,000,000—being more than one-tenth of our entire export of domestic productions. The advantages resulting to our commerce from this source, must be manifest. On many of these articles, our shipping have a double employment. The refined sugar to which we have referred, is an instance in point. We have already said that more shipping is required to import the raw sugar, than would be requisite to bring in the refined sugar which we consume. But this is not all—the brown sugar imported is, after it is manufactured into the loaf, exported to the amount of nearly a million and a half of dollars annually. Thus do our manufactures give life and energy to our commerce; and hence the protective system, which fosters the one, cannot be detrimental to the other.

But the great objection to the protective system is, that it enhances the price of all articles to the amount of the duty, and so imposes a heavy tax upon the consumers. This objection, specious as it is, is far from holding good to the extent that is pretended. That it is not true in all cases, appears from the fact that many articles, as coarse cottons, nails, &c., have been selling for years at a price less than the duty. We admit that duties, self-considered, have a tendency to increase prices for the time being; but to what extent, and for what length of time, must depend upon many considerations. Prices depend mainly upon supply and demand. It will also be found true, that a small deficiency in the supply will raise the price of the whole commodity in the market far above the value of the deficit; and, on the other hand, a surplus, though small, will reduce the price of the whole commodity in the market far beyond the value of the surplus. A surplus of $10,000 will frequently produce an aggregate reduction of the whole quantity of the commodity in the market, to the amount of $50,000. This principle is so important to a right understanding of this part of the subject, that I trust I shall be pardoned by the reader if I attempt a more full illustration. We will suppose that there are ten shops in a village, owned by as many individuals, and that $100 per quarter is a fair rent for each of them; but the number of traders wishing to occupy these shops is but nine, thereby leaving a surplus of one shop. Now what will be the practical result of this state of things? Nine shops will be occupied, and one will be vacant. The owner of the vacant shop, seeing all his neighbors enjoying an income of $100 per quarter, while he receives nothing, offers his shop for $90, on the wise principle that he had better take that sum than nothing. This offer induces one of the traders,

who is paying $100, to quit the shop he occupies, and to take the one he can have for $90. This change leaves another shop empty, and this induces its owner to put that at $90 per quarter. This induces another to remove, and take a shop at $90; and so they will go through with each shop, till all are brought down to $90. Here has been a reduction of $10 on each shop, making an aggregate of $100, being just equal to the value of the surplus. And how stands the matter now? Why, there is one empty shop, as at the beginning; and the same process of reduction will go on, till the price is brought down so low as to induce some person to embark in trade, who, under other circumstances, would not think of engaging in this kind of business.

This principle, which every practical man will readily acknowledge, enters largely into our commerce, both foreign and domestic, and has an all-important bearing upon prices. Keeping this principle in view, let us inquire into the effect of a tariff upon prices. Suppose an article now paying 20 per cent, be subjected to a duty of 20 per cent more. According to the free trade theory, the price will rise 20 per cent in our market. But, in fact, this will not be the case. The American merchant, who has been in the habit of taking this article of an English house to the amount of $2,000, writes to his correspondent in Great Britain, that, in consideration of the increase of duty, and consequently the diminished sale which he anticipates, he can now take but $1,000 worth of the article, unless the manufacturer will reduce his price. The British manufacturer, knowing full well that if $1,000 worth of this fabric be thrown into his home market, it will reduce the price, and lessen the value of his whole stock on hand, immediately reduces his price, and so supplies his old customer with the usual quantity of the article. The amount of reduction will depend upon the state of the market—sometimes it will be more, and sometimes it will be less. The average, perhaps, would be one-half of the increased duty. The foreign manufacturer paying one-half of the additional duty, the actual duty paid by the importer would be 30 per cent, instead of 40. This would raise the price in our market only 10 per cent. But, as the increased duty would protect our manufacturers, they would embark with Yankee zeal in this species of manufacture. This would produce competition at home, and the increased quantity of the article thrown into our market would have a tendency to produce a surplus, and this would serve to keep down the price. Here would be a double competition—a competition between the foreign and the domestic manufacturers, and a competition between the domestic manufacturers themselves. The natural tendency of this would be to reduce the price. Its operation would be more or less sudden, according to the character of the manufacture. If it were a costly kind of manufacture, or one which required great skill, it would take longer to bring about this reduction. But if the manufacture were of such a nature as to require but little capital or little experience, the competition, and consequent reduction, would be more immediate. After making all due allowances for fluctuations, from various causes, we lay it down as a principle which will hold good, that where duties are judiciously laid upon articles, the manufacture of which is suited to our condition, the tendency is ultimately to reduce, rather than increase the price. To this, of course, there are exceptions; but the case of coarse cottons, and many articles of hardware, clearly show the truth of our position.

Let any man compare the prices now with what they were twenty years ago, and he will see that there has been a great reduction in the price of almost every manufactured article. But this statement is met by saying that competition has produced labor-saving machines, and the great improvements in machinery have had the effect to reduce the prices of manufactured articles. We admit this, to its fullest extent. But what has caused this improvement in machinery? Protection created a competition, and competition has been the efficient cause of these improvements. That inventive power which has been exerted in perfecting machinery, would have slumbered for ages to come, as it has for ages past, had not manufactures been prosecuted under such brisk competition, that necessity, which is the mother of invention, demanded the employment of labor-saving machines. It is to protection that we owe competition, and to competition we owe those improvements in machinery, which have contributed to reduce prices. So that, after all, this reduction is to be ascribed to protection, to the industry which it stimulates, and to the genius which it excites.

The remarks which have been offered upon prices, brief as they are, are deemed sufficient to show that no objection can be made to the protective system on the ground of its raising the price of the fabrics protected. In some instances, it will not raise the price at all—in others, only for a short period; and if, in other cases, it does produce a permanent increase of price, that is more than compensated for in the stimulus which this system gives to industry, in the home market which it creates, and in the general prosperity which it produces. There are some species of manufactures which give employment to women and children, whereby they are enabled to support themselves, when, without this employ, they would be a public charge. Every consideration of this sort is to be taken into the account, in estimating the profit and loss of the system we advocate. Suppose that the system which we advocate does increase the price of a few articles, so that the poor man has to pay some five or six dollars in a year more than it would otherwise cost him; this policy, by increasing business, creates a demand for his labor, and enables him to earn one or two dollars per month more than he could otherwise earn. Instead of suffering, he is actually a gainer by this system.

But, in answer to our reasoning above, it may be said that if protective duties do not increase prices, they afford no protection to the manufacturer. By recurring to what we have said, it will be seen that we do not take the ground that protective duties do not, in any case, increase the price of the article in our market. Our position is this: that a protective duty laid upon articles which we can manufacture with propriety in this country, would not ultimately increase the price, but would frequently reduce it. If the duty be laid upon articles which we do not manufacture, or cannot manufacture or grow with propriety, the tendency would be to increase the price; though, even in such a case, the price is rarely increased to the amount of the duty. But a duty, in a given case, may protect the manufacturer, and at the same time produce an ultimate reduction in the price of that article. I will illustrate this principle by a familiar case.

An article, now free of duty, is selling in our market for $1 20. The elements which make up this price, are these: cost in foreign market, $1; cost of importation, ten cents; importer's profits, ten cents—making $1 20. At this price, the article can be manufactured and sold in this country.

Now, let one of our citizens go into the manufacture of this article, and what will be the result? Why, the foreign manufacturer, who has heretofore enjoyed the monopoly of our market, and who is enjoying large profits, will immediately put the article at ninety cents to the American importer—this being the cost of the article. He will willingly forego all profit for the time being, for the purpose of crushing the infant establishments in this country; and the importer will give up one-half of his profits, rather than lose this portion of his business. This will reduce the price of the article fifteen cents, bringing it down to $1 05. The American manufacturer immediately finds the article in the market at this reduced price, which is, in fact, less than he can manufacture the article for. He must, therefore, abandon his business, give up his establishment at a great sacrifice, and yield the market to the foreign manufacturer, who, finding his new rival destroyed, will immediately demand the old price, and put his article at $1; and the consumer in this country will be compelled to pay $1 20, or perhaps $1 25, to make up the loss which the importer and foreign manufacturer sustained during the period of competition. This is the result when the article is free of duty.

Now, we will take the same article, at the same price, both in Europe and America, with protective duties. A duty of fifteen cents is imposed upon the article, to encourage domestic manufactures. This, added to the former price, $1 20, would bring the article up to $1 35. The foreign manufacturer fears that he shall lose the American market; and consequently, to prevent a surplus in his own home market, and to create a surplus here, he will at once put his article at cost, ninety cents; the importer will forego half his profits, and take off five cents, which will bring the article down to $1 20, the very price which the article brought before the duty was imposed. In the mean time, the American manufacturer produces the article, which he can sell for the same price. Here, then, the manufacturer is protected, and the consumer has no additional price to pay. The importation will not be materially checked; and this, with the domestic production, will create a surplus, which will tend to a reduction of the price. A sharp competition will ensue; and necessity, that mother of invention, will bring out improvements in machinery, so that the article can be produced at a cheap rate. The skill, also, which is acquired, will enable the manufacturer to turn off the article at less expense, and so afford it to the consumer at a reduced price. Thus will discriminating duties protect the manufacturer, and at the same time cheapen the article. Is it not so? Does not experience justify this position? Without a duty, the foreign manufacturer sells at the maximum price—with the duty, he sells at the minimum. Without the duty, he could profitably reduce his price to destroy our manufacturer—with the duty, he must come down to the lowest price to compete with him.

It has often been objected to the protective system, that it operated unequally; that its benefits were enjoyed by the north, and that its burdens fell upon the south. The injustice of this objection will appear from the fact that there is scarcely a northern interest, *as such*, which is protected; while there are several southern interests which have always enjoyed protection. Sugar, cotton, rice, and tobacco, are southern articles, and cannot be cultivated in the northern section of the country. Coal and lead are highly protected, but they are hardly found in the northern states. Hemp is among the protected articles, but is cultivated not in the northern and

eastern, but in the southwestern states. The articles of wool, salt, and iron, are the product of almost every section of the country, and pertain to the southern as much as to the northern states. Many of the articles mentioned above are southern, and cannot be produced at the north—all the advantages, then, of their protection, must accrue to other sections of the country. But it will be said that the cotton, woollen, paper, glass, and many other species of manufactures, which enjoy protection, are located at the north, and hence they enjoy peculiar benefits from the tariff.

But why are these manufactures located at the north? There is nothing in the acts of Congress which gives them any particular location. When the tariff of 1816 was passed, there were but few manufactures in the northern states; and if that law held out any great inducements to go into manufactures, why did not the south avail themselves of the benefits? Cotton can be manufactured at the south as well as at the north. The south could save the transportation of the raw material. They could raise the cotton, and manufacture it in the same neighborhood. And there is nothing in the woollen, glass, or paper manufacture, which excludes it from the southern states. They have water-power sufficient to drive machinery enough to manufacture for the world; and if they have not availed themselves of the privileges they enjoy, the fault is not chargeable to the northern states. The fact is, the northern states were in a great degree commercial, and they were compelled to go into manufactures by southern policy. The sterility of their soil forbade the idea of competing with the more fertile sections of the country; and, rather than leave the graves of their fathers, they embarked in this new species of industry. And is it to be charged to them as a crime, that they have been more enterprising and industrious than their southern friends, and have made greater proficiency in the arts of manufactures?

As to the burdens of the tariff, they fall upon the middle and northern states more than upon the southern. Every one who knows the character of southern society, knows that the dutiable articles are there used principally by a select class of the population; while, at the north, they are used by almost the entire population. Let the revenue from customs be abandoned, and let the burdens of the government fall upon the states according to federal numbers, and the south would see at once that her present complaints are unfounded. We have no disposition to excite local jealousies—we would rather strive to allay them. We have no disposition to build up one section of the Union at the expense of another—hence we are in favor of a tariff which shall protect every interest, and encourage enterprise and industry, in whatever business it may be employed, or in whatever part of the country it may be located.

But we are told that protection diminishes importations, and that our exports must correspond with our imports, and a tariff is a tax upon the exportation of cotton. We have no disposition, at this time, to go at length into this subject; but will content ourselves with observing that, if this argument be sound, the planting states are more clamorous for protection than any other section of the country. For they ask the government to shape their policy so as to meet their interest alone—to repeal those restrictions upon commerce which every nation has found necessary for national prosperity, and even national independence, that they may reap all the advantages in the sale of their great staple. But, suppose their request were granted, it would, on their own theory, operate in the

end to their own disadvantage. A repeal of discriminating duties would destroy our manufactures, and paralyze our industry, so as to render us unable to purchase foreign fabrics. Importations, then, would in a measure cease; and as imports and exports must correspond with each other, the export of cotton would be diminished. But we have no room to pursue this subject.

We are in favor of the protective system, because we believe it is calculated to promote the interest of our country, and our whole country. We believe that there is no one question of national policy in which the people have so deep an interest, as the one we have been considering. We are in favor of it, because it will promote the interest of the manufacturers, and save from ruin the $300,000,000 of capital invested in that useful department of human industry. We are in favor of it, because we believe that it is productive of the commercial interests. We are in favor of it, because we regard it as essential to agriculture, that great and paramount interest, which is the foundation of every other. But, above all, we are in favor of the protective system, because it promotes the interest of the laborers of the country. This, after all, is the interest which requires the most protection. The rich man can rely upon his money for his support. If the times are hard, his money becomes more valuable, as it will command a better interest, and furnish him more of the comforts and luxuries of life. But to the poor man, the laborer, who has no capital but his ability to toil—to such a one, a prostration of business is absolute ruin. Now, as the protective policy is calculated to revive business, and give to the laborer the due reward of his toil, we regard it as the poor man's system—as his rightful inheritance.

This system has already done much for the poor man. There is no article of clothing which goes into the consumption of the poor man's family so extensively as cottons, in their various forms; and this policy has reduced the price of common cotton cloth more than three-quarters. Those shirtings, which in 1816 would cost some thirty cents per yard, can now be purchased for six cents; and other cottons have fallen nearly in the same proportion. We commend this to the special consideration of those who eat their bread in the sweat of their brow, who constitute the great mass of the people.

We say, in conclusion, that Congress not only possesses the power to lay protective duties, but the good of the country demands the exercise of this power. So thought the "Father of his country"—so thought the patriots and sages of the revolution. And shall the mere theorists of this day, with their refined closet-dreams, lead us from the paths which our fathers have trod, and which experience has shown us to be the paths of wisdom and of prosperity? Every feeling of national honor, every dictate of patriotism, every interest in the country, cries out against it.

The skill of the merchant or tradesman is exhibited in the combination of the greatest profit with the least expense; and he will make the most money who calmly looks from the "beginning to the end," rather than to be attracted by any intermediate point, however profitable it may appear.

MONTHLY COMMERCIAL CHRONICLE.

The abundance of money, which has so long been a marked feature of our financial affairs, continues unabated, and the value of money is perhaps lower than for twenty years. Trust funds, and other large amounts of money, have been freely offered to the large brokers' houses at call at less than 4 per cent per annum, and in some cases loans have been made at rates as low as 2½ per cent. The banking institutions, especially those with large capitals, were under the imperative necessity of employing their funds even in stock loans, in order to maintain their dividends. We pointed out this, in former numbers, as the cause of the very rapid rise in stocks which has taken place within the last ninety days. Subsequent to the publication of our June number, prices rose several per cent higher than the rates then quoted. United States 6 per cent rose to 116; New York 7, to 109; Ohio 6's, to 94; Kentucky 6's, to par; and Illinois, to 41. By that time, however, the quantity held by the banks as collateral, and for investment, was very large. Prices had reached very high figures, and those who had purchased the stocks, and pledged them with the banks, and were paying the interest to carry them, became desirous of realizing, and the upward tendency was checked. The steamer of the 19th, from Liverpool, then arrived, bringing accounts that were, although not unfavorable to American interests generally, less so as to stock operations, inasmuch as the rate of money in London had risen, under the effective demand for business purposes, from 1¾ to 2 per cent, without any disposition to invest in American stocks having been produced by the previous inability to employ money to advantage. The plenteousness of money there, had long been confidently depended upon as likely, sooner or later, to overcome the prejudices against American securities—when, therefore, money again began to rise in value there, without having produced that effect, some disappointment was felt. The banks, however, continue to loan on the dividend-paying stocks, at 4 per cent, reserving a margin of 10 per cent. The great decrease in general business dependent upon banking facilities, leaves the institutions no resource but to invest in stocks, or to diminish their dividends. The imports into New York alone, for the year 1842, fell off $25,000,000, as compared with the previous year. This, with the diminished trade of the interior, added to the growth of the cash method of doing business, must have made a difference of at least $75,000,000 in the amount of business-paper offered at the banks. There are twenty-four banks in the city of New York, whose means of investment on the 1st January, 1843, consisting of capital, circulation, deposits, &c., amounted to $55,000,000. A diminution of $75,000,000 in the means of employing this amount, must have a very marked effect upon their profits; and it is only those of small capitals, and a popularity that procures them a large proportion of deposits, that can make good their usual dividends.

In our April number, we gave a table of prices of agricultural produce at the west, showing a great decline from July to March, during the contraction and liquidation of the banks. We then pointed out the indications that the funds which had so long been accumulating on the Atlantic border would soon effect a rise in prices, and consequently seek the west, and supply the depleted channels of circulation. Since the opening of the spring navigation, that process has been going on; and the lake trade, even at this early period of the season, presents a scene of activity seldom witnessed. Money is, at the leading lake ports, hourly becoming more plenty, and the buoyancy of the markets is steadily increasing. The success of the Ohio loan has had a great effect upon the people of that state; and the money distributed among them, followed by an effective demand for produce, gives a great impulse to business. In Illinois, the same features are apparent. At the extreme west, the same price for wheat, and other produce, affords a far greater margin to the producers than in the more easterly states—that is to say, sixty cents at Chicago is better for the Illinois farmer, than the same price at Cleveland is for him of Ohio. In the southern states, the price of cotton governs the prosperity of the section. For the last year, this has been low, on account of the great abundance of the crop, and the depressed state of the English markets. This latter circumstance has a powerful effect upon the condition of trade throughout the Union. The mere multiplication or diminution of banks and their paper, in the United States, has very little ultimate effect upon the real value of cotton; although, for the moment, by facilitating the movements of speculators, a competition is engendered, by which prices have been maintained in former years, at the south, uniformly higher than contemporaneous prices in Liverpool. Such a state of things is unhealthy, and dependent upon a continued rise in prices to avoid disaster. The effective demand in England, and the prices there actually

obtained, is that which governs the value of the cotton crop. For years, the English consumption of cotton has been rapidly on the increase. The enterprise and vigor of its government, in constantly procuring and extending new markets for the manufactured goods, has sustained the demand even in those years when the failure of the wheat crop, operating upon an impoverished people, wonderfully diminished the home consumption for cotton goods. In order to observe the progress of the cotton trade, we will take from parliamentary tables the pounds of raw cotton imported annually into England, and the value of cotton goods exported, as follows :—

	1838.	1839.	1840.	1841.	1842.
Import cotton,...lbs.	507,850,577	389,396,559	592,488,010	437,093,631	487,143,200
Exp. cot. goods,...£	24,147,726	24,530,375	24,668,618	23,499,478	21,662,760
U. States crop,.bales	1,360,532	2,177,835	1,634,945	1,683,574	2,220,000

The markets of the north of Europe have been developed but in a small degree ; as the progress of the continental manufactures has, backed by the increasing tariffs, checked the increased import, although they do not appear to have diminished the consumption of British goods. It is in the Brazils and the British colonies, particularly the East Indies, that the greatest increase is perceptible. The latter trade has more than doubled within four years, and now is equal to 25 per cent of the whole exports, while the settlement of the late difficulties leaves a far broader field for exertion. The exports to the United States show the greatest diminution during the descending scale of the duties under the compromise act. The total quantity exported from England, it appears, has doubled in the period embraced within the above table, while the aggregate value increased but 22 per cent; showing a depreciation in money-value to that extent. In 1840, 60,000,000 yards more cotton cloth were given for the same money than in 1839. At the same time, the price of the raw material, on the first of May each year, was as follows :—

	1843.			1842.			1841.			1840.			1839.		
	Mid.	Fair.	G'd.	Mid.	Fair.	G'd.	Mid.	Fair.	G'd.	Mid.	Fair.	G'd.	Mid.	Fair.	G'd.
Sea Isl'd,	9*d*	10*d*	15*d*	10*d*	11½*d*	16*d*	15*d*	16*d*	20*d*	13½*d*	15*d*	18½*d*	22½*d*	24½*d*	29*d*
Up. Bow.	4	4½	5¼	4⅜	5½	6⅛	6¼	6¾	7¼	5¾	6¼	6¾	8¼	8⅝	9⅜
N. Orl.,.	4⅛	4⅝	6	4⅞	5⅜	7	6½	7	7⅝	5⅞	6⅜	7	8⅜	8¾	9¾
Mobile, .	4⅛	4½	5½	4⅞	5⅝	6¼	6⅜	6⅞	7½	5⅞	6¼	6¾	8⅜	8¾	9½

Thus the cost of the raw material has been diminishing, and the cost of the manufactured article falling in the same degree. A cheap supply, with the renovation of trade under the present superfluity of money, will enhance the consumption, and all the connected interest rise on the ascending scale.

The past year has been one of greater depression in England than for many previous ones—at the same time, the production of the United States cotton has exceeded the average of the two previous crops by 470,000 bales, or 30 per cent. The consequence was very low prices. For the coming year, the reverse is likely to be the case. Money, from being 6 per cent, as at this period last year, has, for several months, been as low as 1¾ *a* 2 per cent, in London—a position of affairs which we illustrated in our May number. By the last steamer, advices were received that the rate of money had advanced to 2 per cent under the improved demand, caused by increasing trade. Prices of provisions, which are the great element of the prosperity of the English internal trade, were very low, at the same time that money was very abundant. The effect was a marked improvement in the cotton trade of Lancashire, leading to a rise in the raw material, notwithstanding that the full extent of the crop—2,220,000 bales—was known. These are elements of American prosperity far more durable and beneficial than any improvement of stocks, unaccompanied by such indications. As yet, it is far too early to judge of the appearance of the cotton crops; but the probability is, that it will not be so large as last year. Should it, however, run as high, the opening of the East India markets for goods, and of the Chinese market for East India cotton, are combined causes likely to add at least $10,000,000 to the money-value of our great staple. A rise of two cents per pound in a crop of the extent of the present one, makes a difference of $18,000,000 in the means of the planters to purchase supplies, and forms the real basis of our national prosperity. A sustained rise in cotton, with a proportionate rise in money-value of the agricultural surplus produce, is the groundwork of the whole trade of the country. A rise in cotton and tobacco has a far greater effect on trade than on other produce, because nearly the whole quantity raised is sold abroad; while, in other produce, ouly the surplus, after the wants of the producer are satisfied, is affected by the money-value. If a farmer raises no more than he consumes, the market price is of no consequence to him—

as soon as he has a surplus, it becomes of first consequence to him. With the cotton and tobacco planter, the whole quantity raised is sold, and mostly abroad. Hence, the higher the cash price in Liverpool, the more he, as well as the nation, becomes enriched. That cash value abroad depends upon the state of the currency, and the proportion which supply bears to consumption. For the last year, the currency has been very dear, and the supply in excess of consumption. For the coming year, the currency will be very cheap, and consumption increased on a diminished supply. Another circumstance is also likely to favor the planter. The English duty on cotton is 7 per cent; and the ex-chancellor, Sir F. Baring, in a recent debate, proposed a reduction of that duty, with a view to "renovate England's drooping trade."

The whole policy of England seems now to favor that system of commercial reciprocity to which the world has been advancing, by slow degrees, since the conclusion of peace, in 1815; when, for the first time, for a period of one hundred and seventy years, during which the navigation act of England had been in full operation, its provisions were modified in favor of the United States. The navigation act provided that no goods should be imported into England, in other than English ships, except from Europe; and goods coming from Europe, in vessels belonging to the country of their production, were subject to high discriminating duties. In 1815, by mutual convention between the United States and Great Britain, the vessels of both countries were admitted into the ports of each nation on the same footing, without discrimination. The commerce of Great Britain has hitherto regulated that of the world, because of its extent and importance. Great Britain, under the old system of universal restriction, rose to be the wealthiest nation by the force of its physical situation, in spite of governmental restrictions. The release of the United States from her control, in 1776, started into life a new and powerful nation, whose liberal principles caused her to grow with unparalleled rapidity. At the end of the bloody wars, terminating in 1815, it was found that a new departure was to be taken, and liberal principles alone could sustain the position of England. This, the deep sagacity of Mr. Pitt had discovered at the close of the last century. That great statesman labored long and hard to liberate the colonies; to grant to the United States a free trade with the whole empire of Great Britain, and to open a commerce with France on terms of the most extensive reciprocity. He was ably seconded by Mr. Jefferson, on this side, in his report of March, 1792, in which a broad plan of commercial reciprocity was ably projected. The long and bloody wars which succeeded, frustrated these designs; but the moment peace returned, the navigation act was virtually abolished in regard to the United States. In 1822, the trade of the colonies became comparatively free. In 1824 to 1826, most of the countries of Europe obtained a modification of the navigation laws on terms similar to the United States. Scarcely a year passed thereafter, but the people of England have obtained some important concessions from the aristocracy. The tariff has been reduced until it is scarcely a skeleton of what it was. We will here look back at the navigation of Great Britain and the United States since 1815, and France since 1820, although the English treaty with France was not concluded until 1826, admitting French ships into English ports on terms of reciprocity. In order the better to compare the tonnage of the three nations, we take the national and foreign tons entered in each year.

TONNAGE ENTERED THE THREE NATIONS OF FRANCE, UNITED STATES, AND GREAT BRITAIN.

	Entered the United Kingdom.		Entered the U. States.		Entered France.	
Years.	*British.*	*Foreign.*	*American.*	*Foreign.*	*French.*	*Foreign.*
1815,.....	1,372,108	746,985	700,000	217,413	.....	.....
1816,.....	1,415,723	379,465	807,462	259,142	.....	.....
1817,.....	1,625,121	465,011	780,136	212,166	.....	.....
1818,.....	1,886,394	762,457	755,101	161,414	.....	.....
1819,.....	1,809,128	542,648	783,579	85,898	.....	.....
1820,.....	1,668,060	447,611	801,253	78,859	335,942	354,550
1821,.....	1,599,274	396,256	765,098	82,915	316,243	367,092
1822,.....	1,664,186	469,151	787,961	112,407	285,560	423,044
1823,.....	1,740,859	582,996	775,271	117,297	229,129	423,162
1824,.....	1,797,320	759,441	850,033	89,481	316,480	438,005
1825,.....	2,144,598	958,132	880,754	94,836	329,735	414,670
1826,.....	1,950,630	694,116	942,206	120,716	355,756	544,682
1827,.....	2,806,898	751,864	908,861	137,562	353,102	475,509
1828,.....	2,094,357	634,620	863,381	147,006	346,591	527,639
1829,.....	2,184,525	710,303	872,949	130,098	331,049	581,755
1830,.....	2,180,042	758,828	967,227	136,440	340,171	669,283
1831,.....	2,367,322	874,605	922,952	217,656	333,216	461,194

TONNAGE ENTERED FRANCE, THE UNITED STATES, AND GREAT BRITAIN—*Continued.*

	Entered the United Kingdom.		Entered the U. States.		Entered France.	
Years.	*British.*	*Foreign.*	*American.*	*Foreign.*	*French.*	*Foreign.*
1832,.....	2,185,980	639,979	949,622	421,667	399,948	714,638
1833,.....	2,183,844	762,085	1,111,441	520,874	358,157	622,735
1834,.....	2,298,263	833,905	1,074,670	568,052	394,486	736,918
1835,.....	2,442,734	866,990	1,352,653	641,310	407,999	766,033
1836,.....	2,505,473	988,899	1,255,384	680,213	550,121	889,345
1837,.....	2,616,166	1,005,940	1,299,720	765,703	592,124	910,111
1838,.....	2,785,387	1,211,666	1,302,974	592,110	620,140	915,000
1839,.....	3,101,650	1,331,365	1,490,279	624,814	642,130	924,220
1840,.....	3,197,501	1,460,294	1,576,946	712,363	665,178	1,076,737
1841,.....	2,900,749	1,081,380	1,631,909	736,444	630,071	1,193,289
1842,.....	2,680,838	974,768	.....	.....	.....	.....

The policy of Great Britain, since 1815, has been consistent, and constantly increasing in liberality. She has taken the sure method of encouraging her navigation—that is, by continually reducing the duties on the materials of ship-building, she has enabled her ships to compete with those of all the world. The policy of the United States, on the contrary, has been the most absurd and contradictory imaginable. A government allowance has been made to 70 *a* 80,000 tons employed in fishing, to encourage the growth of a naval marine. By laws and treaties, all discriminating duties on the ships of most of the countries of Europe have been abolished; all nations have had the privilege of importing the produce of any country, direct or otherwise, without exacting alien duties. Everything has been done to clear the paths of the ocean to the ships of all nations; yet our own ships, staggering under the weight of the competition thus brought against them, have been crushed by the onerous taxes laid upon the materials for ship-building, under pretence of protecting the producers of those materials. It has been the policy to enlarge the intercourse with all the world for empty ships of the most expensive construction. The only encouragement or protection which American shipping wants, is a prompt repeal of duties upon iron, hemp, sail cloth, &c. Railroads have been protected by refunding the duty; yet the mariner, the right arm of our defence, has been obliged to carry the load. In the above table of American tonnage, the ratio of foreign to American, in 1815, was 30 per cent. It gradually fell, until, in 1822, it was less than 9 per cent. In 1828, it had risen to 15 per cent. Under the enormous tariff of that year, it rose to 50 per cent in 1832, and 60 per cent in 1828. This was the tonnage in the foreign trade. The coasting tonnage from 1828 to 1836, eight years, did not increase at all. In the latter year, it was 984,328 tons. In 1841, it had risen to 1,284,940 tons, under the falling rates of the compromise tariff. In order to show the burden actually imposed upon American navigation, as compared with that of Great Britain, in 1828, we give the following table:—

DUTIES ON THE MATERIALS CONSUMED IN BUILDING A SHIP OF FIVE HUNDRED TONS, NOT COPPER FASTENED.

	British duty.		American duty.	
7 tons Swedish iron, at.....	$6 66 equal	$46 66; at	$22 40 equal	$156 80
13 " English "	None.		37 00 "	481 00
20,160 lbs. chain cables, 9 tons,...	6 66 "	60 00; "	03 "	604 80
4,600 lbs. anchors,.....	.....	..... "	02 "	92 00
62 pieces heavy duck, 2,356 yards				
20 " light " 760 "				
3,116 " at 7½*d* "	432 67; "		12½ "	389 50
15 tons cordage, 12 tons hemp, at $20 74 "	248 88; "		60 00 "	720 00
British tax on a ship of 500 tons,.....	$788 21;		American tax,	$2,444 10
			British tax,....	788 21
Premium on British ships of 500 tons, ...				$1,655 91

Now the British ship, costing so much money, has been allowed the same privileges as the American vessels since 1828, when this duty was imposed. In this, we have the undoubted cause of the rapid increase of British tonnage in our waters. The American policy has been, as we have said, to extend navigation for ships, and to leave the ships

nothing to carry. We will compare the duties of 1819 with the present English and American duties on leading articles.

COMPARATIVE DUTIES IN GREAT BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES.

	British Duties.		American Duties.	
	1819.	1843.	1819.	1843.
Flax,.....ton	$2 96	.....	$20 00	$20 00
Hemp,..... "	45 93	$16 94	20 00	40 00
Indigo,.....lb.	9	2	.....	05
Iron bar, ...ton	35 18	4 80	8 a 9	17 00
Pig iron,..... "	3 88	1 20	4 a 5	9 00
Lead,..... "	20 00	4 80	22 a 40	60 00
Olive oil,....gal.	34	15	10	20
Raw silk,.....lb.	1 22	2	15 p. cent.	50
Thrown silk,. "	3 26	24	15 "	2 00
Wool, 1*s*..... "	11	1	Free.	5 p. cent.
" over 1*s*."	11	2	"	3 cts. & 30 "
Goods, cotton,..	50 a 75 p. cent.	10 p. cent.	15 p. cent.	60 a 150 p. cent.
Calicoes,.....	prohibited.			
Goods, wool,....	50 p. cent.	15 "	15 "	40 & 10 "
" flax,.....	172½ "	20 "	15 "	25 "
" iron,.....	50 "	15 "	15 "	30 "
Iron rods,....ton	$88 88	.....	17½ "	.....
Glass,.....	80 "	20 cts.	22½ "	25 cts.
Lead,.....	50 "	5 "	15 a 30	30 "
Silk,.....	prohibited	25 p. cent.	15 p. cent.	lb. $2 50
Sail cloth,....yd.	17 cts.	6 cts.	15 "	7 cts.
Sails,.....	104 p. cent.	15 "	15 "	.....
Wheat,.....	prohib. und. 80*s*.	3 to 50 p. cent.	15 "	bush. 25 cts.
Grain,.....	" "	3 to 50 "	15 "	25 "
Salt,.....bush.	$4 44	.....	free.	8 "
Clothing,.....	50 p. cent.	15 "	15 "	50 p. cent.
China ware,.....	75 "	20 "	17½ "	30 "
Earthen ware, ...	75 "	10 "	17½ "	30 "

This table presents the practical effects of the systems of the two countries. England has immensely reduced her duties, while the United States have as greatly augmented theirs. The statement of British duties shows the result of the changes which have taken place since the war. Each successive innovation on the ancient restrictive policy raised a clamor from parties who supposed themselves injured. Capitalists were alarmed to see the raw material of manufactures imported and exported, and at the same time astonished to see that the export and consumption of British manufactures increased in proportion. New channels of trade were opened, old ones enlarged, and imports increased; and yet the dreaded bankruptcy was further off than ever. The emancipation of the colonies, so far from ruining the shipping interests, as they predicted, and destroying the naval power of Britain, caused British navigation to increase in all its channels faster than ever, and the colonial markets swelled in proportion. For four centuries, French silks had been prohibited in England; yet Parliament, amidst a tempest of opposition, substituted a duty of 30 per cent in 1824. Instead of the utter ruin which the manufacturers had made up their minds to encounter in consequence, the consumption of raw silk in England increased as follows:—

Consumption in	1814, duty, per pound, 14*s*. 7*d*.,.....	lbs.	2,086,341
"	1824, " "	"	2,432,286
"	1828, duty from 1824, per pound, 5*s*.,.....	"	4,544,564

There was very little increase for the ten years ending in 1824; but, under the low duty in four successive years, the manufacture of silk nearly doubled. Every branch of British manufacture presents the same results.

Taking these facts into consideration, it would seem that the policy of the United States is alone the obstacle to a system of reciprocity which, instead of confining American industry within the limits of our own country, would throw open the markets of the world to their enterprise.

COMMERCIAL STATISTICS.

VALUE OF EXPORTS OF THE UNITED STATES FOR FIFTY-ONE YEARS.

The following table, which we have compiled from official sources, exhibits the value of all the exports in each year from 1790 to 1841, and the value of those of domestic and foreign origin since 1803:—

To Sept. 30.	Val. of Exp. of Domestic Origin. *Dollars.*	Val. of Exp. of Foreign Origin. *Dollars.*	Total Value of Exports. *Dollars.*	To Sept. 30.	Val. of Exp. of Domestic Origin. *Dollars.*	Val. of Exp. of Foreign Origin. *Dollars.*	Total Value of Exports. *Dollars.*
1791,	.....	.....	19,012,041	1817,	68,313,500	19,358,069	87,671,569
1792,	.....	.....	20,753,098	1818,	73,854,437	19,426,696	93,281,133
1793,	.....	.....	26,109,572	1819,	50,976,838	19,165,683	70,142,521
1794,	.....	.....	33,026,233	1820,	51,683,640	18,008,029	69,691,669
1795,	.....	.....	47,989,472	1821,	43,671,894	21,302,488	64,974,382
1796,	.....	.....	67,064,097	1822,	49,874,079	22,286,202	72,160,281
1797,	.....	.....	56,850,206	1823,	47,155,408	27,543,622	74,699,030
1798,	.....	.....	61,527,097	1824,	50,649,500	25,337,157	75,986,657
1799,	.....	.....	78,665,522	1825,	66,944,745	32,590,643	99,535,388
1800,	.....	.....	70,971,780	1826,	53,055,710	24,539,612	77,595,322
1801,	.....	.....	94,115,925	1827,	58,921,691	23,403,136	82,324,829
1802,	.....	.....	72,483,160	1828,	50,669,669	21,595,017	72,264,686
1803,	42,205,961	13,594,072	55,800,033	1829,	55,700,193	16,658,478	72,358,671
1804,	41,467,477	36,231,597	77,699,074	1830,	59,462,029	14,387,479	73,849,508
1805,	42,387,002	53,179,019	95,566,021	1831,	61,277,057	20,033,526	81,310,583
1806,	41,253,727	60,283,234	101,536,963	1832,	63,137,470	24,039,473	87,176,943
1807,	48,699,592	59,643,558	108,343,150	1833,	70,317,698	19,822,735	90,140,433
1808,	9,433,546	12,997,414	22,430,960	1834,	81,024,162	23,312,811	104,336,973
1809,	31,405,702	20,797,531	52,203,233	1835,	101,189,082	20,504,495	121,693,577
1810,	42,366,675	24,391,295	66,757,970	1836,	106,916,680	21,746,360	128,663,040
1811,	45,294,043	16,022,790	61,316,833	1837,	95,564,414	21,854,962	117,419,376
1812,	30,032,109	8,495,127	38,527,236	1838,	96,033,821	12,452,795	108,486,616
1813,	25,008,152	2,847,845	27,855,997	1839,	103,533,891	17,494,525	121,028,416
1814,	6,782,272	0,145,169	6,927,441	1840,	113,895,634	18,190,312	132,085,946
1815,	45,974,403	6,583,350	52,557,753	1841,	106,382,722	15,469,081	121,851,803
1816,	64,781,896	17,138,555	81,920,452				

DOMESTIC EXPORTS OF THE UNITED STATES FROM 1803 TO 1841.

The following table, compiled with great care from official documents, exhibits the value of the products of the Sea, of the Forest, of Agriculture and of Manufactures exported in each year, from 1803 to 1841, a period of nearly 40 years. It shows, at a glance, the proportion of each general description of our productive industry:—

Years.	Of the Sea.	Of the Forest.	Of Agriculture.	Of Manufactures.
1803,.....	$2,635,000	$4,850,000	$32,995,000	$1,355,000
1804,.....	3,420,000	4,630,000	30,890,000	2,100,000
1805,.....	2,884,000	5,261,000	31,562,000	2,300,000
1806,.....	3,116,000	4,861,000	30,125,000	2,707,000
1807,.....	2,804,000	5,476,000	37,832,000	2,120,000
1808,.....	832,000	1,399,000	1,746,000	344,000
1809,.....	1,710,000	4,583,000	23,234,000	1,506,000
1810,.....	1,481,000	4,978,000	33,502,000	1,907,000
1811,.....	1,413,000	5,286,000	35,556,000	2,376,000
1812,.....	935,000	2,701,000	24,555,000	1,355,000
1813,.....	304,000	1,107,000	23,119,000	399,000
1814,.....	188,000	570,000	5,613,000	246,300
1815,.....	912,000	3,910,000	38,910,000	1,553,000

DOMESTIC EXPORTS OF THE UNITED STATES FROM 1803 TO 1841—*Continued.*

Years.	Of the Sea.	Of the Forest.	Of Agriculture.	Of Manufactures.
1816,.....	$1,331,000	$7,293,000	$53,354,000	$1,755,000
1817,.....	1,671,000	1,484,000	57,222,000	2,551,000
1818,.....	2,187,000	5,691,000	62,987,000	2,777,000
1819,.....	2,024,000	4,927,000	41,452,000	2,245,000
1820,.....	2,251,000	5,304,000	41,485,000	2,342,000
1821,.....	1,499,188	3,794,341	35,407,992	2,754,631
1822,.....	1,384,589	3,815,542	41,272,379	3,121,030
1823,.....	1,658,224	4,498,911	37,646,726	3,139,598
1824,.....	1,610,990	4,889,646	38,995,198	4,841,383
1825,.....	1,595,065	4,938,949	54,237,751	5,729,797
1826,.....	1,473,388	3,951,250	41,253,001	6,100,985
1827,.....	1,575,332	3,343,970	47,065,143	6,680,225
1828,.....	1,693,980	3,889,611	38,610,924	6,241,391
1829,.....	1,817,100	3,681,759	43,954,584	6,025,200
1830,.....	1,725,270	4,192,004	46,977,332	6,258,131
1831,.....	1,889,472	4,263,477	47,261,433	7,147,364
1832,.....	2,558,538	4,347,794	49,416,183	6,461,774
1833,.....	2,402,469	4,906,339	55,343,421	6,923,922
1834,.....	2,071,493	4,457,997	67,380,787	7,113,885
1835,.....	2,174,524	5,397,004	85,049,964	8,567,590
1836,.....	2,666,058	5,361,740	91,625,924	7,261,186
1837,.....	2,711,452	4,711,007	78,385,281	8,995,368
1838,.....	3,175,576	5,200,499	78,194,447	9,463,299
1839,.....	1,917,969	5,764,559	84,923,834	10,927,529
1840,.....	3,198,370	5,323,085	93,125,339	12,868,840
1841,.....	2,846,851	6,264,852	81,747,947	13,523,072

RICE TRADE OF THE UNITED STATES.

EXPORTS OF RICE FOR FIFTY-ONE YEARS—1791 TO 1841.

We have compiled, from official documents, the following table, showing the quantity of rice exported from the United States in each year, from 1791 to 1841; also, the value of the same, from 1803 to 1841:—

The culture of this valuable and most nutritious vegetable was introduced into South Carolina about the year 1694.* Different accounts have been given as to the manner of its first introduction. The account given by Dr. Ramsay, in his valuable history of South Carolina, published in 1809, is probably the most correct, and which we shall give in his own words.

"Landgrave Thomas Smith, who was governor of the province in 1693, had been at Madagascar before he settled in Carolina. There he observed that rice was planted and grew in low and moist ground. Having such ground at the western extremity of his garden, attached to his dwelling-house in East Bay-street, he was persuaded that rice would grow therein, if seed could be obtained. About this time a vessel from Madagascar, being in distress, came to anchor near Sullivan's island. The master of the vessel inquired for Mr. Smith as an old acquaintance. An interview took place. In the course of conversation Mr. Smith expressed a wish to obtain some seed-rice to plant in his garden, by way of experiment. The cook being called, said he had a small bag of rice suitable for that purpose. This was presented to Mr. Smith, who sowed it in a low spot in his garden, which now forms a part of Longitude-lane. It grew luxuriantly. The little crop was distributed by Mr. Smith among his planting friends. From this small beginning the first staple of South Carolina took its rise. It soon after became the chief support of the colony."

* Pitkin's Statistics.

Its introduction contributed much to the prosperity of that part of North America. It became valuable, not only for consumption at home, but as an article for exportation. By an Act of Parliament, of 3 and 4 of Anne, (1706,) rice was placed among the enumerated commodities, and could only be shipped directly to Great Britain; but afterwards, in the year 1730, it was permitted to be carried, under certain limitations and restrictions, to the ports of Europe lying south of Cape Finisterre. Its culture had so increased, that, as early as 1724, eighteen thousand barrels of it were exported; and from November, 1760, to September, 1761, no less than one hundred thousand barrels were shipped from South Carolina.*

In 1770, the value of this article exported, being in quantity about one hundred and sixty thousand barrels, amounted to $1,530,000.

Years.	Tierces.	Value.	Years.	Tierces.	Value.
1791,.....	96,980	.....	1817,.....	79,296	2,378,880
1792,.....	141,762	.....	1818,.....	88,181	3,262,697
1793,.....	134,611	.....	1819,.....	76,523	2,142,644
1794,.....	116,486	.....	1820,.....	71,663	1,714,923
1795,.....	138,526	.....	1821,.....	88,221	1,494,923
1796,.....	131,039	.....	1822,.....	87,089	1,553,482
1797,.....	60,111	.....	1823,.....	101,365	1,820,985
1798,.....	125,243	.....	1824,.....	113,229	1,882,982
1799,.....	110,599	.....	1825,.....	97,015	1,925,245
1800,.....	112,056	.....	1826,.....	111,063	1,917,445
1801,.....	94,866	.....	1827,.....	133,518	2,343,908
1802,.....	79,822	.....	1828,.....	175,019	2,620,696
1803,.....	81,838	$2,455,000	1829,.....	171,636	2,514,370
1804,.....	78,385	2,350,000	1830,.....	130,697	1,986,824
1805,.....	56,830	1,705,000	1831,.....	116,517	2,016,267
1806,.....	102,627	2,617,000	1832,.....	120,327	2,152,631
1807,.....	94,692	2,367,000	1833,.....	144,166	2,774,418
1808,.....	9,228	221,000	1834,.....	121,886	2,122,272
1809,.....	116,907	2,104,000	1835,.....	110,851	2,210,331
1810, ...	131,341	2,626,000	1836,.....	212,983	2,548,750
1811,.....	119,356	2,387,000	1837,.....	106,084	2,309,279
1812,.....	77,190	1,544,000	1838,.....	71,048	1,721,819
1813,.....	120,843	3,021,000	1839,.....	93,320	2,460,198
1814,.....	11,476	230,000	1840,.....	101,660	1,942,076
1815,.....	129,248	2,785,000	1841,.....	101,617	2,010,107
1816,.....	137,843	3,555,000			

PRODUCTS OF THE SEA.

Fish Exported from the United States.

The following table, compiled from official documents, exhibits the quantity of pickled and dried fish, in quintals, barrels, and kegs, exported from the United States for fifty-one years, from 1791 to 1841; also, the value of the same in each year, from 1803 to 1841:—

Years.	Dried Fish. *Quintals.*	Dried Fish. *Value.*	Pickled Fish. *Barrels.*	Pickled Fish. *Kegs.*	Pickled Fish. *Value.*
1791,.....	383,237	.....	57,426	.....	.....
1792,.....	364,898	.....	48,277	.....	.....
1793,.....	372,825	.....	45,440	.....	.....
1794,.....	436,907	.....	36,929	.....	.....
1795,.....	400,818	.....	55,999	.....	.....
1796,.....	377,713	.....	84,558	5,256	.....
1797,.....	406,016	.....	69,782	7,351	.....
1798,.....	411,175	.....	66,827	6,220	.....
1799,.....	428,495	.....	63,542	15,993	.....

* Macpherson's Annals of Commerce.

FISH EXPORTED FROM THE UNITED STATES—*Continued.*

Years.	Dried Fish. *Quintals.*	Dried Fish. *Value.*	Pickled Fish. *Barrels.*	Pickled Fish. *Kegs.*	Pickled Fish. *Value.*
1800,.....	392,726	.....	50,388	12,403	.....
1801,.....	410,948	.....	85,935	10,424	.....
1802,.....	440,925	.....	75,819	13,229	.....
1803,.....	461,870	$1,620,000	76,831	11,565	$560,000
1804,.....	567,828	2,400,000	89,482	13,045	640,000
1805,.....	514,549	2,058,000	56,670	7,207	348,000
1806,.....	537,457	2,150,000	64,615	10,155	366,000
1807,.....	473,924	1,896,000	57,621	13,743	302,000
1808,.....	155,808	623,000	18,957	3,036	98,000
1809,.....	345,648	1,123,000	54,777	9,380	282,000
1810,.....	280,864	913,000	34,674	5,964	214,000
1811,.....	214,387	757,000	44,716	9,393	305,000
1812,.....	169,019	592,000	23,636	3,143	146,000
1813,.....	63,616	210,000	13,833	568	81,000
1814,.....	31,310	128,000	8,436	87	50,000
1815,.....	103,251	494,000	36,232	3,062	218,000
1816,.....	219,991	935,000	33,228	6,983	221,000
1817,.....	267,514	1,003,000	44,426	15,551	325,000
1818,.....	308,747	1,081,000	55,119	7,400	317,000
1819,.....	280,555	1,052,000	66,563	6,746	409,000
1820,.....	321,419	964,000	87,916	7,309	538,000
1821,.....	267,305	708,778	76,429	4,162	264,000
1822,.....	241,228	666,730	69,127	7,191	249,108
1823,.....	262,766	734,024	75,728	8,349	270,776
1824,.....	310,189	873,685	72,559	12,911	263,019
1825,.....	300,857	830,356	70,572	10,636	248,417
1826,.....	260,803	667,742	85,445	11,459	257,180
1827,.....	247,321	747,171	66,123	7,446	240,276
1828,.....	265,217	819,926	63,928	4,205	246,737
1829,.....	294,761	747,541	61,629	3,207	220,527
1830,.....	229,796	530,690	66,113	6,723	225,987
1831,.....	230,577	625,393	91,787	8,594	304,441
1832,.....	250,544	749,909	102,770	4,030	308,812
1833,.....	249,689	713,317	86,442	3,636	277,973
1834,.....	253,132	630,384	61,638	2,344	223,290
1835,.....	287,721	783,895	51,661	3,487	224,639
1836,.....	240,769	746,464	48,182	3,575	221,426
1837,.....	188,943	588,506	40,516	3,430	181,334
1838,.....	206,028	626,245	41,699	2,667	192,758
1839,.....	208,720	709,218	23,831	3,975	141,320
1840,.....	211,425	541,058	42,274	2,252	179,106
1841,.....	252,199	602,810	36,508	3,349	148,973

EXPORT OF AMERICAN MANUFACTURED COTTON GOODS FROM 1826 TO 1842.

Considerable attention having lately been attracted to the circumstance of a large shipment of domestic cottons from Boston for China, the editor of the United States Gazette has been induced to investigate a little the subject of the exportation of domestic manufactures, especially those of cotton, and has formed the following table from the annual reports of the Treasury since 1826—that being the first year in which the returns are furnished. It appears by the Boston memorial, presented at the last session of Congress, that the manufacture of cotton, as an important branch of American industry, may be considered as having commenced in 1816, and was confined to white goods until 1825, when that of printed goods commenced. In that year they estimate the consumption of cotton at 100,000 bales, and in 1842 at 300,000 bales, or 120,000,000 pounds;

that the present consumption is equal to the whole export of the United States up to 1820, or the whole consumption of American cotton in Great Britain to the same period, and exceeds our export to France previous to 1840. In 1842 they estimate 150,000,000 yards to be printed annually, valued at $16,000,000, and employing a capital of $25,000,000. They estimate January, 1842, as follows:—

101,300 pieces of 30 yards per week each, is, per annum..... yards	158,028,000
150,000,000 yards at an average of 11 cents, is.....	$16,500,000
Capital required for manufacturing the above quantity of cloth,.....	$17,500,000
" " printing it,.....	7,500,000
Total,.....	$25,000,000

It appears by the table, that, in 1826, the printed and colored cottons exported amounted to $68,884, and in 1842 to $385,040; and that the exports of white cottons in 1826 amounted to $821,629; in 1838, to $3,250,130; and in 1842, to $2,302,815. Of nankeens, which amounted in 1826 to $8,903, the export entirely ceased in 1841. The export of twist, yarn, and thread has increased from $11,135, in 1826, to $37,325 in 1842; and all other manufactures of cotton from $227,574 to $250,361.

The total export of cotton manufactures in 1826 was $1,138,125; in 1833 it exceeded $2,500,000, and in 1838 amounted to $3,758,755; and has averaged over $3,000,000 up to 1842, inclusive, which is the latest account received, and for which year we are indebted to the Treasury Department.

In the last column of the table we have placed the annual amount of export of all American manufactures, from 1826 to 1841—by comparing which with the preceding column, may be ascertained the relative proportion which the manufactures of cotton exported bear to the whole export of American manufactured goods of all materials. It varies from about one-sixth to one-third.

It appears that, in 1842, there was a small decrease in the amount of American cottons exported.

Table, showing the Value of Domestic Manufactures of Cotton exported from the United States from 1826 *to* 1842.

Years.	PIECE GOODS. Printed & Colored.	White.	Nankeens.	Twist yarn and thread.	All other manufact. of cotton.	Total value of cotton manufactures exported.	Total value of exports of American manufact. of all materials.
1826,....	$68,884	$821,629	$8,903	$11,135	$227,574	$1,138,125	$6,100,985
1827,....	45,120	951,001	14,750	11,165	137,368	1,159,414	6,680,225
1828,....	76,012	887,628	5,149	12,570	28,873	1,010,232	6,241,391
1829,....	145,024	981,370	1,878	3,849	127,336	1,259,457	6,025,206
1830,....	61,800	964,196	1,093	24,744	266,350	1,318,183	6,258,131
1831,....	96,931	947,932	2,397	17,221	61,832	1,126,313	7,147,364
1832,....	104,870	1,052,891	341	12,618	58,854	1,229,574	6,461,774
1833,....	421,721	1,802,116	2,054	104,335	202,291	2,532,517	6,923,922
1834,....	188,619	1,756,136	1,061	88,376	51,802	2,085,994	6,648,393
1835,....	397,412	2,355,202	400	97,808	7,859	2,858,681	8,023,674
1836,....	256,625	1,950,795	637	32,765	14,912	2,255,734	6,453,266
1837,....	549,801	2,043,115	1,815	61,702	175,040	2,831,473	8,425,559
1838,....	252,044	3,250,130	6,017	168,021	82,543	3,758,755	8,875,538
1839,....	412,661	2,525,301	1,492	17,465	18,114	2,975,033	10,233,440
1840,....	398,977	2,925,257	1,200	31,445	192,728	3,549,607	12,108,535
1841,....	450,503	2,324,839	.....	43,503	303,701	3,122,546	12,699,506
1842,....	385,040	2,302,815	.....	37,325	250,361	2,975,541	.....

EXPORTS AND IMPORTS OF MONTEVIDEO AND BUENOS AYRES, FROM 1838 TO 1842 INCLUSIVE.

STATEMENT OF SUNDRY EXPORTS FROM BUENOS AYRES AND MONTEVIDEO IN THE FOLLOWING YEARS.

Years.	Dry and Salted ox and cow hides. *Number.*	Horse hides. *Number.*	Horse hair. *Arrobas.*	Wool. *Arrobas.*
1838,.....	1,218,101	64,596	80,536	199,059
1839,.....	1,262,468	49,798	49,832	75,062
1840,.....	1,318,827	48,804	61,101	96,611
1841,.....	3,552,938	177,508	177,095	959,067
1842,.....	2,930,040	140,355	115,811	516,798

Years.	Sheep skins. *Dozens.*	Nutria skins. *Dozens.*	Tallow and soap stuff. *Arrobas.*	Horns. *Number.*
1838,.....	58,965	71,745	314,253	1,030,000
1839,.....	16,804	21,839	407,392	1,199,000
1840,.....	10,351	12,540	375,474	1,142,036
1841,.....	211,694	97,904	1,222,086	2,637,972
1842,.....	102,424	97,523	511,735	2,183,919

Whereof to the United States:—

Years.	Dry and Salted ox and cow hides. *Number.*	Horse hides. *Number.*	Horse hair. *Arrobas.*	Wool. *Arrobas.*
1838,.....	178,514	4,684	5,976	88,629
1839,.....	213,393	7,352	17,872	59,410
1840,.....	97,222	3,258	6,452	30,795
1841,.....	627,776	23,319	25,152	482,764
1842,.....	392,489	6,939	13,217	168,895

Years.	Sheep skins. *Dozens.*	Nutria skins. *Dozens.*	Tallow and soap stuff. *Arrobas.*	Horns. *Number.*
1838,.....	33,258	626	108,736	159,000
1839,.....	15,280	13,125	126,105	246,000
1840,.....	5,633	492	35,551	158,590
1841,.....	83,601	20,808	77,172	438,300
1842,.....	18,320	13,216	5,659	585,354

Exports from the Port of Montevideo during the year 1842.

649,281 salted ox and cow hides at $3 50,.....	$2,272,483
703,759 dry " " $2 50,.....	1,759,397
54,253 salted horse hides at 13 reals,.....	88,161
3,330 dry " 10 "	4,162
433,810 quintals jerked beef at $2 00,.....	867,620
87,330 arrobas grease at 13 reals,.....	141,911
25,654 " tallow at 15 "	48,101
7,659 quintals horse hair at $14 00,.....	107,226
973,966 horns at $30 00,.....	29,219
2,535 bales wool at $30 00,.....	76,050
22,890 colt skins at 3 reals,.....	8,584
2,580 arrobas mares' oil at 9 reals,.....	2,902
97,033 calf skins at 3 reals,.....	36,387
2,591 dozen sheep skins at $2 00,.....	5,182
9,044 quintals hide cuttings at $2 00,.....	18,088
4,375 tons bones at $6 00,.....	26,250
2,024 dozen nutria skins at $2 50,.....	5,060
2,011 pounds ostrich feathers at 2 reals,.....	503
Deer skins, bone ashes, tallow candles, mules, seal oil and skins,.....	75,932
Total,.....	$5,573,218
American vessels arrived during the same year,.....	112

EXPORT OF FLOUR AND WHEAT.

THE United States have treaties of commerce that admit our grain into sixty-one foreign governments and colonies. The markets to which our flour and wheat were exported last year, as given in the report of the Secretary of the Treasury, furnished for the use of the United States Senate, were as follows:—

Whither exported.		Flour.	Dollars.
Sweden and Norway,	barrels	9	48
Swedish West Indies,	"	15,624	80,199
Danish West Indies,	"	42,394	217,475
Hanse Towns,	"	665	3,227
Holland,	"	250	1,414
Dutch East Indies,	"	7,841	40,219
" West Indies,	"	14,932	80,891
" Guiana,	"	1,502	8,320
England,	"	205,154	984,555
Scotland,	"	3,830	18,910
Gibraltar,	"	19,229	95,417
Malta,	"	100	513
British East Indies,	"	11,357	59,239
Australia,	"	7,416	38,199
British West Indies,	"	246,465	1,235,850
" Guiana,	"	17,385	95,602
Cape of Good Hope,	"	3,570	18,662
Honduras,	"	4,699	26,112
British American Colonies,	"	377,806	1,860,659
France on the Atlantic,	"	1,140	5,928
" " Mediterranean,	"	200	1,000
French West Indies,	"	4,739	23,478
" Guiana,	"	659	3,853
Spain on the Atlantic,	"	104	440
" " Mediterranean	"	458	2,487
Manilla and Philippine islands,	"	3,425	21,213
Cuba,	"	69,337	336,028
Other Spanish West India islands,	"	15,566	82,302
Madeira,	"	5,408	24,746
Cape de Verde islands,	"	1,324	7,133
Italy,	"	259	1,275
Turkey, Levant, &c.,	"	646	3,271
Hayti,	"	36,456	188,173
Texas,	"	6,401	29,547
Mexico,	"	19,602	90,464
Central Republic of America,	"	469	2,542
Venezuela,	"	28,796	157,173
Brazil,	"	282,406	1,597,423
Cisplatine Republic,	"	13,327	64,265
Chili,	"	6,478	39,567
Argentine Republic,	"	22,132	120,804
New Grenada,	"	2,764	13,768
West Indies generally,	"	1,626	8,601
South America generally,	"	1,950	10,881
China generally,	"	220	1,247
Asia generally,	"	763	4,388
Africa generally,	"	3,728	21,170
South seas and Sandwich islands,	"	5,307	27,928
Total,	"	1,516,817	$7,759,646

It appears that the number of barrels exported was	1,516,817
Bushels of wheat 868,585—in barrels of flour	175,600
Total barrels exported last year,	1,691,417

EXPORT OF FLOUR AND WHEAT—*Continued.*

Wheat exported—	Bushels.	Dollars.
To England,....	119,854	129,309
British West Indies,....	35,622	41,116
" American Colonies,....	695,389	629,938
Manila,....	1,200	1,387
Mexico,....	20	20
Brazil....	16,457	21,028
River La Plate,....	43	88
Total,....	868,585	$822,881

TRADE OF NEW YORK, BOSTON, PHILADELPHIA, AND BALTIMORE, WITH LIVERPOOL.

The Baltimore American publishes a statement of exports from Liverpool to New York, Boston, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, for the spring trade of 1842 and 1843. The table embraces the articles of cotton stuffs, worsted stuffs, woollen stuffs, linen cloth, cotton thread, cotton hose, and blankets. The whole number of packages received of these descriptions of goods, was as follows:—

From Oct. 1 to Feb. 10,	1842.	1843.	Decrease this year.	From Oct. 1 to Feb. 10,	1842.	1843.	Decrease this year.
At New York,.	24,436	6,744	17,692	At Baltimore,..	1,105	492	613
Boston,.....	3,592	1,890	1,702				
Philadelphia	5,072	1,114	3,958	Total,.....	34,205	10,240	23,965

The following table will show the aggregate importation of the several articles at the ports named:—

From Oct. 1 to Feb. 10,	1842.	1843.	Decrease this year.	From Oct. 1 to Feb. 10,	1842.	1843.	Decrease this year.
Cotton stuffs,...	17,028	3,343	13,685	Cotton hose,....	244	16	228
Worsted stuffs,.	2,684	846	1,838	Blankets,.....	382	69	313
Woollen stuffs,.	5,199	2,235	2,964				
Linen cloth,....	7,669	3,478	4,185	Total,.....	34,205	10,240	23,965
Cotton thread,.	1,005	253	752				

RIO JANEIRO IMPORTS OF FLOUR, AND EXPORTS OF COFFEE.

The following is a comparative statement of Rio Janeiro imports of flour, and exports of coffee, during the years 1841 and 1842:—

	Coffee exported in— 1841.	1842.
To New Orleans,.....bags	126,865	112,798
New York,..... "	125,419	106,617
Baltimore,..... "	120,462	92,562
Philadelphia,..... "	30,199	19,660
Charleston,..... "	3,500	8,130
Boston, &c.,..... "	24,271	23,513
Total,..... "	430,716	363,280
To Europe,..... "	569,500	793,690
Grand total,..... "	1,000,216	1,156,970

Flour imported in 1841, 236,488 barrels; exported, 81,571 barrels.
" " 1842, 157,185 " " 61,796 "

Our monthly consumption is about 10,000 barrels, and there arrived last month 31,303 barrels, making the stock now on hand 49,742 barrels.

NAUTICAL INTELLIGENCE.

LATITUDES AND LONGITUDES OF LIGHTHOUSES ON THE COAST OF THE UNITED STATES.

A List of Latitudes and Longitudes of Lighthouses on the Coast of the United States, as determined from the preliminary calculations of the Coast Survey, by F. R. Hassler.

Names of States and Places.	Latitude.	Longitude counted from New York City Hall. *In time.*	*In degrees.*	Direction east or west.	Long. W. from Greenwich observatory, England, in degs.
	D. M. S.	H. M. S.	D. M. S.		D. M. S.
N. York City Hall,	40 42 40,9	0 0 0	0 0 0	...	74 00 56,7
RHODE ISLAND.					
Point Judith,.....	41 21 35	0 10 06,1	2 31 31	E.	71 29 25
Watchhill,.....	41 18 09	0 08 35,6	2 08 54	"	71 52 03
Block Island,.....	41 13 24	0 09 43,5	2 25 53	"	71 35 04
CONNECTICUT.					
Stonington,.....	41 19 34	0 08 24,3	2 06 05	"	71 54 52
Mystic,.....	41 18 54	0 08 04,2	2 01 03	"	71 59 54
New London,.....	41 18 55	0 07 40,1	1 55 01	"	72 05 56
Saybrook, ...	41 16 13	0 06 40,0	1 39 50	"	72 20 59
Faulkner's Island,.	41 12 38	0 05 24,7	1 21 10	"	72 39 46
New Haven,.....	41 14 52	0 04 24,6	1 06 09	"	72 54 47
Stratford,.....	41 09 02	0 03 36,7	0 54 11	"	73 06 46
" Beacon,...	41 09 42	0 03 36,6	0 54 09	"	73 06 47
Sheffield, ...	41 02 50	0 02 20,8	0 35 13	"	73 25 43
Black Rock,.....	41 08 27	0 03 09,7	0 47 25	"	73 13 31
Captain Island,.....	40 58 52	0 01 31,8	0 22 57	"	73 37 59
NEW YORK.					
Throg's Point,.....	40 48 15	0 00 51,7	0 12 55	"	73 48 01
Sands' "	40 51 52	0 01 06,4	0 16 36	"	73 44 21
Eaton Neck,.....	40 57 09	0 02 26,6	0 36 38	"	73 24 18
Oldfield,.....	40 58 33	0 03 33,0	0 53 15	"	73 07 41
Plumb Island,.....	41 10 21	0 07 10,5	1 47 42	"	72 13 14
Gull Island,.	41 12 18	0 07 36,0	1 54 00	"	72 06 57
Montauk,.....	41 04 10	0 08 36,0	2 08 58	"	71 51 58
Fire Island,.....	40 37 46	0 03 09,3	0 47 19	"	73 13 38
Prince's Bay,.....	40 30 22	0 00 49,8	0 12 27	W.	74 13 24
Narrows,.....	40 35 57	0 00 11,5	0 02 53	"	74 03 50
Sag Harbor,*.....	.....	.....	.....	...	.....
Robin's Reef,.....	40 39 21	0 00 14,3	0 03 34	"	74 04 30
NEW JERSEY.					
Sandy Hook,.....	40 27 37	0 00 01,0	0 00 15	E.	74 00 42
Neversink, ...	40 23 40	0 00 04,9	0 01 14	"	73 59 42
Barnegat,.....	39 45 54	0 00 24,0	0 05 59	W.	74 06 56
Cape May,.....	38 55 45	0 03 50,4	0 57 36	"	74 58 33
Egg Island,.....	39 10 28	0 04 32,0	1 07 59	"	75 08 56
Cohansey,.....	39 20 15	0 05 25,0	1 21 15	"	75 22 12
DELAWARE.					
Christiana, ...	39 43 12	0 06 03,5	1 30 53	"	75 31 50
Reedy Island,.....	39 29 57	0 06 15,1	1 33 47	"	75 34 44
Bombay Hook,.....	39 21 43	0 06 01,1	1 30 17	"	75 31 13
Mahons,.....	39 10 13	0 05 34,7	1 23 41	"	75 24 38
Mispillion, ...	38 56 34	0 05 13,8	1 18 27	"	75 19 24
Cape Henlopen,....	38 46 35	0 04 18,7	1 04 41	"	75 05 37
" Beacon,.....	38 47 21	0 04 19,1	1 04 47	"	75 05 44
" Breakwater,.	38 47 50	0 04 24,4	1 06 06	"	75 07 03
MARYLAND.					
Havre-de-Grace,....	39 32 30	0 08 19,7	2 04 46	"	76 05 42

* Built since the survey of the harbor was made.

The foregoing determinations are deduced, for the latitudes, from observations made at various stations of the coast survey; and the longitudes, from the three solar eclipses of 1834, '36, and '38, observed at different stations of the survey—all being reduced to the City Hall of New York, by the results of the main triangulation, to make that point the starting point of the longitudes; and thence the positions of the lighthouses are again deduced, by the results of the proper ulterior operations of the survey; all which are referred to Greenwich by the difference of longitude, determined, as stated, for the City Hall of New York.

The foregoing exhibits a number of determinations of lighthouses by their geographic latitudes, and their longitudes referred to New York city, and to the observatory of Greenwich, England; as from the latter longitudes are generally calculated by English navigators.

The addition of 2 deg. 20 min. 24 sec. difference of longitude between Greenwich and Paris, would reduce the longitudes to the meridian of Paris; and the subtraction of 17 deg. 39 min. 36 sec. would refer them to the meridian of the Island of Ferro, accepted for the common maps, as dividing meridian between the two plani-globes.

These results are, as stated in the superscription to the list, obtained from the preliminary calculations, taken to the nearest second in the arc, (so called,) omitting decimals, which may answer all the purposes of navigation, at the same time that, in the language of the sciences, it is indicating the state of the data, and the limits of their corrections, if any, by the fully finished operations of the survey.

NEW YORK HOSPITAL MONEY.

Extract from chapter xiv, title iv, of the Revised Statutes of the State of New York, entitled "Of the Public Health."

Sec. 7. The health commissioner shall demand, and be entitled to receive, and in case of neglect or refusal to pay, shall sue for and recover, in his name of office, the following sums, from the master of every vessel that shall arrive in the port of New York, namely:—

1. From the master of every vessel from a foreign port, for each cabin passenger, one dollar and fifty cents; for each steerage passenger, one dollar.

2. From the master of each coasting vessel, for each passenger on board, twenty-five cents; but no coasting vessel from the states of New Jersey, Connecticut, and Rhode Island, shall pay for more than one voyage in each month, computing from the first voyage in each year.

Sec. 9. Each master paying hospital monies shall be entitled to demand and recover, from each person for whom they shall be paid, the sum paid on his account.

Sec. 10. Every master of a coasting vessel shall pay to the health commissioner, at his office, in the city of New York, within twenty-four hours after the arrival of his vessel in the port, such hospital monies as shall then be demandable from him, under the provisions of this title; and every master, for each omission of such duty, shall forfeit the sum of one hundred dollars.

REEF OFF THE WESTERN ISLANDS DISCOVERED.

A late Bermuda paper contains the following letter from R. H. Laise:—

"Sir—I beg leave to send you an intimation which I have received from the Court of Directors of a newly discovered reef of the Western islands, laying in the track of ships homeward bound, who should deem it necessary to shape their course between Flores and Fayal. And that it may be generally known—together with so many ships going home hence—I am sure you will give it every publicity in your journal, and I trust your services in pointing it out may be the means of keeping ships clear of it. The following is its description, and named Ferreira's Reef, and partly above water: extent, lon. 10 n. and s. 5 e. and w.; lat. 38 deg. 27 min. n., lon. 30 25 w., true bearings; variation, 2 points w. Body of Flores, n. n. w. ½ w.; Peak of Pico, e. First seen, August 3d, 1840.

RAILROAD, CANAL, AND STEAMBOAT STATISTICS.

THE PROGRESS OF RAILROADS IN THE UNITED STATES.

The history of railroads in the United States presents one of the most remarkable instances of the rapid progress of invention which has ever been recorded. A few years since, the advocates of railroads were ranked among visionaries and schemers; but so rapid has been the growth of the system among us, that the small beginning and its recent date are generally forgotten. The history of this journal will afford evidence upon this point, which may suggest useful reflections. Eleven years ago, the first number of the American Railroad Journal was issued at New York, by Mr. D. K. Miner. This number contains a list of works already in construction, and partly finished. As nearly as can be ascertained, the following list contains the whole amount of railroads then in use :—

Baltimore and Ohio,.....	60	miles	completed	and in use.
Charleston and Hamburg,.....	20	"	"	"
Albany and Schenectady,.....	12	"	"	"
Mauch Chunk,.....	9	"	"	"
Quincy, near Boston,.....	6	"	"	"

Thus there were but 92 miles in use upon any of the main lines of railroads. So little, indeed, was then known, and so little could there be said on the subject, that the editor announced that a part only of the Journal would be devoted to the subject of internal communication; that the larger part would be occupied with literary and miscellaneous matter, as prepared for the New York American. But small as the quantity of matter was, several vigorous articles might even now be read with profit; and, among these, we might mention those relative to the comparative merits of railroads and canals. Although for nearly one hundred and fifty years *tram-roads* had been used for the transportation of the heaviest articles, such as coal, ore, and stone, it was suddenly discovered that railroads might, indeed, be profitably employed in transporting passengers and *light parcels;* but that, beyond this, they were not able to do anything. The arguments which were then used, and which have since been urged with so much force from time to time, have not been without effect.

An idea of the small amount of business connected with railroads at the time of the commencement of the Journal, may be formed from the fact that throughout the first volume but three advertisements (excepting notices to contractors) are to be found. The first of these was by Mr. H. Burden, of Troy; another by Messrs. A. & G. Ralston, of Philadelphia; and another by Townsend & Durfee, Palmyra, New York—the first two of which, in some shape or other, have been continued, and are yet to be found upon our cover.

The editor also thought it necessary to refer to several gentlemen of the city as guaranties for the continuance of the work. Before many numbers had been issued, information from all quarters poured in, and a very lively interest was felt in the undertaking. The demand for railroads throughout the country increased, and popular as well as scientific information was in request.

Let us now compare the present state of affairs with this humble commencement. There are now between four and five thousand miles of railroad in use in the United States, built by the expenditure of nearly one hundred millions of dollars. Eleven years ago, there were but about one hundred miles in use.

There are now probably more than five hundred locomotive engines in use, nearly all of them made in this country. Eleven years ago, the few engines in use were imported

from England, and were of the oldest patterns. Since then, fifty or more American engines have been sent abroad—some to Russia, some to Austria, and several to England. Had this fact been predicted, even in the most indirect manner, in the first number of the Railroad Journal, it would have sealed its doom.

Eleven years ago, a dead level was, by many, deemed necessary on a railroad, (see p. 68, vol. 1,) and grades of 30 feet to the mile were hardly thought admissable. Now, engines are in daily use which surmount grades of 60 and 80 feet to the mile.

Eleven years ago, inclined planes with stationary power were considered the *ne plus ultra* of engineering science. Now, they are discarded as expensive, inconvenient, and incompatible with the free use of a railroad.

Eleven years ago it was thought that railroads could not compete with canals in carrying heavy freight; and even much more recently statements to this effect have been put forth by authority. Now, we know that the most profitable of the eastern railroads derives one-half its income from bulky freight, and that coal can be carried more cheaply upon a railroad than in canals.

Eleven years ago, the profitableness of railroads was not established; and, discouraged by the vast expenditure in several cases of experiment in an untried field, many predicted that they would be unprofitable. Now, it is already demonstrated, by declared dividends, that well-constructed railroads, when divested of extraneous incumbrances, are the most profitable investments in our country. The New England railroads have paid, since their completion, 6 to 8 per cent; several other roads, 6 and 1 per cent. The Hudson and Mohawk (of fifteen and a half miles, costing about one million one hundred thousand dollars) paid, in 1840, 7 per cent on that enormous outlay. The Utica and Schenectady, and Syracuse and Utica, pay 10 to 12 per cent. The stock of the Utica and Schenectady railroad has never been down to par since operations were commenced in 1836, and has maintained its stand, without fluctuation, at a higher rate than any other species of stock during all our commercial revolutions.

Eleven years ago, there were but six miles of railroad in use in the vicinity of Boston. Now, Boston has direct connexion with a web of railways one thousand two hundred and three miles in length; all of which, except about twenty-four miles, are actually in use—being a greater length of railroad than there was in the whole world eleven years ago.—*Railroad Journal.*

THE ILLINOIS AND MICHIGAN CANAL.

The Illinois and Michigan canal is one hundred miles in length, sixty feet wide, and six feet deep; it has fifteen locks, each one hundred and ten feet in length, and eighteen feet in width. The canal will be navigable for boats carrying from one hundred to one hundred and fifty tons. $5,000,000 have already been expended upon it, and $1,600,000 are required to complete it. It connects the navigable waters of the Illinois river, one of the main tributaries of the Mississippi, with Lake Michigan.

The security offered to the subscribers to the new loan consists of the following property:—

The canal itself, which has cost	$5,000,000
230,476 acres of canal land, valued at $10 per acre,	2,304,670
Lots in Chicago, valued at	350,000
" Lockport, valued at	300,000
" Ottawa, valued at	350,000
" La Salle, valued at	500,000
" Juliet and Du Page, valued at	300,000
Coal beds and stone quarries, valued at	100,000
Total,	$9,204,670

Besides the above property, the subscribers to the new loan are to have all the revenue arising from the leasing of water-power, and the tolls upon the canal. When the canal is in operation, there will be water-power created upon canal property sufficient to drive two hundred and twenty millstones of four and a half feet in diameter. If the water-power should rent at the usual rate, as in other states, viz., $500 per run per annum, it would yield an annual revenue of $66,000, a sum sufficient to pay the interest upon $1,100,000 of the canal debt.

The precise amount that will be received for tolls after the canal is completed, cannot be now stated. It has been variously estimated from $100,000 to $500,000. It seems but reasonable to expect that this canal will do a large amount of business, connecting as it does the great chain of lakes with the Mississippi, the east with the west, the manufacturing with the agricultural states, the Gulf of Mexico with the St. Lawrence.

NAVIGATION OF THE HUDSON.

THE TROY AND EMPIRE, OF THE MORNING LINE OF STEAMERS.

These beautiful boats now form the morning line between New York and Albany, leaving either place at seven o'clock. The Troy was built in 1840, is two hundred and ninety-four feet long, with twenty-eight feet breadth of beam, or sixty-one feet extreme breadth, and measures seven hundred and fifty tons burthen. She has two of William A. Lighthall's patent horizontal steam engines, low pressure, and is fitted up exclusively for a day boat. She is under the command of Captain A. Gorham, formerly of the steamer Champlain. Captain G. is well known for his uniform kind attention to the traveller, and the prompt and quiet performance of his duties as an officer.

The Empire was completed this year, (1843,) is three hundred and thirty feet in length, thirty-one feet breadth of beam, or sixty-two feet extreme breadth, with a measurement of one thousand and twelve tons. She is fitted up as a day or night boat, and has fifty state-rooms, a saloon two hundred feet long and seventeen feet wide on her promenade deck, with two of Lighthall's patent horizontal half beam low-pressure engines. Her commander, S. R. Roe, late of the De Witt Clinton, is one of the most experienced steam navigators on the Hudson, and while in command of that boat acquired an enviable reputation as a courteous and attentive officer, deserving, as he has received, the command of one of the finest boats on the river.

The Troy and Empire are built on the most approved model, in the most substantial manner, and of the best materials. They are propelled by powerful low-pressure steam engines. Although appointed in a neat and plain style of finish, they are surpassed by none, either for comfort or convenience. The cabins, saloons, and rooms, without the accompaniment of gaudy lithographs or barber-shop ornaments, are spacious, airy, chaste, and comfortable.

The subordinate officers are courteous, efficient, and attentive; the crews active in their duties, and obliging to the traveller; the servants neat, civil, and attentive; and the stewards' department will bear as favorable comparison with other parts of those floating palaces as any other in the United States, and that is to say with any in the world.

CONCORD (MASS.) RAILWAY.

From the Reports of the Treasurer and Auditors, we learn that the capital expended in the construction of this road was $706,320 29; on hand not expended, $18,729 71; making the whole amount received on stock $725,050. Earnings of road for the last eight months, $70,912 36; expenses for operating road same time, $27,183 50; leaving as net profits, the sum of $43,728 86. After deducting the appropriation of $35,000 for the dividend of 5 per cent declared, the balance, $8,728 86, was carried to the reserved fund.

MERCANTILE MISCELLANIES.

WESTERN HEMP.

By a joint resolution of Congress, passed at the last session, agents are to be appointed, to reside in Kentucky and Missouri, for the purpose of purchasing water-rotted hemp; and the said agents are restricted, by the resolution, in their operations, so far as regards price and quality, that *the article is not to cost government any more than the same quality may be bought for in seaport towns.* "The quantity," says Lyford's Commercial Journal, "will probably depend upon the wants of government, expressed in the form of requisitions at irregular periods, in the shape of proposals to supply the demand required at named points."

The ability of the western states to furnish may be inferred from the fact that, in 1840, according to the report of the marshals appointed to take the census, Kentucky returned 9,992 tons of hemp and flax, and Missouri 18,010 tons. The manufactures in the former, from flax, are put down in valuation at $7,519; and of cordage, at $1,292,276. In the latter, there are no manufactures from flax, but of cordage, to the amount of $98,490—total value of cordage, (which, we presume, means principally bale rope,) $1,390,760. A small portion, only, of flax could have been included in the return of Kentucky, from the proportion the manufactures appear to bear towards that of hemp.

In addition to the foregoing, we learn from an article in a Kentucky paper, now before us, that there were grown in that state, last year, 14,000 tons, equal to 28,000,000 pounds of hemp. From this amount, it is estimated there will be manufactured this year, (1843,) 6,500,000 yards of bagging, and 7,000,000 pounds of bale rope. Of the bagging, 2,000,000 yards will be made by steam factories, and the remaining 4,500,000 by hand looms, there being about 300 of the latter in the state, each of which will weave 15,000 yards. The counties which produced hemp, are—

Jefferson,	tons 500	Fayette,	tons 3,000
Shelby,	" 1,000	Mason,	" 2,500
Woodford,	" 2,000	Jessamine,	" 1,500
Franklin,	" 500	Mercer and Boyle,	" 500
Scott,	" 1,000	All others,	" 2,000

The 300 looms are distributed—Woodford county, 60; Fayette county, 80; Franklin county, 30; Scott county, 30; Jessamine county, 30; Mason county, 20; all other counties, 50.

We have now before us a copy of the proceedings of the St. Louis Chamber of Commerce, of last year, in which is embodied a report on the subject of hemp, which is denominated one of the staples of that section, that "is fast becoming a leading article of trade in that city." The report then proceeds:—"There are already two large manufactories of bagging and bale rope here, and several ropewalks, and there are a number of establishments in various parts of the state. A gentleman, engaged in the trade, states the amount of hemp manufactured and exported last year at 1,460 tons, and adds: 'I would say the quantity grown in this state was 1500 or 1600 tons, of which 380 were shipped to Kentucky, 20 to New Orleans, and the balance manufactured in this state. This was done in 1841, of the growth of 1840. The crop of 1841, from the best information I can obtain, will be more than double that of the preceding year; and the crop of 1842, judging from preparations now making, will not be less than 10,000 tons. In this last estimate I include the state of Illinois, the people of which are now turning their attention to the culture of hemp.' The hemp, in a raw state, (continues the report,) would be worth about $200,000; but manufactured, as most of it was, and shipped to the south, where it is used, the value may fairly be set down at double that sum."

NAVIGATION OF THE MISSISSIPPI AND ITS TRIBUTARIES.

Before the introduction of steam navigation, (which dates, upon the waters of the Mississippi, about 1817,) the trade of the upper Mississippi and Missouri scarcely existed, and the whole upward commerce of New Orleans was conveyed in about twenty barges, carrying each about one hundred tons, and making but one trip a year; so that each navigation was, in those days, about equivalent to what an East India or a China voyage now is. On the upper Ohio, about one hundred and fifty keelboats were employed, each of the burden of about thirty tons, and making the trip to and fro, of Pittsburgh and Louisville, about three times a year. The entire tonnage of the boats moving in the Ohio and lower Mississippi, was then about six thousand five hundred tons. In 1834, the steam navigation of the Mississippi had risen to two hundred and thirty boats and a tonnage of thirty-nine thousand tons, while about ninety thousand persons were estimated to be employed in the trade, either as crews, builders, woodcutters, or loaders of the vessels. In 1842, the navigation was as follows:—There were four hundred and fifty steamers, averaging each two hundred tons, and making an aggregate tonnage of ninety thousand, so that it has a good deal more than doubled in eight years. Valued at $80 the ton, they cost above $7,000,000, and are navigated by nearly sixteen thousand persons, at thirty-five to each. Beside these steamers, there are about four thousand flatboats, which cost each $105, are managed by five hands apiece, (or twenty thousand persons,) and make an annual expense of $1,380,000. The estimated annual expense of the steam navigation, including 15 per cent for insurance, and 20 per cent for wear and tear, is $13,618,000. If, in 1834, they employed an aggregate of ninety thousand persons, they must now occupy at least one hundred and eighty thousand. The boats, ever in motion when the state of the waters in which they ply permits, probably average each some twenty trips in the year. Those running from New Orleans to the more distant points of the river, make from eight to fifteen trips in the year; while those carrying the great trade from Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, and Louisville, to St. Louis, perform some thirty annual trips. Others run between still nearer ports, and make more frequent voyages. But at twenty each, and carrying burdens far beyond their mere admeasurement of tonnage, their collective annual freight would be one thousand eight hundred tons; to which, if that of four thousand flatboats (each seventy-five tons) be added, we have a total freight, for the entire annual navigation of the Mississippi, of about two million tons. The commerce which they convey (omitting the great number of passengers whom they waft in some nine thousand trips) is of two sorts: that of the export trade to New Orleans, and that of supply and interchange between the different regions lying on the Mississippi and its tributaries. The latter is well ascertained to be considerably greater, as naturally happens in the internal trade of all wide and commercial countries, whose dealings with foreign lands never fail to fall far short of their exchanges with each other. The statistics collected at the two main points where the best means of information can be commanded, (St. Louis and Cincinnati,) estimate this internal traffic of the productions of the country itself at not less than $70,000,000 annually; while those commodities shipped to New Orleans for exportation, are found to be fifty millions more. The downward trade may thus be stated at $120,000,000; the upward, or return trade of foreign goods, or of those brought up the river from other parts of the Union, is reckoned at about $100,000,000. Thus, the entire amount of commodities conveyed upon the waters of the Mississippi does not, upon the best estimates, fall short of $220,000,000 annually, which is but $30,000,000 less than the entire value of the foreign trade of the United States exports and imports in 1841.

YUCATAN CURRENCY.

Stevens, in his travels in Yucatan, says: "There is no copper money in Yucatan, nor any coin whatever under a medio, or six and a quarter cents, and this deficiency is supplyed by these grains of cacao. The medio is divided into twenty parts; generally of five grains each, but the number is increased or decreased according to the quantity of the article in the market, and its real value. As the earnings of the Indians are small, and the articles they purchase are the mere necessaries of life, which are very cheap, these grains of cacao, or fractional parts of a medio, are the coin in most common use among them. The currency has always a real value, and is regulated by the quantity of cacao in the market, and the only inconvenience, economically speaking, that it has is the loss of a certain public wealth by the destruction of the cacao, as in the case of bank notes. But these grains have an interest independent of all questions of political economy, for they indicate or illustrate a page in the history of this unknown and mysterious people. When the Spaniards first made their way into the interior of Yucatan, they found no circulating medium, either of gold, or silver, or any other species of matal, but only grains of cacao: and it seems a strange circumstance, that while the manners and customs of the Indians have undergone an immense change, while their cities have been destroyed, their religion dishonored, their princes swept away, and their whole government modified by foreign laws, no experiment has yet been made upon their currency.

MINERAL RESOURCES.

The quantity of coal which was taken from the mines of the United States in the year 1839, according to the report of the officers who made the returns of the sixth census, was 863,480 tons anthracite, and 27,603,101 bushels, or about 1,000,000 tons, of bituminous. The anthracite was nearly all the produce of the State of Pennsylvania, and the bituminous of the States of Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Ohio. The quantity imported the same year was 3,614,320 bushels, making the consumption of the year 2,000,000 tons. To compare this produce and consumption with that of two European countries, we are enabled to state from an official document, lately published, that the amount of coal which was received in the year 1838, in the kingdom of Belgium, amounted to 3,260,271 tons, of which 2,415,909 tons were the produce of the province of Hainault, which is on the borders of France. The quantity which was received in France in the same year was 3,113,000 tons. The consumption in France in 1838 was 4,305,000 tons, 1,192,000 tons having been imported from Belgium, England, and Prussia. In 1841 the consumption in France was 4,500,000 tons, of which near 1,000,000 were imported from Belgium.

MOUSSELINES DE LAINES.

On the 1st day of February a new pattern of mousselines de laines arrived at New York, and was offered by the importer at fourteen cents per yard by the case. The agent of a Rhode Island calico-printing establishment forwarded a piece of the new style of goods to Providence the day after their arrival, and in sixteen days he had the same style of goods, and of equal fabric, in New York, selling at ten cents per yard. The manufacturer had but twelve days to engrave the new pattern on a copper cylinder, from which the engraving was raised on a steel cylinder, then hardened and made ready for impression; the compound of ingredients for color diccovered by chemical experiments; the cloth printed, dried, and cased for market.

THE BOOK TRADE.

1.—*Parochial Sermons.* By JOHN HENRY NEWMAN, B. D., Vicar of St. Mary the Virgin's, Oxford, and Fellow of Oriel College. 2 vols. 8vo. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1843.

The English copy of this work forms six volumes, and cannot be furnished to purchasers at a less price than eighteen dollars—the edition before us is beautifully printed on fine paper, and forms two splendid octavo volumes of more than thirteen hundred pages, embracing one hundred and fifty-five sermons, and is afforded at $2 50 per volume. As any opinion we might express of their value would probably have little weight with that branch of the church whose views of Christian duty and doctrine are here so ably and eloquently set forth, we have concluded, in justice to the publishers, to give the opinion of the Right Rev. George W. Doane, the Bishop of New Jersey, in a letter addressed to them on their commencement of the present edition. He says:—

"Much as I have been gratified by your republication of many excellent books, the heirlooms which the Church of England has derived from ancient piety and learning, or the production of the vigorous minds and fervent hearts that now adorn while they defend her altars, I have looked and longed for an edition of these sermons as your noblest contribution to the sacred literature of the times. Mr. Newman's sermons are of an order by themselves. There is a naturalness, a pressure towards the point proposed, an ever-salient freshness about them, which will attract a class of readers to whom sermons are not ordinarily attractive. Again, they are of a wonderful comprehension. While they are not above the level of the plainest readers, they will interest and satisfy the highest and most accomplished minds. With the most intellectual persons, they will win their way, I am sure, as no modern productions of this sort have done. But all these are but incidentals to their sterling and imperishable worth, as expositions of the truth of Holy Scripture, and exhortations to the duties of the Christian life, urged to the heart with an earnestness and unction scarcely paralleled; above all, carrying with them a force beyond all argument, beyond all eloquence, in the living power of holiness with which they are instinct, to rouse the careless, to steady the wavering, to sober the worldly, to animate and elevate the humble seeker of the kingdom of God and its righteousness, and to imbue the age with what it needs the most, humility and heavenly-mindedness. I shall welcome your proposed volumes as powerful auxiliaries to my exertions to set forth the gospel in the church; and devoutly pray that God may bless them to the edification of many souls, and to the advancement of the pure and peaceful kingdom of His blessed Son."

Bishops Onderdonk of New York, Ives of North Carolina, and Whittingham of Maryland, are equally decided in the expression of their opinions as to the merit of these discourses.

2.—*The Purchase; or Seven and a Half Years in the Far West.* By ROBERT CARLTON, Esq. 2 vols. 12mo. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1843.

Two very interesting volumes, embracing a minute account of all that befel the author in his sojourn to the far west, and all that happened to him while residing there, together with a variety of anecdote, illustrative of the manners, customs, and character of the settlers. Mr. Carlton, *alias* a clergyman, whose name we have not been able to learn, evidently has a large "bump" in the region of humor, as his descriptions are at once graphic and amusing. Some of his delineations would perhaps be considered rather unclerical, and might lead a phrenologist to surmise that the organ of ideality predominated over that of reverence. Those who read and admired "A New Home, who'll Follow," &c., by Mrs. Clavers, *alias* Mrs. Kirtland, will, we have no doubt, relish the present work, as it is written in very much the same vein, and under similar circumstances. It is, on the whole, a very clever book—cleverly printed, by very clever publishers.

3.—*McCulloch's Universal Gazetteer; a Dictionary Geographical, Statistical, and Historical, of the various countries, places, and principal natural objects in the world.* By J. R. McCulloch, Esq. In which the Articles relating to the United States have been greatly multiplied and extended, and adapted to the present condition of the country, and to the wants of its citizens. By Daniel Haskel, A. M., late President of the University of Vermont. Illustrated with seven large Maps. To be completed in eighteen parts, at twenty-five cents each. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Such a work is greatly needed in the United States at the present time. The existing Gazetteers are generally old, and to a degree antiquated. Geography is a science which in its own nature is, beyond most others, progressive. Changes are constantly taking place in the condition of the world and of its inhabitants; the various parts of the earth are continually more extensively explored; and to exhibit its changes, and the new and valuable information which is perpetually developed, requires new works on this subject. The English language has never been adorned by a more valuable work of this kind than the new and splendid work of McCulloch. The fulness with which each article is written, the clearness of the arrangements throughout, and the vast surface traversed under each head, and in every department of inquiry essential to the undertaking, contribute to the production of the most luminous body of information concerning geography, statistics, and history, and all matters necessary to their elucidation, that has ever been brought together in a shape so perspicuous and accessible. Such a publication—*which can be referred to, on the instant*, for any subject embraced in its pages—is indispensable to all libraries, and must completely supersede every previous attempt to popularize and reduce within convenient limits these various classes of information.

4.—*A Collection of Papers on Political, Literary, and Moral Subjects.* By Noah Webster, LL. D. New York: Webster & Clark. 1843.

The present collection of papers was made by Dr. Webster a short time before his death. The paper on English Philology is exceedingly valuable, and should be published in a distinct form, that it may obtain a wider circulation among students. The whole work, however, deserves a place in every public or private library where the English language is read or spoken. The volume (of three hundred and seventy-five pages) contains twenty articles, as follows:—The Revolution of France—The Rights of Neutral Nations—Dissertation on the supposed change of Temperature in modern Winters—Origin of the first Bank in the United States—Letter from General Washington to Mr. Webster—Correspondence with Mr. Madison, respecting the origin of the present Constitution—Origin of the Copyright Laws of the United States—Vindication of the Treaty with Great Britain in 1795—Origin of Amherst College—Address on Agriculture—Letter to Daniel Webster—Answer of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts to the Governor's Address—Letter to Dr. Lee—Reply to a Letter of David McClure—Letter to a Young Gentleman commencing his Education—Form of Association for Young Men—Modes of Teaching the English Language—Origin of the Hartford Convention in 1814—History of Political Parties—State of English Philology, or results of many years' researches. These papers were written at different periods of the author's life. That on the rights of neutral nations is considered, we believe, the best essay that has appeared upon the subject. In it the learned and laborious author traces out the practice of nations in regard to neutral commerce from the earliest periods of maritime commercial intercourse, showing that no system of rules was ever adopted by general consent of nations to regulate trade, but that all the modern regulations and principles have sprung from special ordinances of princes, prescribed by arbitrary will, and forcibly imposed by the strong upon the weak, or were originally founded on particular treaties and conventions; nor was the obligation of these restraints in their origin ever referred to the law of nature or nations.

5.—*The History of Ireland, commencing with its earliest period, to the great Expedition against Scotland in* 1545. Philadelphia: Lea & Blanchard. 1843.

The present position of Ireland, and the active sympathy evinced by the friends of civil and religious liberty, and her sons the adopted citizens of the United States, scattered over our wide-spread Union, render the re-publication of this work at the present period quite opportune. The history commences as far back as one thousand years before Christ, with the Celtic origin of the Irish, (of which there can be no doubt, as the language, the numerous monuments she still retains of that most ancient superstition which the first tribes who poured from Asia into Europe are known to have carried with them wherever they went, sufficiently attest the true origin of her people,) and is brought down to the great expedition against Scotland in 1545. The volume before us contains all that the author has written and published; and as it may be a long time before it is concluded, the publishers present this portion, embracing the three volumes of the London edition, with a promise of furnishing the remainder in the same style when published by the author. The work has been favorably noticed by the reviewers in England, and affords conclusive evidence of the author's power as a chaste and graceful prose writer. The analytical and chronological table of each chapter is very copious, and adds greatly to its value for reference.

6.—*The New York State Register, for* 1843; *containing an Almanac, Civil Divisions, and Census of the State: With Political, Statistical, and other information, relating to the State of New York and the United States.* Also, a full list of County Officers, Attorneys, &c. Edited by O. L. Holley. Albany: J. Disturnell. New York: C. J. Folsom.

The present volume is on the plan of Williams' Register, which was commenced in 1830, and continued annually, with two or three interruptions, down to 1840. Its revival in the present form, uniform with that, but considerably enlarged, and apparently improved by the addition of a greater variety of useful and important statistical and other information, will, we are persuaded, secure for it a wider and more extensive circulation among our mercantile and business community. The design of the publication is well and ably accomplished. It furnishes a comprehensive and detailed account of the actual condition of the state; embracing its civil divisions, population, productions, trade and resources; its public works, its means of general culture, and its principal local improvements; its wealth, revenue, and expenditure; the organization of its government, with a view of the persons to whom the administration of that government, throughout its various departments, is committed; the general scope and character of its legislature, as exemplified and illustrated by its various institutions and methods for the promotion of education, morals, and religion—for the protection and relief of the destitute, infirm, and helpless—for the encouragement of enterprise, industry, science, and the arts; in short, a picture of the long-acting, growing commonwealth, with the manifold means and agencies by which its affairs are conducted, its resources unfolded, and the business of its people transacted.

7.—*An Epitome of Homœopathic Practice; compiled chiefly from Jahn, Ruchert, Beauvais, Bonennenghausen, etc.* By J. T. Curtis, M. D., and J. Lillie, M. D. New York: William Radde. 1843.

This little volume, of one hundred and fifty-three pages, was prepared by two of the earliest disciples of Hahnemann in New York, in the belief that a work more compact, comprehensive, and clear than any that has yet appeared in our language was much wanted for the novice in Homœopathic practice. It is "respectfully inscribed by the editors" to "Federal Vanderburgh, M. D., whose untiring zeal, great professional sagacity, and brilliant success, have mainly contributed to the present flattering position of Homœopathy in the United States."

8.—*The Adventures of Hernan Cortes, the Conqueror of Mexico.* By the author of "Uncle Philip's Conversations." New York: D. Appleton & Co.

The present volume is the fourth of a series of books in course of publication, under the general title of "A Library for my Young Countrymen." The three preceding volumes, viz: "The Life of Henry Hudson," "Adventures of Captain John Smith," and "Dawnings of Genius," noticed in former numbers of this Magazine, were all prepared expressly for the present series, which is intended to comprise sketches of the lives, adventures, and discoveries of the early founders of America; lives of distinguished men connected with American history of more modern date, and approved works of English authors, re-edited, with additions and explanatory notes, by the author of "Uncle Philip's Whale Fishery," "Lost Greenland," etc. The selection of subjects, thus far, has been judicious; and we are persuaded that the careful and discriminating publishers will not permit the introduction of any work of doubtful tendency into the series.

9.—*The Complete Poetical Works of John Milton, with Explanatory Notes and a Life of the Author.* By H. Stebbing, A. M. To which is prefixed, Dr. Channing's Essay on the Poetical Genius of Milton. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1843.

We noticed, in a former number of this Magazine, the appearance, from the same enterprising publishers, of a beautiful edition of the complete poetical works of Cowper and Burns. The present volume is of uniform size and style, and is to be followed with the poetical works of Scott. The Appleton edition of these great poets is altogether the most beautiful and perfect that has ever been published in this country, and is not surpassed by any that has fallen under our notice from the British press. The incomparable essay of Channing, on the genius of Milton, forms a very appropriate introduction to the reading of the immortal bard. We earnestly hope that an enterprise so creditable to the liberality and taste of the publishers may meet with a corresponding liberality on the part of the public.

10.—*No Sense like Common Sense, or some Passages in the Life of Charles Middleton, Esq.* By Mary Howitt. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

11.—*Alice Franklin. A Tale.* Another part of "Sowing and Reaping." By Mary Howitt. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1843.

In noticing the writings of Mary Howitt, one of the purest and most delightful instructors of our time, we have no fear of incurring the charge of being extravagant in our appreciation of the varied excellence which characterizes all the productions of her pen. The present series of tales, although designed for children, are read with equal profit and pleasure by persons of all ages. Her delineations of domestic life—its joys and its sorrows—are instinct with every-day lessons of a true life. She breathes, through the guise of attractive narrative, the gospel of a pure, living, active goodness. Faithfully is she fulfilling her mission; blessed may—will be its close.

12.—*The Fortunes of Hector O'Halloran, and his man Mark Antony O'Toole.* By W. H. Maxwell, author of "Stories of Waterloo," "The Life of the Duke of Wellington," "The Bivouac," etc. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1843.

Those who read for mirth and amusement, and delight in rich Irish wit, humor, &c., will find, if they have not already, an inexhaustible fund of material spread before them in the four hundred pages of this neatly-printed volume. The twenty-three illustrations on copper are capital.

13.—*Bankrupt Stories, edited by* Harry Franco. *The Haunted Merchant.* 8vo. New York: John Allen. 1843.

Two numbers of this interesting tale have been issued, which, from the slight notice we have been able to take of it, we should consider well worthy of the graphic pen of the celebrated author of the Polygon papers of the Knickerbocker Magazine. The numbers contain about 80 pages each, and are neatly printed on good paper, and sold for 18¾ cents.

14.—*Gardening for Ladies, and Companion to the Flower Garden.* By Mrs. Loudon. First American, from the third London edition. Edited by Andrew Jackson Downing, author of "A Treatise on Landscape Gardening," "Cottage Residences," etc. 12mo. pp. 348. New York: Wiley & Putnam. 1843.

In these works, "Gardening for Ladies," and the "Companion to the Flower Garden," the simplicity and clearness with which every branch of gardening is explained, attract at once the novice and the amateur who have had little practical experience, and who would be little interested in a less sprightly and more scientific work. It is truly said by Mr. Downing, in introducing the present work to our fair countrywomen, that most of the English works on horticulture being addressed to those comparatively familiar with everything in the common routine of garden operations, a considerable degree of previous knowledge of the subject is supposed. With us, on the contrary, there are few who do not "begin at the beginning" for themselves, and who, therefore, desire earnestly those simple and elementary instructions which more learned and elaborate treatises have deemed it superfluous to give. Mrs. Loudon's works are intended especially for lady gardeners, a numerous class in England; and we cordially unite with the American editor in the hope that the dissemination, in this country, of works like the present volume may increase, among the women of America, the taste for those delightful occupations in the open air, which are so conducive to their own health, and to the beauty and interests of our homes. Mr. Downing has added to the "Companion" a number of notes, rendered necessary by differences resulting from our climate, &c.

15.—*Lays of my Home, and other Poems.* By John G. Whittier. Boston: Wm. D. Ticknor. 1843.

We heartily thank the publishers for sending us this delightful volume of poetry. No one unites in a more eminent degree the true poet, philanthropist, or lover of Christian, democratic freedom, than Whittier. There is no sickly sentimentality in the lines that flow from his ready pen—all are manly, pure, and elevated in thought and expression. He worships at the temple of Nature, and the lips of his muse have been touched with live coals from her altar. Every thought breathes of the inspiration of goodness—of a higher hope, and a more full and perfect love. Would to heaven that we had a few more kindred spirits, to utter in the same manly vein the same great truths of a higher and holier life—to teach us the lesson and practice of the Christianity, not of the church or the world, but of Christ—the divine ideal of perfected, glorified humanity. Those who have read "Lines written on reading several pamphlets published by Clergymen against the Abolition of the Gallows," "Democracy," "The Human Sacrifice," "The Reformers of England," and others in the present volume, will, we are persuaded, concur with us in our perhaps too enthusiastic appreciation of the author as a true poet, and, what is of far higher value, a true man.

16.—*The Burning of Schenectady, and other Poems.* By Alfred B. Street. Albany: Weare C. Little. 1843.

The leading poem in this volume occupies about sixty pages. It is principally descriptive, with a slight thread of narrative, and a few incidents interwoven, illustrating the rude period of the event designated by the title. The author has endeavored, throughout, to draw the scenes in keeping with the characters and customs of frontier life. Based upon a well-known occurrence, the poem does not aim at the continuous interest of a tale, but consists merely of a collection of sketches drawn around, but generally connected with, the principal event. Some of the descriptions are quite graphic, and the versification is generally easy and graceful. The volume contains, besides, nine shorter poems of unequal merit, but chaste in style and pure in thought; and several of them would do credit to poets of higher pretensions. It is neatly printed, and, on the whole, creditable to all concerned.

17.—*Classical Studies*, by EDWARDS, SEARS, and FELTON. Boston: Gould, Kendall, & Lincoln. 1840.

Three men, whose names stand in the foremost rank of American scholars, have thrown together their united efforts, and the result is this book. It is a long while since so solid a work has appeared from the American press. On reading it, we have experienced no other feelings than regret for time wasted, and golden opportunities neglected. The authors carry the reader along with them over the classical soil of Greece and Rome. On reading the correspondence of the great Dutch and German scholars, you see how those men, by immense labor, and untiring perseverance, accomplished their giant works—you see them in their studies, in the professional chair, and in their families. If we are not mistaken, it will prove a rich stimulus to young students; and, should a series of such works be issued, we prophesy that they would give an impulse to classical learning, such as was never before felt in the new world.

18.—*Critical and Miscellaneous Essays.* By JAMES STEPHEN. Philadelphia: Carey & Hart. 1843.

This is another of the series of the "Modern British Essayists," thus far comprising the miscellaneous writings of Walter Scott, T. Bablington Macaulay, Professor Wilson, Thomas Noon Talfourd, and the present volume, which forms the twelfth of the series. The critical essays or papers comprised in this volume were all written and published in the Edinburgh Review, since 1838, where they excited an interest scarcely second to those of Macauley; and although they have not the same elaborate finish of that writer, they excel in Anglo-Saxon strength of diction, and in depth of philosophy. The volume is entitled to a place in every well-selected library, public or private.

19.—*Murray's Encyclopædia of Geography.* Philadelphia: Lea & Blanchard.

We have received the ninth number of this comprehensive work on the geography, &c., of the world. It will be completed in twenty-four, and, altogether, embrace nearly 2,000 royal octavo pages. It has been carefully revised, and many additions, particularly relating to this country, have been made by Thomas G. Bradford, the American editor, who has distinguished himself by his judicious labors in this department of useful literature.

20.—*Lucilla; or, the Reading of the Bible.* By ADOLPHE MONOD. Translated from the French. New York: Robert Carter. 1843.

This work, we are informed by the translator, is the production of a protestant minister of deep piety, pre-eminent talent, and ardent zeal in the cause of Christianity. His design is, to prove the inspiration and divine authority of the scriptures; and "that it is at once the privilege and duty of all people to read them with a reference to their personal salvation."

21.—*Norman's Rambles in Yucatan.*

J. & H. G. Langley have published a neat and cheap edition of this work. The first edition, noticed in a former number of this Magazine, was published in one octavo volume, at $2 per copy; the present edition is in two numbers, at 50 cents each, just one half the price of the first edition.

22.—*The American Book Circular, with Notes and Statistics.* London: Wiley & Putnam. 1843.

We have received a pamphlet of sixty-four octavo pages, printed in London, and prepared, we presume, by Mr. Putnam, who manages the London branch of the house of Wiley & Putnam. It embraces a classified list of 1,172 original American works, in all 2,474 volumes. Mr. Putnam has collected a variety of statistical information touching the book trade of the United States, and has some very just but courteous strictures on the article in the "Foreign Quarterly," concerning the newspaper press of the United States.

23.—*The False Heir:* a Novel. By the author of "Richelieu," "Morley Ernstein," "Forest Days," &c. Harper & Brothers.

Mr. James is the most prolific writer of the present day. Scarcely fifteen years have elapsed since his *debut* on the stage of authorship, and yet there have been published twenty-five novels from his pen, besides a half dozen or more of standard historical works. One would almost think that by this time he had "written out," as the phrase goes; but he who takes up his latest novel under this supposition, will be disappointed. The story is invested with much interest, is laid in France prior to the French Revolution, and very strikingly displays the manners and habits of the French people at that period, and is characterized by that excellence of all Mr. James's writings—chasteness of sentiment. This novel forms a part of the "Library of Select Novels," and is sold at twelve and a half cents.

24.—*The Neighbors: a Story of Everyday Life.* By FREDERIKA BREMER. Translated from the Swedish, by MARY HOWITT. Harper & Brothers.

25.—*The Home; or, Family Cares and Family Joys.* Same author, translator, and publishers.

The gratitude of the reading world is due to Mrs. Howitt for the introduction thereto of the charming works of Miss Bremer, the "Miss Austen of Sweden," as she has been styled. "The Neighbors" has been published but a very few months, but has already given the author a name second to few that have been before the public. There is a simplicity of style, a beauty of sentiment, and a knowledge of human nature, displayed in it, which at once secures attention, and produces delight. "The Home" is a story of similar character to the other, to which it is at least not inferior. Both works are published in the "Library of Select Novels," at twelve and a half cents.

26.—*History of Europe, from the commencement of the French Revolution, in* 1789, *to the Restoration of the Bourbons, in* 1815. By ARCHIBALD ALISON. Harper & Brothers.

27.—*An Encyclopedia of Science, Literature, and Art: comprising the History, Description, and Scientific Principles of every Branch of Human Knowledge.* General Editor, WILLIAM T. BRANDE, assisted by several eminent literary and scientific gentlemen. Harper & Brothers.

We have heretofore expressed highly favorable opinions of these standard works, and a repetition is needless. Numbers 9 and 10 of the former work, and Numbers 7 and 8 of the latter, are published. "Alison" is to be completed in sixteen numbers, and "Brande" in twelve numbers, at twenty-five cents each.

28.—*The Life and Adventures of Martin Chuzzlewit.* By "Boz." Harper & Brothers.

Part II. is published, comprising Numbers 4, 5, and 6, of the English edition. Everything by "Boz" has been readable and popular, and the present work is as much so as any of his former ones. The present edition is beautiful and cheap. It is well printed, and each number will contain two illustrations from the English designs, and three numbers of the English edition. Price, six and a quarter cents per part.

29.—*The Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, and power thereof, according to the Word of God.* By that learned and judicious divine, Mr. JOHN COTTON, Teacher of the Church at Boston, in New England, tending to reconcile some present differences about Discipline. London, 1644. 12mo. pp. 107. Boston: Reprinted by Tappan & Dennet. 1843.

The Boston publishers have preserved throughout this volume the ancient spelling, punctuation, and style, as a curiosity, and from "a conviction that the readers would desire to see these ancient worthies in their Puritanic dress and armor." The design of the author, in this essay, was to systematize and defend Congregationalism. If public patronage afford suitable encouragement, it is the intention of the publishers to issue other reprints and original works of a similar character.

30.—*The Days of Queen Mary.* New York: Harper & Brothers. 1843.

A reprint, without alteration or abridgment, of a work prepared by the "London Religious Tract Society." It opens with a brief account of the reign of Edward the VIth, from 1547 to 1553, and then goes on to detail, in glowing colors, the horrid scenes of persecution that were enacted under the reign of the "bloody Mary." The cuts, or engraved illustrations, are execrable; if possible, more horridly executed than were the deeds recorded in its pages. It belongs, however, to the cheap literature of the day; i. e., two hundred and eighty-five duodecimo pages, in paper covers, are sold for twenty-five cents.

31.—*The Lost Ship; or, the Atlantic Steamer.* By the author of "Cavendish," "The Flying Dutchman," &c. Harper & Brothers.

This novel is founded upon the melancholy fate of the President steamer, although no real personages are introduced. It is a story of intense interest, wrought up with great power and ingenuity; and though some of the incidents are improbable, yet the reader is irresistibly attracted, and his attention engaged through the book. The author, Captain Neale, R. N., is favorably known as a writer of sea-novels. Price, twenty-five cents.

32.—*Sir John Froissart's Chronicles of England, France, Spain, and the adjoining countries.* New York: J. Winchester. 1843.

The Chronicles of Froissart extend from 1325 to 1400, and comprehend every considerable affair which happened during that period in France, England, Scotland, Ireland, and Flanders. They include, also, a number of particulars relating to the affairs of Rome and Avignon, of Spain, Germany, Italy, Prussia, Hungary, Turkey, Africa,—in short, of almost the whole known world. The language in this, the first American edition, is so modernized that it will be understood by all readers. The style is quaint, simple, and almost scriptural. The present edition is equal, in typography, style, &c., to the English, and is to be published in numbers of 62 super-royal octavo pages, double columns, and completed in ten numbers at 25 cents each, or $2 for the entire work. The price of the English edition is $12.

33.—*The Family of Bethany; or, Meditatious on the Eleventh Chapter of the Gospel according to St. John.* By L. BURNET, late one of the Chaplains of the French Church in London. New York: John S. Taylor & Co., and Robert Carter.

It may perhaps be taken as evidence of the popularity of these meditations, that two publishing houses have simultaneously reprinted editions of the work—the first American, from the eighth London. Introductory to the meditations, is an essay by the Rev. Hugh White, author of "Meditations on Prayer," &c.

34.—*Bickersteth's Treatise on the Lord's Supper; adapted to the Service of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States.* With an Introduction, Notes, and an Essay. By G. T. BEDELL, D. D., Rector of St. Andrew's Church, Philadelphia. New York: Robert Carter. 1843.

The best evidence of the popularity of this treatise may be inferred from the fact, that the present is the fifth edition published since 1824.

Carey & Hart, of Philadelphia, have commenced the publication of a beautiful edition of the complete works of Lord Byron, edited by Thomas Moore, Esq. It is to be completed in twelve weekly parts, at twenty-five cents each, illustrated by six elegant steel engravings, and printed with larger type, on whiter paper, similar to the edition formerly published at ten dollars—the whole forming four large volumes, over 2,200 pages. A remittance of $5 to the publishers will pay for two copies.

35.—*The Retrospect; or, Review of Providential Mercies.* With anecdotes of various characters. By ALIQUIS, formerly a Lieutenant in the Royal Navy, and now a Minister of the Established Church. New York: Robert Carter. 1843.

As an evidence of the popularity of this work, it is only necessary to state that it is the third American from the seventeenth London edition.