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*James S. Graham.*  
ART. I.—*The Apostles' doctrine and fellowship: Five Sermons preached in the principal churches of his diocese, during his spring visitation, 1844.* By the Right Rev. L. Silliman Ives, DD. LL.D., Bishop of North Carolina. Published by the unanimous request of his Convention. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 200 Broadway. Philadelphia: Geo. S. Appleton, 148 Chesnut street. 1844. pp. 189.

THIS title page is not, we think, remarkable for its modesty. Dr. Ives styles himself Bishop of North Carolina. Are we to understand by this, that he is Bishop to the exclusion of the Bishop of the Moravians at Salem and its vicinity, the validity of whose ordination his predecessor acknowledged; and to the exclusion of all Roman Catholic Bishops? Is it implied that all other denominations are rebels against his authority? Does he claim jurisdiction *in partibus infidelium*? He prefers to call the convention of Episcopal ministers and delegates of North Carolina "his" convention, rather than the Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, as has been usual.

The first subject discussed is baptismal justification. We will permit the Bishop to define his own terms. "The term justification," he says, "may be expressed accurately enough for our present purpose, by the terms remission of sins, and regeneration, or, being born from above." In

proval of the overwhelming majority of the people of these United States, and given to our church the position of a conservative body, and a character for sobriety, sound judgment and Christian charity, which we fervently pray may ever be continued to her.

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*Dr. H. A. Frégier*

ART. VI.—1. *Des Classes Dangereuses de la Population dans les grandes villes, et moyens de les rendre meilleures.* Par H. A. Frégier, Chef de Bureau a la Prefecture de la Seine. Bruxelles, 8vo. pp. 632.

2. *The Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of New York; with suggestions for its improvement.* By John H. Griscom, M. D. Fellow of the College of Physicians and Surgeons; Physician of the New York Hospital; late Physician of the City and Eastern Dispensaries.

IN great cities the extremes of good and evil are brought out in strong relief; splendour and squalidity, munificent philanthropy and abject vice. Great moral investigations may therefore be made to advantage in such a population, just as diseases are best studied in an hospital. To the superficial traveller, the predominating character of a metropolis is that of wealth and luxury; but he who leaves the proud thoroughfare, and penetrates the lanes and alleys and suburbs, begins to learn that the wretched are far more numerous than the happy. The moralist also learns, that there are questions of something more than statistics and economics; that, as vice engenders poverty, so, reciprocally, poverty engenders vice. "Lest I be poor, and steal, and take the name of my God in vain," admits of a very wide application.

America is not the country of great cities: it is happy for her that she is not. To thousands of our scholars, the serio-comic lamentations over urban annoyances, which are so remarkable in Horace, Juvenal, Pope, Swift, Gay and Johnson, are as unknown as events of the mythic ages. They scarcely understand the evil of being "in populous city pent," enjoying as they do "sweet interchange of hill and valley, rivers, woods, and plains, now land now sea, and shores

with forest crowned, rocks, dens, and caves ;” nor can they well expect to realize the dire calamities of an overgrown population. Yet we go on bravely, and in our march already “gall the kibe” of our transatlantic brethren. New York, Philadelphia, and New Orleans begin to show, on a scale not very much reduced, and in a proportion far higher than the ratio of their size, all the strong lines of city distress and peril. Cause and effect show their constancy of relation, and one wonders to find centuries working so little change in teeming capitals. If Umbricius should return, he would discover the same miseries in New York as he lamented in Rome under the Caesars ; not merely the “*incendia, lapsus tectorum assiduus, ac mille pericula saevae urbis,*” but amidst these, and preying on these, the keen, scheming, smooth-tongued, inventive, successful visitant ; not as of old a Greek, indeed, but as good as Greek ; the picture is to be verified in Wall, Nassau, or Chatham streets, as though it were of yesterday.

Grammaticus, Rhetor, Geometres, Pictor, Aliptes,  
Augur, Schœnobates, Medicus, Magus, omnia novit,  
Graeculus esuriens in cœlum jusseris ibit.

It is well for us Americans, that all the important civic experiments have been tried beforehand in Europe ; so that we may know whither we are tending, and if we are wise, may provide against contingencies, of which we should never have dreamed, but for the experience of our elders. It is this which makes us look on books like those of Frégier, and Parent-du-Châtelet, as full of instruction to ourselves. We must not pass them by because the scene is not laid in America. It is amusing to see with what zest some of our travelling correspondents, in writing from abroad, detail as peculiarities of Loudon or Paris, those things which occur at every step in New York ; the last instances which meet us are those of ‘one-price-stalls’ and ‘chiffonniers,’ both which are now fairly domiciliated among us. The truth is, scarcely any evil springs up in the soil of any great city, which does not appear somewhat modified in all. And when, on observing a municipal condition somewhat more advanced than our own, we descry enormous social evils, we have good reason to expect the same, when we shall have reached the same stage. If moreover it should appear that any prophylactic measures, in police or in morals, could have prevented the ripening of such evils, we derive at once a lesson of the highest importance, in regard to our own social progress.

The work of M. Frégier owes its origin to a question proposed by the Academy of Moral and Political Sciences of the French Institute. The problem was, "to determine, after positive observations, what are the elements, which in Paris, or in any other great city, go to make up that part of the population which forms a dangerous class by its vices, its ignorance and its misery; and to point out the means, which may be used by the government, by rich men, or by intelligent and industrious labourers, to improve this dangerous and depraved class." The prize offered was awarded to M. Frégier, and this will cause no surprise to any one who shall read his work, a volume characterized by every quality of research, fulness, eminent method and perspicuity, and sound benevolence, which could be demanded in such a task. It contains facts of the most singular sort, hitherto never disclosed to public view, respecting the vicious and wretched inhabitants of cities. As the author justly observes, the causes of crime are the same everywhere. In considering his subject, he first gives a statistical view of the vicious class, properly so called, as well as of the dangerous class; secondly, he describes the manners and customs of these classes; thirdly, he suggests preventive, and fourthly, remedial methods.

It is not our intention to give an analysis of the work, and we shall especially pass over the statistical part, valuable and interesting as it is. There is also one large class of dangerous persons, highly interesting to the philanthropist, and occupying a large space in this volume, which for very obvious reasons we shall omit altogether. The manners of the dangerous classes, and their way of life, will afford us some gleanings, at once painful and instructive.

It is common to speak of drunkenness as not prevailing in France. M. Frégier would lead us to a different conclusion. Among the labouring classes, he speaks of it as a passion which often absorbs all others. He tells us of a father and mother both weighed down with drink, lying at midnight unable to open their own doors; of a workman who ate but a pound of bread a week, in order to spend the rest in drink; of three chamber-fellows, who sold almost all their clothes, and kept only a coat and a pair of boots, for common use; of drunken families having only one bed for the whole; of factory girls, who may be seen on any Sunday or Monday, completely intoxicated, coming out of the shop of the rogomiste, sometimes mother and daughter

struggling together, in the endeavour to hold one another up. Those who work in manufactories are the principal victims of this vice.

It may not be without its use to single out a particular class of the lower population, and under the guidance of our author to examine them in detail. For this purpose, we will choose the chiffonniers. The extension of industry, since 1830, says M. Frégier, has given a certain importance to the chiffonnier, who is at the bottom of the industrial scale. Men, women, and children, can all easily devote themselves to an employment which demands no apprenticeship, and whose tools are very simple; a basket, a prong and a lantern. The adult chiffonnier, in order to gain twenty-five to forty sous a day, according to the season, must make his three rounds, two by day and one by night; the first between five and nine, the second between eleven and three, and the third between five and midnight. In the intervals, he picks and assorts his *marchandise*—so he calls it—and goes to sell the result to some wholesale chiffonnier or rag-broker. Many of these keep magazines where the itinerants may store their spoils.

The operation of sifting and assorting takes place either in or out of doors, according to the condition of the workman. If he has a house, he tries to have a separate apartment where he may look over his booty. His basket contains not only his wares but his dinner. From the filth which he explores, he takes whatever may avail for his meals, roots for his soup, crusts of bread, or fruits. This assortment of the pickings is quite a study, especially when the pannier is full, and the master in good humour.

The chiffonniers live in the faubourgs, especially the quarters Saint-Jacques and Saint-Marceau. If you go through these regions, says M. Frégier, about the hours of coming in, you will be able to judge of the various elements which compose this trade. Bending over his basket, the wanderer will show you with a smile a great beef-bone, which he considers a prize, and while he makes his heap on the pavement, he will tell you that competition ruins trade, that there is no humanity in kitchens, and that chiffonniers begin to be defrauded even of bones and broken glass. There are moments of luck which brighten the life of the street-picker, as when turning over his pile of garbage, he alights on a silver fork or spoon thrown out by mistake. Such prizes are more numerous than might be

thought, and the occasions are solemnized by a copious repast and large company.

In regard to the sanitary condition of cities, it is unfortunate that the overhauling of these masses should take place within doors. Most of those who keep house have but one apartment. Here they deposit their results, and here they make their assortment, among their children, and with their help. The area of the room is filled with *débris* of animal, vegetable, and mineral matter. It is suffocating to enter the place. The sweetness of the air is not enhanced by the presence of a large dog, sometimes two, which the *chiffonnier* takes along in his nocturnal patrol. The average gain of these people is from fifteen to twenty sous, or for children, about ten. There are children who leave their parents at a tender age, to subsist by *chiffonnage*. Their life is nomadic and almost savage. They are remarkable for audacity and asperity of manner. After some years, they become to such a degree estranged from their families, as to have lost the remembrance of their surnames and former place of abode. Strange as this may seem, there are tokens of an approach to the very same thing, among the juvenile vagabonds of our own cities; the boys who live in gutters, and are ready at any moment of the night to run with the engines, or to form the swell-mob. The *chiffonniers* are great frequenters of drinking houses, where they affect some ostentation in their outlay. They are devoted to brandy, in particular, believing that it gives them as much sustenance as solid food, mistaking the artificial tone produced by the liquor for a mark of real strength. They are not always satisfied, at the cabarets, with simple wine; they must have it mulled, with abundance of sugar and lemon. The *chiffonnier* is a *Menippus* by profession; wrapped in his rags, he insulates himself from the masses. No inhabitant of our large cities can have failed to observe, that within a few years, there is a very decided tendency towards the formation of a similar class among ourselves; indeed there can be little doubt, that many of the loathsome objects, who ply in our kennels, have taken their degrees in foreign towns.

What we have just said of *chiffonniers*, may be said of sporting gentlemen, who live by billiards, betting-books, and faro; we not only imitate the old world, but receive their professors; as any one may surmise, from the rainbow waistcoats, moustaches, rings and kennel-buttons, which

are met in Broadway and Chesnut street, Camden and Long Island. Whatever discount may be made from the statements of Mr. Green, the reformed gambler, there can be no doubt, that the class which he denounces is amazingly diffused through our country. Paris however is their *habitat*. There they are to be studied at home. Thence, fully accomplished, they go to all parts of the civilized globe, ready for desperate hazards, for millions or Sing-Sing, as the die may fall. The genius and eloquence, pros- tituted in the person of an arch-gambler, are astonishing :

Ingenium velox, audacia perditâ, sermo  
Promptus, et Isæo torrentior.

We know of nothing in criminal habits, not even intoxica- tion, which savours so much of madness, as the passion for gambling. So our author found it in Paris. The phrensy pursues them into the very prisons, where there are instan- ces of persons, who after losing in a moment the fruit of a week's work, have nevertheless ventured to stake in ad- vance the bread which was to keep them alive for the next month, two months, and even three months ; and the fero- cious winners have been seen, in such cases, to watch for their victims, at the time when victuals were distributed, and not to quit them, till they had extorted the dole which was necessary for their life. The physicians of the central house of Mont Saint-Michel observed a convict, who played with such fury, in the infirmary, that, ill as he was, he would gamble away the little portion of broth or of wine, which had been prescribed for him, and at length died of inanition.

It would be difficult to find any thing more novel or en- tertaining, than the particulars given by M. Frégier, of frauds, thefts, and robberies, in all their modifications. We cannot abridge or extract, so as to give any adequate no- tion of the details. Here we have the contraband traffic, over or *under* the walls, to avoid the city inposts ; smug- gling under clothes—by escalade—by throwing bladders of liquor over the walls—by excavation under them. Here we have also the different species of theft ; as of the *cam- brioleurs*, who steal from rooms ; the *bonjouriers*, or *vo- leurs au bonjour*, or *chevaliers grimpants*, who come by mistake into lodgings, before the inmate is up ; the *roule- tiers*, who frequent the depots and places of arrival ; the *boucardiers*, who rifle shops ; the *floueurs*, who play the sharper in the public gardens and cafés. There is a famous

game at stealing, which bears our national name, *vol à l'Americaine*, and which is fully described. Our own police reports of every day, which are, we lament to say, too numerous, and so inviting that a paper has been established devoted to this one topic, show very plainly that there is no advancement in criminal art and malignant ingenuity, which is not immediately transferred to this country. As was said above, we receive the villains themselves, fully accomplished, and in thorough practice. It was but the other day, that a police-man evacuated one of our chief steamboat offices of no less than six English pickpockets, at one time.

It will be remembered, we trust, by our readers, that in the first number of this journal, for 1841, we furnished them with an elaborate article upon the POOR OF GREAT BRITAIN. We would invite attention to the statements there made; and in particular to those which concern the health of cities; of cities, which a German author calls the 'graves of our race.' We have now to add a few statements respecting Paris, from M. Frégier, whose moderation, exactness, and official character place his testimony above all suspicion. The subject is important, and has engaged the attention of philanthropic men abroad. We have not seen the work of M. Piorry, 'on dwellings, and their influence on human health and disease;' but it is recommended as truly valuable. It is the more important to consider this subject, because we are in a stage of our national advancement, at which we may profit by all the sad experience of the old world. There are as yet no insuperable hinderances to such a mode of architecture, as shall secure the highest comfort of even the lowest classes. But it will soon be too late, and in our walks through those districts of our great cities where new buildings are going up, our hearts sink at the absolute contempt manifested for all the admonitions of experience. Landholders and builders still go on, excluding sun and air, covering the earth, and crowding human beings together, as if there were no mortal results inevitable from such a course; and this in a country, where space so large is afforded us by providence, as to cut off every excuse. Even in our country towns, out of New England, and sometimes even there, the original plan has often neglected every thing like squares, parks, or promenades, and the subsequent erections have made them impossible in time to come, as busi-



ness and population increase, and the dangers of overcrowding are multiplied, cupidity increases also, and not an inch of soil can be spared, for beauty or for health, if it can go toward the foundation of a store, a factory, or even a tavern. The whole subject of architecture, in its sanitary relations, deserves a consideration which it has never received in this country.

In Paris, M. Frégier says that the working classes are confined, by the dearness of lodgings, to the old quarters of the *Cité*, and to the straitest and closest streets of these quarters. It is the lot of the poor in every country under heaven. Yet, if it is not possible completely to remedy the inconveniencies of such a condition, these, he argues, may surely be lessened, by modes of construction suited to the state of the poor. In such attempts there would be a double advantage; they would lessen the causes of public insalubrity, and they would give honest and frugal working people means of procuring lodging suited to their necessities, and favourable to good morals and domestic peace. It is in this moral aspect of the subject that it bears directly on national prosperity.

The labouring people of Paris live in various ways. Sedentary workmen and heads of families reside generally in their separate houses. Unmarried operatives, living habitually in the capital, take chambers, sometimes furnished, sometimes unfurnished. As rent is one of the most indispensable of domestic expenses, the head of a family pressed by other wants of the greatest necessity, will naturally seek the cheapest abode. The habitations, of which M. Frégier speaks, are in certain quarters, and certain streets of these quarters: they are old, dilapidated, and in bad order. The proprietors put them at low prices, and hold out a lure for poor families. We shall presently compare with this the state of things in New York. If the lodgings were healthy or sufficient, there would be no reason for stricture; but they are dirty, dark, insecure. They are small, and as parents and children sleep in the same chamber, the result is as disastrous to health as to good morals. Moreover, the condition of the sinks and other outlets of offensive matter is such as to give occasion for infectious exhalations, the more injurious, because most of the inmates spend their working hours in shops and factories ill ventilated and crowded with human beings. So ill-constructed are these buildings, for the most part, that no modification

would accomplish much ; and this should go to enforce the importance of beginning aright, in the foundation of towns and cities. The attempts, in 1823, '24, and '25, to build a better class of houses for operatives, failed, because the best apartments were too high in price, and those who could afford to live in them did not desire the proximity of the poor, in the stories above them ; so that the enterprise was a losing one. It was also a period of feverish speculation, very unfavourable to an experiment, of which the success depended so much on the low rents which were offered. M. Frégier calls upon capitalists, of benevolent disposition, to unite in erecting the proper sort of buildings, which, he thinks, would offer a net revenue equal at least to two-thirds of the average returns of houses in Paris. He proposes also joint-stock-companies, for the erection of numerous piles, and for the purchase and alteration of old conventual and other edifices of great extent. Care should be taken, that the tenants of such buildings should bring certificates of good character, signed by some master-workman and countersigned by the mayor of the commune. On this topic, more nearly connected with public morals and national happiness than will be supposed by a superficial observer, M. Frégier speaks with a most amiable enthusiasm.

All the operatives of Paris are not equally unfortunate as to lodging. From twenty-five to thirty thousand operatives, engaged in building, flock to the capital annually from certain departments, and are gathered in chambers, where they lie during the season. Many of these chambers are held by persons from their own country ; the masons abound in the quarter of the Hotel de Ville, and the carpenters in the faubourg Saint Martin. These brave fellows are very frugal. They get their lodging for six francs a month, including the washing of one shirt a week, and soup, daily, for which they furnish the bread. The police testifies to the uniform good conduct of these persons. But living together in so close a manner, after being accustomed to the fresh air of the country, they suffer very much from typhoid disease. The want of ventilation in houses and lodgings is of course more injurious to those who work in close shops and factories.

Of all the poorer classes, says M. Frégier, the chiffonniers are those who have the most infected and disgusting habitations. Even among these, there is an upper circle.

Those of the better class occupy one or two rooms which they hire. Others own a pallet on which to lie, in a room which they share with others. The agents of the police who visit these dens, describe them as sufficiently disgusting. Each lodger keeps by him his basket of filth, and such filth! These savages do not scruple to pick up dead animals, and to pass the night amidst this offensive prey. When the officers enter, they almost suffer asphyxia. On the opening of such orifices as exist, the spectacle is appalling. It is a trait of manners peculiar to this class, that they amuse themselves in their lodgings by the chase of rats. There are chambers which contain as many as nine beds, separated by little passages; and the contiguous beds are sometimes occupied by persons who have never seen one another. Difference of sex is little regarded. In the quarter of la Cité there is a house notorious for the picture of female debasement which it presents. The lodgers are old female drunkards, generally suspected as thieves. In the descents of the police, they sometimes discover all these hags, in their respective lairs, a scene recalling the picture of Leonarda in *Gil Blas*. These wretched people, of both sexes, spend ten sous for drink, by day, and then pay two sous for lodging, by night; here is the source of wretchedness. It is to provide for such degraded creatures, that the *night-asylums* of England have been instituted. M. Frégier gives reasons for thinking that they do more harm than good.

The chapter upon the rage of the Parisian populace for spectacles forcibly reminds us of the condition of things under the Roman empire, when, according to Juvenal, the people who once awarded fasces, legions and empire, had come to long for two things only, *panem et Circenses*. And still more painful is it to observe the same tendency among ourselves, as proved by the advertisements of every print, and the posting-bills of every corner. The drama has come down at length to cater for the very lowest dregs of society. Goethe was driven from the stage-directorship of Weimar, by the admission of some canine performance, we scarcely remember what; but these are the things which now constitute the great attraction. In Paris, the rage for theatrical amusements is greatest among merchants' clerks, labourers, and apprentices. This class, or more properly, this multitude, is that which defrays the

expense of the extraordinary and monstrous plays, set forth by a school "whose delirious muse delights in violence, adultery, incest and murder." These atrocious dramas attract the idle public, there as here; for, in the class of which we speak, no one stays away for fear of contamination. Another school of writers, to excite the vulgar curiosity, bring on the stage, as their heroes, malefactors of consummate address. These captivate the spectators, by the nonchalance or humour exhibited before and after the greatest crimes, and by infamous buffooneries neutralize the natural emotions of indignation which might be ready to break forth. As instances are given *l'Auberge des Adrets* and *Robert Macaire*. Such of these plays as can be adapted are speedily transported to America. The same watchful enterprise, which floods the literary kennel with the novels of George Sand and de Kock, and which makes certain windows in Nassau Street a public nuisance, is not slow to americanize the worst of the French comedies. We have before us the extreme evil, as it exists in Paris; and this for our warning. There, this species of literature has attained its acme, it is 'the triumph, the apotheosis of criminal audacity.' "The six most vaunted dramas of the new school," says a British writer, "comprise eight adulterers, five prostitutes of different classes, six victims of seduction, &c.;" we must spare our readers the sequel of the enumeration. Observe the effect of all this on the rising race, as depicted by our author. The Parisian child enters very early on the career of active life. From the age of five or six, he runs on errands, and becomes familiar with the events of the street. His curiosity is continually on the stretch, for all around him is new. He is affected not only by the pleasures within his reach, but by those which are remote. He learns from his comrades that the playhouse is a place of enchantment. By degrees he finds out the secret method of getting entrance by petty pilfering or speculation. A multitude of poor families are constantly suffering from such larcenies, which they often suspect, but cannot prevent. This fondness for the theatre is one of the most common causes of the vagabond life of poor children; it is an observation established by both English and French authorities. The child of the poor lacks those tender assiduities which in other classes spring from maternal care. When the father and mother have done their day's work, all their pleasure is in repose; the child finds no solace in

a desolate house; he goes abroad, to the street, quays, boulevards, theatres. In Europe and America, the most casual observer must be struck with the number of children, who throng the entrances of the playhouse. Children have been brought home from the theatre in a state of delirium. The passion prevails, proverbially, among the youth of our cities; and this is one of the most serious elements in computing the moral tendencies of theatrical amusements.

We have been looking a little at the causes of misery which prevail in great cities in the old world. We have seen squalid want, suffering, disease and vice, as the almost constant results of a too dense population. We are perhaps disposed to say that such evils can never reach ourselves; that they are the maladies of mouldering and senile society; that our largest towns are comparatively new, offering nothing to engender or foment physical and moral evils of so frightful a character. But this is running too fast, and shutting our eyes to the dangers which already begin to overtake us; and it is for this reason that we have selected the publication which has the second place at the head of this article.

Dr. Griscom is a highly respectable physician of New York, where the substance of this discourse was delivered, last winter, at the Repository of the American Institute. His suggestions were originally addressed, in the form of a letter, to the mayor. The committee of the city government, to whom it was referred, determined to pass it by. The appeal is now, very properly, made to the public, on the subject of *Sanitary Reform*. Omitting much important matter, as less pertinent to our scope, we ask attention to the following statements respecting the dwellings of the poor.

“It is often said that ‘one half the world does not know how the other half lives.’ The labour of raising the veil which now separates the two halves, by which the misery and degradation of the one, have been concealed from the view of the other, has been theirs and their associates. Howard, called by distinction *the Philanthropist*, revealed to the gaze of the astonished multitude the interior of the prisons of England, and straightway the process of reform commenced in them, and continued until the prison system of the present day, has become one of the most striking examples of the spirit of the times. But Chadwick and Du Chatelet, especially the former, are diving still deeper into the subject of moral and physical reform. They are probing to the bottom the foul ulcers upon the body of society, and endeavouring to discover the causes of so much wretchedness and vice, which fill the prisons and work-houses.

Howard's labours tended to *cure* the disease, Chadwick's to *prevent* it. These operations constitute a highly important part of the great work of melioration and improvement, in the condition of mankind, now going on, in nearly all civilized countries, and which characterize the present age.

"If not on a par, in importance, with the improvement in education, which has of late made such rapid strides, it certainly is second only to it, and indeed it may well be questioned, whether improvement in the physical condition of the lower stratum of society, is not a necessary precedent, in order that education of the mind may exercise its full and proper influence over the general well-being. Teach them how to live, so as to avoid diseases and be more comfortable, and then their school education will have a redoubled effect, in mending their morals, and rendering them intelligent and happy. But without sound bodies, when surrounded with dirt, foul air, and all manner of filthy associations, it is vain to expect even the child of education, to be better than his ignorant companions, if indeed you do not, by educating him, give him an additional weapon, by which he may prey more successfully upon his fellows.

"This country, and especially this city, it is hoped, will not much longer be behind others in this cause of the suffering poor and depressed humanity. Some movements, promoting this investigation, have recently been commenced, but much is yet to be done. The path has been pointed out to us by pioneers across the Atlantic; there is abundant disposition to pursue the object, which only requires to be sought out, and put to work by the authorities, to procure all the desirable results of such labours.

"The system of *tenantage* to which large numbers of the poor are subject, I think, must be regarded as one of the principal causes of the helpless and noisome manner in which they live. The basis of these evils is the subjection of the tenantry, to the merciless inflictions and extortions of the *sub-landlord*. A house, or a row, or court of houses, is hired by some person of the owner, on a lease of several years, for a sum which will yield a fair interest on the cost. The *owner* is thus relieved of the great trouble incident to the changes of tenants, and the collection of rents. His income is sure from one individual, and obtained without annoyance or oppression on his part. It then becomes the object of the lessee, to make and save as much as possible, with his adventure, sufficient sometimes to enable him to purchase the property in a short time.

"The tenements, in order to admit a greater number of families, are divided into small apartments, as numerous as decency will admit. Regard to comfort, convenience, and health, is the last motive; indeed, the great ignorance of this class of speculators (who are very frequently foreigners and keep a grog shop on the premises) would prevent a proper observance of these, had they the desire. These closets, for they deserve no other name, are then rented to the poor, from week to week, or month to month, the rent being almost invariably required in advance, at least for the first few terms. The families moving in first, after the house is built, find it clean, but the lessee has no supervision over their habits, and however filthy the tenement may become, he cares not, so that he receives his rent. He and his family are often found steeped as low in de-

pravity and discomforts, as any of his tenants, being above them only in the possession of money, and doubtless often beneath them in moral worth and sensibility.

“ It is very frequently the case that families, after occupying rooms a few weeks, will change their location, leaving behind them all the dirt which their residence has occasioned. Upon this the next comers will sit down, being so much occupied with the hurry of moving, and with the necessity of placing their furniture immediately in order, that the attention to cleansing the apartment is out of the question, until they are ‘settled,’ and then, if done at all, it is in the most careless and inefficient manner. Very often, perhaps in a majority of the cases in the class of which I now speak, no cleaning other than washing the floor, is ever attempted, and that but seldom. Whitewashing, cleaning of furniture, of bedding, or persons, in many cases is *never* attempted. Some have old pieces of carpet, which are never shaken, (they would not bear it,) and are used to hide the filth on the floor. Every corner of the room, of the cupboards, of the entries and stairways, is piled up with dirt. The walls and ceilings, with the plaster broken off in many places, exposing the lath and beams, and leaving openings for the escape from within of the effluvia of vermin, dead and alive, are smeared with the blood of unmentionable insects, and dirt of all indescribable colours. The low rooms are diminished in their areas by the necessary encroachments of the roof, or the stairs leading to the rooms above; and behind and under them is a hole, into which the light of day never enters, and where a small bed is often pushed in, upon which the luckless and degraded tenants pass their nights, weary and comfortless.

“ In these places, the filth is allowed to accumulate to an extent almost incredible. Hiring their rooms for short periods only, it is very common to find the poor tenants moving from place to place, every few weeks. By this practice they avoid the trouble of cleansing their rooms, as they can leave behind them the dirt which they have made. The same room, being occupied in rapid succession, by tenant after tenant, it will easily be seen how the walls and windows will become broken, the doors and floors become injured, the chimneys filled with soot, the whole premises populated thickly with vermin, the stairways, the common passage of several families, the receptacle for all things noxious, and whatever of self-respect the family might have had, be crushed under the pressure of the degrading circumstances by which they are surrounded.

“ Another very important particular in the arrangements of these tenements must here be noticed. By the mode in which the rooms are planned, *ventilation is entirely prevented*. It would seem as if most of these places were built expressly for this purpose. They have one or two windows, and a door at one side of the room, but no opening anywhere else. A draught of air through, is therefore an utter impossibility. The confined position of the dwelling itself, generally, prevents the access of the external current of air, even to the outside, to any considerable extent. The window sashes, in addition, perhaps are so arranged, that the upper one (if there are two) cannot be let down, being permanently fastened up; hence the external air, poor as it is, cannot visit the upper section of the room,

unless by opening the door, by which the interior of the room is exposed to view. If there is a sleeping apartment, it is placed at the extremity of the room farthest from the windows, is generally but little larger than sufficient to hold a bedstead, and its area is reduced, for air, by the bed furniture, trunks, boxes, &c. and having no windows, fresh air and sun light are entire strangers to its walls. In this dark hole there is, of course, a concentrated accumulation of the effluvia of the bodies and breaths of the persons sleeping in it, (frequently the whole family, several in number,) and this accumulation goes on from night to night, without relief, until it can easily be believed the smell becomes intolerable, and its atmosphere productive of the most offensive and malignant diseases. There is no exaggeration in this description. I cannot too highly colour the picture, if I would. What, then, will be thought of the condition of thousands of our fellow-citizens in the *winter season*, when every crevice is closed to keep out the cold air, and when I state, that what I have described, I have repeatedly seen and felt in the *summer*, when the windows and doors are opened to the fullest extent, day and night, admitting all the ventilation possible, small as it is.

“I have had recent occasion to visit several of these pestiferous places, and I pen these paragraphs in the month of August, with their sight and smell fresh upon my senses.

“The almost entire absence of household conveniences, contributes much to the prostration of comfort and self-respect of these wretched people. The deficiency of water, and the want of a convenient place for washing, with no other place for drying clothes than the common sitting and bed room, are very serious impediments in the way of their improvement. Without any convenient or safe place to deposit wood, or coal, or food in large quantities, all their purchases are by ‘the small,’ from the neighbouring grocer, (who is perhaps the landlord,) at prices from 10 to 50 per cent. above the rates at which they might be obtained, under better circumstances.

“But the most offensive of all places for residence are the *cellars*. It is almost impossible, when contemplating the circumstances and condition of the poor beings who inhabit these holes, to maintain the proper degree of calmness requisite for a thorough inspection, and the exercise of a sound judgment, respecting them. You must descend to them; you must feel the blast of foul air as it meets your face on opening the door; you must grope in the dark, or hesitate until your eye becomes accustomed to the gloomy place, to enable you to find your way through the entry, over a broken floor, the boards of which are protected from your tread by a half inch of hard dirt; you must inhale the suffocating vapour of the sitting and sleeping rooms; and in the dark, damp recess, endeavour to find the inmates by the sound of their voices, or chance to see their figures moving between you and the flickering blaze of a shaving burning on the hearth, or the misty light of a window coated with dirt and festooned with cobwebs—or if in search of an invalid, take care that you do not fall full length upon the bed with her, by stumbling against the bundle of rags and straw, dignified by that name, lying on the floor, under the window, if window there is;—all this, and much more, beyond the reach of my pen, must be felt and seen, ere you can appreciate in its full force the mournful and disgusting condition in



which many thousands of the subjects of our government pass their lives."

We are prepared to believe, from what we have often seen, in professional visits, that in all this there is no exaggeration. In some districts, the courts are below the level of the streets; at every rain, water must be baled out of the cellar, that is, the dwelling. At No. 50 Pike street, two families, of ten persons, inhabit a cellar, about ten feet square, and seven feet high, having one small window, and the old-fashioned inclined door. In consequence of these and other causes, disease becomes a public expense. The three Dispensaries, during the year ending March, 1844, prescribed for 54,282 persons.

Dr. Griscom adduces testimony, chiefly of missionaries under the direction of the City Tract Society, to show, that the congregation of different sexes and all ages, in the same apartments, degrades moral sentiment; that the prevalent physical distress is a bar to moral and religious instructions; and that the demand is urgent for municipal intervention. In one garret, with sloping roof, one broken window, and no ceiling, the Rev. Mr. Orchard found three families, of men, women, and children, without bedstead, or any bed, except a bundle of rags on the floor.

The discourse before us contains admirable suggestions in regard to Ventilation, a subject which has particularly engaged the author's attention; and one which requires to be more seriously studied, not only in reference to the dwellings of the poor, but the structure and arrangement of churches, lecture-rooms, schools, and colleges.

Our subject has been an unpleasant one; and it would be a wanton trifling with the reader's sensibility if there were nothing to be proposed. Except in hope of lessening misery, we would invite no man into a lazar-house. It is very plain, that every great city is a nodal point of depraved society, a *fomes* of the public vice; which becomes rank and malignant at home, and propagates abroad, with all the momentum derived from metropolitan wealth and influence. We perceive, on examination, that vice and misery reside very much in the same location. The Christian problem is, to lessen, if possible to remove them. Christ aimed at both. He healed while he reformed and saved. The church has followed him in this, even under the most corrupt forms. No adulteration or debasement of Christianity has ever availed to remove this characteristic. The

papist and the socinian have never failed to exhibit noble examples of beneficence. But while religion is always and every where operating to a certain extent, there is a painful conviction forced upon us, as we survey our city population, that the heart of the evil is not reached. Our present church-methods do not penetrate to these masses. Some supplementary measures must be adopted.

In a simpler state of society, the poor are fairly within reach of the church; witness the easy relief, by church-door collections, of the Scottish poor, for three centuries. In rural parishes, the pastor can with ease visit every rich man, and lend his aid to every pauper. Under religious establishments, the *plebs ecclesiastica* was cantoned off into parishes, which nominally exist, though with ludicrous insufficiency, even in the great capitals. But our American city-evils have, by a horrid hypertrophy, grown far beyond the arms-length of clerical or parochial care. What can a city-pastor do, in the way of visiting his own flock, compared with what is demanded of him? In the absence of parish limits, and amidst the unlimited elective affinity of hearers, his people are scattered over many square miles; and in his laborious walks to see remote parishioners, he recalls the verses of Horace:

Cubat hic in colle Quirini,  
Hic extremo in Aventino; visendus uterque.

The church-session, beautiful in theory, is not what it was meant to be in practice; and we fear there are many ruling elders, who are by no means versed in visitation of the distressed. As to deacons, to whom such cases would be peculiarly appropriate, they are unknown to many congregations even by name.

Then it is to be considered that tens of thousands, in Philadelphia and New York, fall under no evangelical influence whatever, being stated attendants on no worship; and this is the very mass within which, for the most part, these great evils exist. They do not come to relief; the relief must be carried to them, or they must remain unrelieved. This we consider the great fact to be considered by philanthropists in our cities. Some mighty consentaneous assault must be made upon the citadels of evil. To be thorough, it must be an organized effort. Some beginnings have been made, but they have not carried the Christian public with them in such a way as to ensure their success. The City Mission, or more properly, the City Tract

Society of New York, is an institution which has the merit of exemplifying Dr. Chalmers's territorial system, on a scale more extensive than any known to us. And the Association for the Improvement of the Condition of the Poor, has applied the very same methods to the relief of temporal suffering. The result of a few months' experiment has in a great degree relieved New York from the annoyance of begging at doors. If the principles of these associations can be pursued and realized, to the extent which they deserve, they will do much for our largest city; we trust their benignant influence will not be confined within its limits.

The evils which swarm and multiply in our great cities are too numerous and too malignant, to be left to cure themselves. Neither will the ordinary, every-day progress of church-effort suffice to abate the nuisance. They must be taken by assault, and by a direct aggression for this very purpose. We believe indeed that true religion never exists in any community, without lessening its social evils and increasing its general happiness, to a certain extent. We believe with M. Frégier, that "Christianity, as an instrument of civilization, is at once the most flexible and the most perfect, which has been placed within the reach of man." But it must be brought to bear. Churches may possess a certain degree of health and happiness, in the midst of a vicious community, without being strong enough or numerous enough to affect the corrupt mass to any sufficient extent. This is the precise state of the fact in our capitals. There are hundreds of churches, but there are hundreds of thousands, who do not belong to them. These persons must be sought out, must be visited, must be made objects of continued and reiterated applications. Supply and demand are not reciprocal agents in morals; these are wants which do not supply themselves. The gospel and the means of elevation must be carried to them. And there are, at this very moment, abundant resources in the churches, to accomplish this end, fully and economically, if they were only organized and brought into action.

There are difficulties connected with this branch of philanthropy, similar to those which encumber the subject of education. There must be unity of plan, division of labour, territorial partition into small fields, numerous labourers, and frequent going over each district. But such a plan, it is found hard to accomplish, in such a condition of society as ours. A government might canton off a city, and carry

domiciliary inspection or relief to every street; but this would not answer our purpose. Were our religious population homogeneous, so that we all were of one persuasion, it would be an easy task to carry the gospel and temporal relief to every poor inhabitant. But we are divided into numerous sects. What shall then be done? Shall we have each denomination of Christians, in its distinctive capacity, to set about the work? It is most evident, that nothing safe and effectual can ever be accomplished by such means. There are a thousand recesses of evil, which the Baptist or the Presbyterian, as such, could never reach. No way seems to be left, but that of Christian union, of various sects, holding common truth. Here, if any where, is a fair field for such exertions; and we are glad to have it in our power to avow a hearty sympathy with efforts of this kind which are now in progress.

Providence has ordered it so that great cities contain all the instrumentality needed for their conservation and advancement. While on one hand they exhibit gross and alarming evils, such as profligate expenditure, luxury, open crime, extreme instances of filth, disease, ignorance, brutality, intemperance, licentiousness, and violence; they afford, at the same time, the means of removing these; namely wealth, intelligence, leisure and piety, in such amount and in such proximity, as to make co-operation easy. So, in fact, the most signal efforts of philanthropy are put forth in cities. Were the energies of religious people in our populous towns organized and concentrated as they might be, the effects would be such as no example has yet reached. The principal obstacles are the jealousy of sect, and the very low state of vital religion. It is our deliberate opinion, that at no time, within thirty years, has the flame of piety burnt lower, in the churches of all persuasions, than at the present hour. Many usages are kept up, *ex opere operato*, in a cold, traditionary way; but the glow which we all remember is no longer present; and so long as this is the case, it is vain to expect great acts of daring or of sacrifice, in opposition to surrounding vice.

It will be easily gathered, from what we have written above, that we are disposed to rely very much on methods, which for brevity we will characterize as frequent, domiciliary, and in districts; in a word, *City Missions*, but modified upon the principle of Chalmers, to which we have been converts for twenty years. Much within that period,

it was our lot to fall in with David Nasmyth, whose name is indissolubly connected with this mode of charity ; a man of singular benevolence and energy, and, if we understand the term, of genuine eloquence. The memoir which has been lately published affects us with sadness ; for it shows how a single error may almost nullify the great actions of a lifetime. The error of Mr. Nasmyth was distrust of the regular ministry, a sentiment which he allowed to gain possession of his mind to such a degree, that at length he seriously advised his coadjutors to have as little as possible to do with clergymen, in the conduct of city missions. As a natural consequence, all his later efforts had a desultory, wild and irregular character, which deprived them of any claim to permanency. We are not of those who would have every thing in the hands of the clergy. We have no morbid dread of lay-teaching. We have never, for an instant, joined in the partisan cry against the labours of colporteurs. We are not prepared to vindicate those jealousies on the part of ministers, which tend to paralyze the arm of the laity. But we are clearly of opinion, that, in every measure, which concerns the dissemination of the gospel, it will be found disastrous to leave out of view that class of men whose precise function this is, by the appointment of Christ. This seems to be also the judgment of Mr. Nasmyth's biographer. Our lamented brother was burning with a love for souls. He had certainly alighted on one or two great principles, in regard to the evangelization of cities. His method, in its last application namely, as it applies itself to the poor and vicious, in their habitations, we deem the only true one. It is, in its great points, that of the New York City Tract Society. But we have not yet seen it presented in such completeness of practice, as to educe the combined energies of the Christian body. No language could well go beyond the truth, in commending the labours of such men as Messrs. Wetmore and Hartley. But these are labours in a single city ; and labours, even there, which are scarcely recognised by many evangelical churches. The rapid growth of our population, and with it of ignorance, irreligion and crime, warn us that what we do in this matter must be done quickly.