

on which Lord Russell refuses arbitration cannot be sustained before the tribunal of nations.

What is a nation's honour, that it should fear injury from the award of an impartial arbiter? Truth, justice, and honesty to other nations and to its own citizens, are its elements. Accuse a nation of actions which imply lying, oppression, or deceit, and you bring charges against its honour. A nation's honour is the honour of its citizens, not in their private acts, nor yet exclusively in their public acts, but in all acts, whether public or private, which concern other nations. A United States gunboat takes a Confederate agent from an English mail steamer, and England's honour demands that he be restored; an English private citizen takes our prisoners from the water, and carries them to England's shore, and our honour is concerned. The moment that one nation claims and another refuses compensation, the honour of each is at stake. If the claim is just, the refusal is unjust, and *vice versa*.

Are the acts of citizens so free from all reproach that a nation must, if called upon, defend them, and refuse to arbitrate the question in dispute, because it involves a question of the honour of a citizen, and thus of the nation that defends him? Blackstone tells us, that it was within the jurisdiction of the court of chivalry to settle points of honour between gentlemen. Nations need no such court, for arbitration affords the method of settling such questions.

An award decides that a nation was endeavouring to hold land that did not belong to it; another, that a nation must make compensation for the acts of its citizens which it once defended; another, that the claims for a long time demanded, even with the threats of war, had no foundation. When the arbiter makes known his award, the losing party performs the award, or withdraws his claim, because his honour compels him to stand by the terms of the submission. In maintaining this last point of honour, he does all that honour requires.

When, in 1817, we were endeavouring to persuade Spain to submit claims very like those since made against England, the great ground on which we urged that they might be referred to an arbitrator was, that in this way the point of honour involved could be saved.

The folly of refusing to submit a question to arbitration, simply because a question of honour is involved, will appear from comparing the position of France in 1859 with that of