

---

"will be beaten in the end, and the independence of the South will afford a guarantee for our safety. If this result is not attained by the South, the war will be long, and we shall in any case be safe—either from exhaustion of our neighbors, or from a divided Union."

Here lies, in my judgment, a serious, if it does not prove a fatal delusion. Whether the Union be restored, or whether it be permanently divided, our risk of attack, at no distant day, remains pretty nearly equal. Indeed it would be difficult to say from which event we may have most to apprehend. If the Union be restored, the United States will be the most powerful and overbearing nation in the world. With a million of men who will have acquired a pretty thorough knowledge of war in the field and in the camp; with a navy, which will have become equal to the defence of her principal sea ports, and with the ocean swarming with privateers to prey on the commerce of England, is there any one who knows anything of American character and American audacity, who dare assert that the United States will hesitate one moment to measure strength with the rival she both hates and fears, but which she nevertheless hopes to humble? Besides the popularity of such a war, can any one doubt the policy of seeking it in order to consolidate the government which just now is shaken with the revolutionary earthquake? The darling doctrine of President Monroe will be at once asserted, and Canada, Cuba and Mexico will be promptly *invited* to join the then irresistible Union.

On the other hand, if there are to be two governments in the place of one, the government of Washington will be compelled to maintain a great standing army, and it may attempt to indemnify itself for the loss of the South by the acquisition of Canada. It by no means follows, because the government of Washington may be unable to subdue eight millions, or twelve millions including the slaves (who do the labor, whilst the whites do the fighting, and who ought, therefore, to count in the military resources of the country) that it may not be able to crush us with only two and a half millions, although backed by all the power of England. Look at the map and there it will be seen that the Confederate States are a great compact country, skirted along the sea coast by a chain of mountains, covering a considerable breadth and extending many hundreds of miles. This country too—larger than all that part of Europe lying west of the Rhine and the Rhone, or rather the mountains of Piedmont, is filled with rivers and other defensive lines, and has a cli-