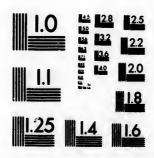


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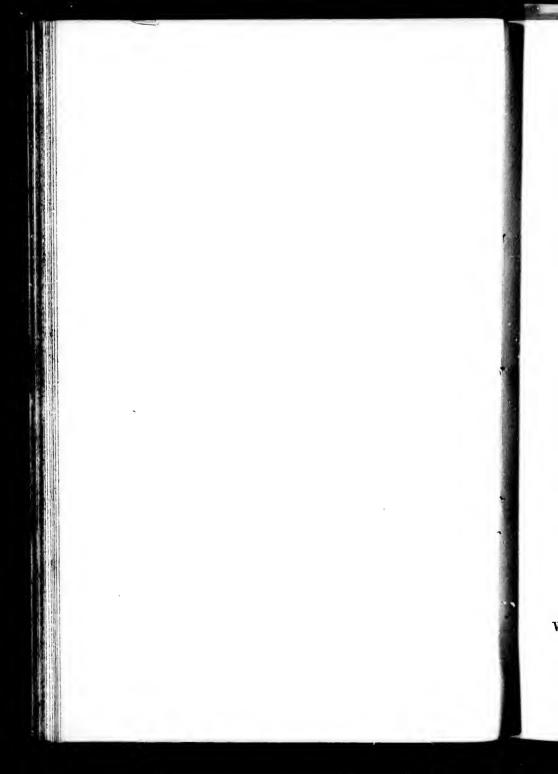
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ENGLAND,

THE

NORTH, AND THE SOUTH.

BY

A. J. B. BERESFORD HOPE, Esq.

THIRD EDITION.

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JAMES RIDGWAY, 169, PICCADILLY, W.

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ENGLAND, THE NORTH, AND THE SOUTH.

I ASSUME a general acquaintance on the part of my audience with the main incidents of the actual civil war in America. We all know that the citizens of what were once the United States are now eagerly and cheerfully cutting each others throats, and that two governments exist in what was formerly one country. have all smiled at the bloodless siege of Fort Sumter. laughed outright at the scamper of Bull's Run, been scandalized at the furious language, in which, after that peaceful seizure and tremendous race, Northern patriots and Northern journals echoed the cry of "The Union or Death;" a cry which heretofore we had only heard in the days of the French Republic, or from the despotism of old absolute monarchies. We have all been amazed at the way in which the North has violated private liberties and added millions upon millions to its national debt, with a recklessness to which Pitt's war taxes were but the bites of a flea to those of a rattlesnake; we have all been scandalized at the shameless extent and openness of official peculation which has come to light, and even been adduced as a reason for the war; and we have, many of us, been saucy enough to point to these facts as illustrations of the working of that cheap government for which America has so often been held up to our veneration. We have all stigmatized that barbarous method of offensive warfare, unparalleled in history and revolting to humanity, which destroys for ever a great mart of trade and harbour of

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refuge open to the ships of the world, by sinking a stone fleet at its mouth. We have all suffered under the vexation of a paper blockade, although, in the cause of peace and national dignity, we felt it was our duty not to inquire too closely into such things, but even to admit the existence of that blockade against the evidence of our own senses and to the hindrance of our own material interests. To crown all, we have been held in a state of suspense, partly of deep and breathless apprehension, partly of indignation, at the lawless and piratical outrage which was perpetrated by Capt. Wilkes on the British flag. We have all been sensible that the honour of England was committed to a stern and immediate demand for an absolute unqualified apology, and the prompt restitution of the abstracted passengers. In this we have succeeded, and all of us-except two or three individuals conspicuous for the manner in which they run counter to the instincts of a great people-have been convinced that the reason why we carried our point was that we had the courage and good sense not to potter and falter about the matter, not to bandy words and arguments, but to go straight in for what we wanted and let our intentions be plainly known. To that vigorous policy, and not to Mr. Seward's generosity or to Mr. Lincoln's statesmanship, do we owe a satisfactory settlement. Few will question either that the appearance of our gallant troops upon the shores of Canada had some share in carrying conviction to the minds of the Cabinet of Washington, while the voice of that great power of Europe, on which they had reckoned to endorse their misdeeds, completed their conversion. But, alongside of generous indignation at the savage conduct, and justifiable contempt for the tall talking and small performances. g a stone

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of the North-alongside of all this, there has been another strain of feeling as sincere, as earnest, as real and as honourable to us as Englishmen as the other. has been a feeling of doubt and anxiety whether Englishmen can sympathize with what has come before us as a rebellion, or can hold communion with slave-holderswhether England has any interest in what seems to be only a scandalous family quarrel. Those questions can be properly answered only by going a little deeper into the history of the war, and into the causes from which it sprang, than newspaper correspondents care to do; those brilliant word-painters being more taken up with the picturesque and romantic aspects of the transaction. At the risk then of being deemed dry and tedious, I must ask your attention to a few important features, chiefly constitutional and commercial, of a very complicated history. But, though I may enter into questions of American politics, I shall do so only as far as I believe they are of importance to this dear old England of ours.

The interests of England are what I care for in entering upon the argument. I leave to certain Journals that vituperative philanthropy which consists in meddling with the concerns of every country which does not want to be meddled with, and in invariably finding out that the honour and the interests of England have to be postponed to their own crotchets. I am satisfied simply to be an Englishman, to look upon the interests of England as upon my own, while I am proud to belong to a country which enables me to make its interests the central point of my survey of the troubles which agitate the world. As an Englishman then I ask the question, Has England any interest at all in the matter? We know how we have been wronged—shamefully, unreasonably, insultingly wronged—by the abuse of the North

—have we any hope of being righted by the South? Has or has not the South any claims upon us beside those which the North once might have had, but has now thrown away? Have rebels and slave-owners any demands at all on that sympathy which England will never manifest save in a cause which has some right on its side? Have we, or have we not, any obligation or interest, sooner or later, to form an alliance with the South? These are questions which can only be solved by looking at the matter, in the first instance, with somewhat of an American eye.

You will be prepared, I dare say, for the first point upon which I intend to insist. I hope to offer to you considerations which tend to prove that it is a mistake in terms to call the South "rebels." The fact is they are no more rebels than we were rebels in 1688, and less than the Americans were who fought under Washington in the early days of George III. The latter could only take the field on the terms of abjuring that personal allegiance which is incidental to the subjects of even a limited monarchy, but which 1688 proved might be abjured. In a republic such as the late American, there is no such personal allegiance, but every citizen is cosovereign.

You may be surprised, however, when I tell you what is the second point for which I am going to contend. It is that, hating as I do in common with all my countrymen, from the bottom of my heart, that detestable system of slavery, wishing to see slavery extinct on the American continent as it is already on every inch of ground over which the British flag waves, I honestly and entirely believe that the cause which will tend to the confirmation of all the evils of slavery, is that of the North, and that the cause which is most likely to prove

a benefit to the slave, and in the end to relieve him from his shackles, is that of the South. First, then, as to the character of the two parties. The Northerners are certainly not rebels. They adhere to the old Federal union, which has existed more than seventy years, and follow the old constitution of the States, under a President elected in the accustomed manner.

Are the Southerners who have cut the cable and put to sea in a barque of their own, rebels? The North, of course, answers yes. The North has 20,000,000 inhabitants, the South 10,000,000; therefore, so far as numbers go, the Northerners have two to one on their side. Numbers, however, afford no decisive criterion in such a case. the South are rebels, they cannot be rebels from the United States, for they form a large section—cut off in the shape of States—of that once union. They are rebels, if at all, from the old constitution which knit together those States. "Federal" loyalty, so far as such a thing has a tangible distinctive existence, must mean loyalty to a document, to the constitution which created and cemented the act of Union. What then is that constitution? I take it for granted you are all acquainted with the broad features of it. The head of the Executive is the President, who is elected for four years, not by the general body of the people, but by certain electoral colleges which are specially appointed for the purpose, the number of these colleges being proportioned to the number of representatives each particular State sends to Congress. This system, by the way, both in theory and practice, has utterly broken down. These electoral colleges do not now exist in order to make a free and independent choice of their own, as the founders of the Union intended, but are elected on "tickets." Every candidate for the Presidency has his "ticket" upon

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which these dummies are sent up to vote for him. Accordingly the President, against the wish of Washington and his fellows, is the mere creation of universal suffrage and of ballot, with this notable singularity that through the machinery of the Electoral Colleges a minority of all the citizens may sometimes elect a President.

In some States the "ticket" may be unanimously in favour of one candidate, while in others his opponent's "ticket" may barely creep in by the smallest majority, leaving the whole minority entirely unrepresented. In 1860, for instance, President Lincoln came in triumphantly at the head of a clear majority of electors—without which his election would have been void—but at the head also of a number of the primary voters who had made those electors, constituting a minority of 1,000,000 of the whole number of voters.

The Vice-President is a dummy who presides over the Senate, and succeeds to the Presidential chair (should its occupant die during his term of office) till the next election arrives. The Senate is elected by the legislatures of the separate States, two senators being allotted to every State, be it large or small. A senator is appointed for six years. Under the Senate is the House of Representatives, which, till the late secession, had consisted (from the first establishment of the Union, notwithstanding the increase of population and addition of new States) of 233 members, elected for as many districts for two years by the whole people. Originally there was one representative to every 33,000 inhabitants, but at the last election it was only one to every 127,000. The Supreme Court of nine Judges, which has even the power of breaking acts of Congress if the Court deem them to be contrary to the constitution, was further devised as a Conservative makeweight, but in this as in many other things the Acngton
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Such is the outside constitution of the United States. What lies beneath is what Englishmen do not generally concern themselves about, but it is very important. There is a popular belief in this country that the President, Senate and House of Representatives are the corelatives of our Queen, Lords and Commons. In mere form they may be partially so—in theory and in practice the analogy breaks down. England is one United Kingdom. The Parliaments of Scotland and Ireland have happily been swallowed up, and there is only one Parliament for the empire. But the United States form a Federal Republic, composed of 34 sovereign States before the present revolution. Each State has its own legislature, its own elected governor, and its own administration.

The Federal Government, with President, Senate, and House of Representatives, exists not as the sole government of the country, but simply as a machinery created to exercise definite specified functions, such as the regulation of the army, coinage, copyright, lighthouses, postoffice, navigation, foreign relations, and so on, which have been delegated to it by the separate States while entering the Federal Union. Behind the Federal Government are the 34 States, each with its own rights and its own officers. And thus this American war, with all its bloodshed, its destruction of great cities and populous towns, its waste of treasure, and insults to Europe, has arisen simply because the South put what the North held to be too liberal a construction on the sovereign rights of the separate States. I do not say the South

is free from blame. I do not call on you to assert that it did wisely in seceding. What I say is that the North declared war against it simply on account of the Southern interpretation of the ambiguous Federal constitution—of a constitution meant to be ambiguous, and intended to hold both opinions.

Out of the 34 States, 13 are old British colonies which rebelled in 1776. The basis of the constitution in every one of these 13 States is either the old one which it possessed while still a dependency of the British Crown, or else that constitution altered by reform bills of its own passing, for in such questions the Federal Congress has no jurisdiction. In the other 21 the constitutions are self-framed on the models afforded by the original set. But whence came the Federal organization which overtops the different States? After the "difficulty" which the Americans had with George III. in 1776, they established a Continental Congress, in whose hands they vested the regulation of matters of national and foreign interest, which were of course mainly the conduct of the war with England and the provision of funds for that That Congress, in which executive and legislaobject. tive powers were ill combined, proved to be a very weak and incomplete instrument for its object of investing thirteen sovereign commonwealths, spreading over many thousand square miles, with the external character of being one power. Accordingly, a more artificial constitution, meant to be permanent, was framed in 1781, under the title of "Articles of Federation and Perpetual Union." The first article set forth that "the style of the Confederacy shall be 'The United States of America'"-the origin of that name. The second stipulated that "each State retains its sovereignty, freedom, and indert that North uthern ition nded to which n every it posown, or ts own ress has ons are inal set. h over-' which 6, they ds they foreign ct of the for that legislary weak nvesting er many of being titution, nder the Union." he Conica ' "--ted that

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pendence and every power, jurisdiction, and right which is not by this confederation expressly delegated to the United States in Congress assembled." By a later article the "Union" was declared "perpetual." As in the provisional Continental Congress, so in these articles no provision was made for an executive, but the Congress sitting in one House and voting by States, was its own Chief of the State and its own ministry, the range of subjects delegated to it being accurately and jealously defined. This new constitution was, I need hardly say, found in a very short time to be clumsy and imperfect; the absence of a distinct executive was a fatal deficiency, for the Congress was too bulky and its proceedings too public to make it a cabinet in itself. The break down took place in 1787, when a "convention" of delegates of twelve States (Rhode Island holding aloof) met under the presidency of Washington to devise a new constitution. The North, which is now carrying war and desolation over the South, maintains that by this new constitution, which is still in force at Washington, the several contracting States resigned their separate sovereignty and independence to the Federal Government; and that in point of fact they respectively sunk into the condition of little more than counties possessed of a species of magnified quarter sessions. Its vindication, if it has one, for so saying, must be found within the four corners of the Constitution of 1787. Let us then examine this document, which was only agreed to after long delays and bitter disputes, Rhode Island and North Carolina withholding assent till a date much later than the other States. The Convention, in the course of its debates, renounced the word "national," as descriptive of the new government. also dropped all mention of its "perpetuity," which had

received a paper guarantee in the previous "Articles." The preamble of the constitution ran thus (there being no preamble to the "Articles"):-" We, the people of the "United States, in order to form a more perfect union, "establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for "the common defence, promote the reneral welfare, and "secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our pos-"terity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the "United States of America." The first article commences, "All legislative power herein granted shall be "vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall "consist of a Senate and a House of Representatives," and continues at great length and under various "sections" to define the attributes and functions of these Houses, abstaining, however, from any further details as to the mode of electing them than as follows. As to the House of Representatives, it is ordered, that it should be "composed "of members chosen every second year by the people of "the several States," (not, be it noted, of the Federal Union), and that "the electors in each State shall have the qualification requisite for the election of the most numerous branch of the State legislature," (a qualification within the sole competence of the State itself)-thus leaving the suffrage, which in the republican theory is the basis of sovereignty, to the arbitrement of the several States independent of each other. As to the Senate, all that is provided is that the senators should be chosen by the legislature of each State for six years. One of the sections contains the list of the attributes of Congress, which are similar to those apportioned to it in the "Articles," which another section defines, in correspondence with these concessions, what negatively each contracting State cannot do-neither the power of internal constitutional

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reform, involving the manipulation of the suffrage, nor the power of life and death being among the functions reserved to the Federal Government. The second article begins, "The executive power shall be vested in the President of the United States of America." This article minutely defines the power both of the President and of the Vice-President. A later article prohibits the subdivision of the States without the consent of their legislatures. Among some additional articles more recently added we find this pregnant one: "The powers not delegated to the "United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited to it "by the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or "to the people." So that actually, whereas the older "Articles of Confederation" specially and emphatically reserved the sovereignty, freedom and independence of the States, this same sovereignty is further and more strongly reserved under this "the tenth additional article" of the existing Constitution; seeing that the delegation of the existing sovereignty was nowhere specified among those things conferred on the Federal Congress and on the President of 1787, which had not been conferred on the Congress of the "Articles" of 1781. I am no lawyer, I know well enough how ingeniously gentlemen of the long robe can evolve the most marvellous conclusions from the simplest form of words; but surely there is no disputing the meaning of this Constitution. The terms which are in dispute are not contained in a long series of half illegible and discordant records ranging over successive generations, and the newest of them some hundreds of years old, couched in the obsolete phraseology of some foreign They are set forth in the language which we all of us speak, and in two documents, each of which was drawn up in the life time of Lord Lyndhurst, who first saw the light in Boston, Massachusetts, four years before the now United States had declared their independence.

The whole controversy then is shut up in these two documents—the Articles of Confederacy of 1781 and the Constitution of 1787. By the deed of 1781, sovereign rights were expressly reserved—by the deed of 1787, all rights were expressly reserved, except a few, which were minutely specified; and the sovereign rights of separate States are certainly not among the list of powers secured to Congress. The common sense of the whole transaction is, that the "Articles" Constitution failed because of its peculiar faultiness in not appointing an executive independent of the Legislature, and in its not providing a strong enough machinery to enforce the specified powers. The essential principle on which the Constitution of 1787 differed from that of 1781 was, that the former did provide an executive. All else in which the two Constitutions differ is comparatively matter of detail. Certainly the question of more or less sovereignty as reserved to the particular States, is not one of these differences. The impudence of those who pretend such to be the case, is absolutely inconceivable: 1781 reserves sovereignty, 1787 takes care not to revoke this reservation, but merely talks of "forming a more perfect Union,"-i. e. creating an executive independent of Congress to act in the cases set apart for Federal action, and giving powers to the Federal authorities to make their jurisdiction felt so far as it was lawful under the constitution itself. " More perfect Union" does not involve any abrogation of the dignity or powers of the States within themselves.

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for those who desired that the Union might be perpetual, we shall proceed to examine. But, in passing, I may remark that the argument which is sometimes raised on the word "United," as if it implied in connection with the "States," the same concorporation which is involved in the use of the same adjective in connection with "Kingdom," and in reference to Great Britain and Ireland, falls to the ground, when it is recollected that the term United States of America is a creation of the Articles of 1781, which reserve State rights. No one who is at all acquainted with the Constitution of the "United Provinces" of the Netherlands will require to be told how much of self-action and of discordant sovereignty may be covered by that adjective, which is of so much older date in that conjunction than in conjunction with the once kingdoms of England and Scotland.

This discovery of the true value of the "Federal" doctrine, I confess fairly staggered me. It happened that I had made, before the disrupture, many American friends, for whom I had the most sincere esteem; and all of them belong to the North. I approached the subject therefore with Northern prepossessions. I disliked the way the North was going on, but I fancied it could construct a

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Very few Southern magazines or newspapers, very few Southern men and women, come to England, compared with those from the North, so that it is no wonder that, at the first blush, we are apt to accept the Northern view of the matter, which is most constantly before us, and particularly so when the Slavery question intervenes. But when I come to read papers and books on both sides, I am startled to find, as I have just explained, that the legal arguments on which the North rests almost its entire case,

and on which it brands the Secession as a rebellion, are but as smoking flax and broken reeds. Still the North has one very strong point, which we are bound most fully to acknowledge. It is always a great misfortune to any partnership, company, or society, when a winding-up clause is omitted from the deed of co-partnery or constitution, although Courts may exist which have winding-up jurisdiction. That misfortune pertains to the United States, which in their agreements of 1781 and 1787, made no provision for a possible difference of opinion between the partners or for the dissolution of the firm. In 1781, indeed, "perpetuity" was predicated, though not in 1787.

Thus the Constitution of the United States is a very ambiguous document. It was made so purposely. A straightforward document drawn up in the sense in which the North seeks to construe it, would never have received the assent of those thirteen jealous, ambitious States, who then hated and distrusted each other only a little less than they did England. It was, I say, on this negative enforcement of a perpetual Union, and on the ambitious greed for unlimited extension of empire through the adherence of fresh States to the Federation that the Unionists rested for the preponderance of their doctrine. They had much to hope for, no doubt, in these two considerations, and so their rage at the failure of their calculations is proportionately unbounded.

Assume for a moment that the Southern States had good cause for secession. I will come to that presently, but just assume it in the meantime. They may have been wrong in that impression, but if they entertained it, what were they to do? There was no winding-up jurisdiction open to them. It would have been as absurd to appeal

to Congress, to let them out of the Union, as for a mouse to be eech the cat not to eat it up. The majority in Congress would notoriously have been against them. The only alternative then was between submission to what they held to be national suicide or secession from the Union. We must own that secession was irregular, but we cannot pronounce it unjustifiable, without denying that right of justifiable revolution which underlies every Constitution, and asserting that not even the subiects of a Bomba or a Hien Fung would have a right to secede from the jurisdiction of their tyrant. No man, with the history of the last 174 years before him, would advocate such a doctrine in England who was not prepared to take his stand in a sort of moral pillory and to be pelted and abused by the Press and public of his country. The right of secession has indeed been several times preached in the United States, and once it was attempted. The seceder on those occasions was Massachusetts.

I must now take a great leap across the years. From 1781 and 1787, I must bring you down to the present time. In the interval, the United States had developed from an Atlantic power to one which stretched across the American continent and took in the Pacific sea-board, and the number of the States had risen from 13 to 34, while the whole Union had grown prodigiously in population, and had added immensely to those territories, which had not yet received the organization of States. Serious differences had also been developed between the sections of the Federation during these years. Apart altogether from the great question of slavery and free labour, other distinctions in climate, occupations and produce exist between North and South.

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States had presently, have been ed it, what urisdiction I to appeal a wheat producing and timbered region, with a comparatively cold climate in both. The South with a hot climate and a fertile soil, is devoted almost exclusively to agriculture, to the cultivation of sugar, tobacco, rice, maize, and above all, cotton. The South has nearly 9,250,000 of inhabitants, of which almost 6,000,000 are whites, nearly all of English blood, with the exception of the French stock in Louisiana; while the addition of the Border States would add 2,500,000 of whites to less than 500,000 slaves. The North has rather over 19,000,000 of a very mixed race. The Northerners are traders of all degrees; the Southerners are rather countrymen—some gentlemen with large estates, others smaller freeholders, and the rest the sort of population which would naturally exist between those proprietors and the black field-hands.

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Hence sprang up widely divergent interests which have for so many years been seeking either a battle field or a basis of agreement in the Congress at Washing-As is usual everywhere there were two leading parties in the United States. In the original States the two were the "Federalists," led by Washington, who contended for large Federal rights, and desired a strong centralized government, such, as we have seen 1787 did not give them, and the Democrats who represented State rights and Federal government reduced to the narrowest limits. The Democrats were then under the lead of that mischievous statesman and bad man, Thomas Jefferson, who to his advocacy of States rights added an ultra democratic bias, with which that doctrine had no natural affinity. Both sides were thus led by Virginian slave-holders. In process of time party distinctions became weaker in the South, while political antagonism gained strength in the North.

The Federal party converted itself into the "Whigs,"

and subsequently, within very recent years, underwent another transformation, from which, under the auspices of Mr. Seward, it emerged as "Republican." It favoured the manufacturing and shipping interests of the North, and advocated restrictive navigation laws and prohibitory tariffs. The Democrats leaned to the other side, and the Southerners, who in our sense of the phrase were of aristocratic tendencies, joined the Democrats. The alliance of the South with the northern Democrats, but half-hearted and temporary from the first—a coalition rather than a fusion—gradually grew more unreal.

The charge so often brought against the South that it once ruled the Union, and that when the spell was broken it seceded in a huff, is but half true. It is true that the Democrats did once rule the Union, for they were the better statesmen, and in this statesmanship the Southern element was conspicuous; but these ruling Democrats had their Northern side, and it was only by an unsatisfactory system of give and take, that the South, with its distinct interests but parliamentary minorities, was able, through the coalition, to maintain its equilibrium. The split between the Douglas and the Breckenridge sections, in 1860, apparently so wanton, was in truth but the last severance of a long weakened cord. The other side, in changing from Whig to Republican, assumed a much more decidedly antagonistic attitude to the South, and in this character consolidated its strength in the North. The North, as I have said, was all for nursed manufactures and protection, - the South was all for free trade. in as much as it wanted a fair market for its produce. To give you some idea of the navigation laws which Northern influence had carried, I may mention that one regulation is that any American who buys a ship in a foreign market cannot employ it in American waters, unless he spends

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besides two-thirds of the purchase money in refitting it in some American dockyard. While we have thrown open our own coasting trade to our great loss, the Americans have jealously closed theirs to all vessels save their own. The consequence is that New England monopolised the trade of America, not merely to the exclusion of old England and other nations, but also at the expense of the Southern States. The enormous prohibitory duties, coupled with the determination of commerce, through those navigation laws, to Northern ports, particularly to New York, have prevented the South from finding the market for its agricultural produce, to its own greatest advantage, in the free harbours of the world, where it would be able to purchase foreign goods at a fair rate in return. In plain words, New York, with its reckless trading and bubble banks, has been for years setting itself up as the commercial capital of the New World, and thereby, if it might be, of the Old World also, and has found no law of protection too decayed or too disreputable to serve its purpose. engaged in a gigantic and dangerous conspiracy to bully and cajole the rest of the world out of their legitimate trading rights, all for its own benefit. New York is to America what Paris is to France—the bad influence at head-quarters which pervades and demoralises the whole body.

Slavery, of course, mixes itself up with the matter. Let me repeat the utter aversion with which I regard that abominable traffic; but let me remind you that—to our shame be it spoken—it was a bequest which England left to the United States. Twelve out of the thirteen States found themselves saddled with slaves at the time of the revolution. Years went on. The North found that its climate did not agree with slave labour. So the Northern folk abolished slavery within their own

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borders, and sold their slaves to the South. That was how the North got rid of slavery and of the slave at once. But it still derived its share of profit from the institution. New York, with its navigation laws and protective tariff, of course commanded the export trade. The men of New York were not slow to advance their dollars on mortgage to slave estates. The slave trade to America was abolished by Congress, but New York did not scruple to send its ships to conduct that trade in negroes which was still carried on between Africa and Cuba, to the disgrace of Spain. I have unveiled the hypocrisy, let me exhibit the uncharitableness of the North. In the South, no doubt, the slave is held as a chattel, but he is well treated; in social matters he is regarded as a fellow creature; he kneels at the same altar as the white man, and travels in the same train. But in the North, the church, the tavern, the railway car, which the white man frequents, are prohibited to the free black, who is treated with as much aversion and loathing as if he were a loathsome reptile. In the distribution of the 233 districts which send representatives to Congress, five blacks (who have no vote) count as three whites. That gives the North, of course, an advantage over the South in a country where representation is based on numbers, and where the electoral districts are carved out according to the whole population (including women) and not according to the number of voters.* Moreover, the

^{*} Some mystification exists on this head, and it is often assumed that this ratable enumeration of non-voting blacks was an advantage to the Southern States. No doubt it was a less disadvantage than their total omission would have been; but on any theory which admits that representation should take account of property as well as of mere numbers it was a disadvantage. The argument—only possible in a land of universal (i.e. manhood) suffrage—that the blacks as non-voters should not count, ought to be pushed further, and women, children, and aliens be omitted in the decennial allotment.

congressional districts are re-distributed every ten years, according to the census; and thus, although the South is gaining in population, yet, because the North grows more rapidly, it has been irresistibly and gradually absorbing the balance of members from the former. 1859, the number of members was 237, because two new States which had been added since the last distribution, received the temporary allotment of two members each. Out of these, 147 belonged to the North, 90 to the South. Last year, but for the secession, the original number 233 would have been resumed; and while the North would have had 149, the South (including the border States) would have had only 84. Tenessee went down from 10 to 8, and yet its population had increased by 133,974; while South Carolina, which had increased by 46,864, sank from 6 to 4. The presidential electors in each State equal the number of its senators (which is always 2) and of its representatives combined. Therefore the same course of gradual supercession which tended to upset the South's legitimate influence in Congress equally tended to diminish its voice in the nomination of the Federal executive. The South was driven to the expedient of winning votes by procuring the admission of new slave States, without regard to the economic advantage of slavery in them, for each State meant two senators and at least one representative to Congress, the strict numerical rule being so far relaxed as to permit there being at least one representative for each State. Still, year by year the South found its representation growing less and less, and saw the North not only gaining the influence which it was losing, but exerting it for the purposes of oppression and fraud.

We are often told that New York has all along been

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a Southern city in heart. I deny the fact in toto. New York has all along been pre-eminently selfish and grasping. Up to 1860 it believed that its own interest was best secured by taking the South in pawn, maintaining slavery, crippling its commerce on one side, and on the other advancing money on mortgage to the men it was devouring—in other words, sustaining the Union, slaves and all, because the Union sustained New York. So New York was "Democrat." But once the South had freed itself from New York's serpentine coil, that city turned round most fiercely against it in its character of an independent commonwealth, and clamoured most savagely for its reconquest nominally to the Union, really to New York. Of course New York's position as the great seaport of America would not be damaged by the destruction of Charleston and other harbours; while its floating capital would find a ready investment in those railways converging to itself which the destruction of Southern outlets would necessitate. A fool sometimes blurts out what wise men would rather keep concealed; so, I observe, that model New York rowdy, "Manhattan," in a recent letter, indulges-supposing the alternative of a forced reunion, even with "Jeff. Davis ruling the whole land," to be hopeless-in the dream of New York seceding on its own account as a free city, with free trade with the whole world, as the next best thing to its former character as the protectionist entrepôt of a vast realm. In the earlier days of the cisruption, before the North had declared against it, similar theories were not unfrequent. and the new mayor of the city seems feeling his way in the same direction. Besides these commercial restrictions, another thing irritated and alarmed the South. I suppose there is no man in this country who would

say that when slavery is abolished by superior legislation, the slave-owners ought not to receive compensation. That is a mere matter of common honesty, about which one would hardly think there can be two opinions. A few years ago, however, a Mr. Helper, who is the mouth-piece of the ultra-abolitionists in the North, published a work on Slavery, which appeared headed by a recommendation from 68 members of Congress, including Mr. Seward, the present Secretary of State, who, but for a tremendous party intrigue, would have been returned as President, instead of his tool, Mr. Lincoln, as well as Mr. Sherman, another Republican leader. In that book Mr. Helper talked much rampant nonsense, such as swearing to abolish slavery, even if its supporters annihilated the solar system. But here and there a more practical passage occurs in it-"Compensation to slave-owners for negroes! preposterous idea-the suggestion is criminal, the demand most wicked, monstrous, damnable." And then he goes on to call the slaveholders "curs" and "whelps," and such like pretty names.

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When a popular abolitionist writer talked in this way, with the approval of eminent public men in the North, of the confiscation of a mass of property £500,000,000 in value, it was no wonder if the South grew alarmed. If it is said that Mr. Seward's general policy belies his recommendation of Helper, the answer is why then have taken Helper up? There is little cause for surprise, if after this, when Mr. Seward came into office, the citizens of the South thought it high time to examine whether the State sovereignty, granted by the Constitution of 1781 and not abolished in 1787, was or was not a reality. I am not arguing whether secession was wise or necessary.

I am not asking whether Mr. Seward was sincere in his recommendation of Helper, I only seek to show that it will not do glibly and offhand to stigmatize the South, as New York editors and stump orators wish us to do, as mere rebels.

The new Constitution which the Confederate States adopted at an early stage of the secession may be taken as a good test of their character and intentions. If the preamble is very like the preamble of the old oneexcept that the former invokes the favour and assistance of Almighty God, a sanction not sought for in 1787there is one article found in the new Constitution of which there is no trace in the Federal one, although the matter had been dealt with by an Act of Congress, and that is the absolute and unconditional prohibition of the slave trade. The advocates of the North may call this merely dust to blind Europe. But it is fair to give to words their legitimate value. The South knows that in order to succeed at all, upon its platform of free trade, it must keep friends with Europe, and it also knows that Europe would not tolerate a return to the slave trade. More particularly must it be aware that Europe would very jealously scan this provision voluntarily imported into its constitution by itself, and make its literal and perpetual observance a sine qua non in all future relations with the Confederate States. Of course the internal difficulties in repealing a provision of the Constitution would be much greater than in dealing with a mere Congressional act. Then the President is to be elected for six years with no right of re-election, instead of four years with such privilege in the United States. Another new feature is, that ministers were allowed a voice, although no vote, in both houses of Con-

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gress. These provisions strike a fatal blow at much intriguing and corruption; which are generated under the old Constitution, by the President striving, in very crooked ways, for re-election, and by ministers procuring mouthpieces in Congress, by means of back-stairs influence, promoted, of course, by a private understanding with individual members, having a pecuniary side to it. In the United States a notorious and terrible source of corruption has hitherto existed, to an ever-increasing extent, in the practice of re-appointing every four years, not merely the President, but every Federal official, down to each custom-house officer, and each postmaster in the smallest village. This system of universal electioneering bribery, for such it is -combined with universal suffrage and the ballot, neither of which forms a portion of the Federal Constitution, but each of which has been introduced into the States one after another, with certain exceptions in the South-has produced the most disastrous and melaucholy results. Constitutional forms and safeguards have been turned into mockeries, delusions, and snares; free and independent elections become an impossibility. To make matters worse, Federal and State elections take place together, the latter frequently involving nominations to the Judge's bench; while both the Governors and Legislatures (in both Houses) of the States are chosen for very short terms, sometimes annual. With the extended suffrage no man can vote for his own candidate, as in England, but he must accept the "ticket," that is, the list of candidates drawn up by a knot of pestilent fellows, members of "caucuses," and election agents, who are often the very scum and refuse of society. These men concoct the tickets, and the electors are often ignorant of the persons of the men whom they support. The gentry are compelled to hold aloof from

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such a set, and are practically disfranchised. It is no wonder that American constituencies have become sinks of ignorance and folly, compared with which a metropolitan borough is an orderly and enlightened The leverage which works all this is simply the prospect of reward which is held out to the professional abettors of misgovernment and the partizans of corruption in that disgraceful scramble for berths in the Custom House and places in the Post Office, which every four years crowds the dirty streets of Washington. Far be it, of course, from us to depreciate that other source of rapine, the division of the spoils incident on State and Municipal appointments. You will easily fill up this side of the picture. Well, what did those Southern men, met at Montgomery to form a constitution, do about bribery? They simply and absolutely did their best to knock it on the head, as far as Confederate patronage went, by making all offices (except seats in the Cabinet) tenable during good behaviour, and by requiring the President, in the case of any dismissal, to submit the reasons to the Senate. It is well known that the Federal Congress has elastic powers over its revenues by which it may, for example, make railways through the territories of the Union, and that this power has been jobbed to an unparalleled extent. The Southern constitution prohibits the application of Confederate revenue to any object which is not purely of a political character, with reference to the special attributes of the Confederation, and also forbids the granting of bounties. Again, it entrusts the President with the power of vetoing any portion of an Appropriation Bill and sanctioning the remainder. That is a more important change than a stranger would at first imagine.

the Federal Congress all sorts of measures which have really no connection with each other are passed pell-mell in one bill; and so, when any job more monstrous than another has to be perpetrated, this plan, popularly called "log-rolling," is had recourse to. The abominable and revolutionary Morill Tariff was smuggled through after that fashion in the same bill with certain necessary enactments. The process is done by "lobbying" and "rushing." You all know the sort of men who are too often legislators in the States-not men of means, social standing, education, and intelligence, but specimens culled out of the worst class of jobbing politicians, fellows with the loudest voice and fewest scruples, who have not a cent in their pockets, but who follow legislation as a profession and livelihood, and to whom the salary which is there attached to a seat in Congress is not the least inducement which determines them to seek that honour. In England a member may be weak enough to do a job now and then to keep well with some greedy and pertinacious constituent. In the States the job is perpetrated for the benefit of the member also. The agent who haunts the lobby, and the member, both belong to the same class, they are probably confederates together, the prospective lobbying which they may be able to effect being part of the bargain by which one of them got on the ticket and the other worked to secure his election. That is "lobbying." "Rushing" is the hurrying through of bills in the last hours of an expiring Congress, which necessarily comes to an end at midnight on the second 4th of March after its election, when there is no time to examine them, when a lot of members are tipsy with gin-slings and brandy cocktails, and when the President seated in a little room,

almost out of his senses with worry and confusion, is signing bills as fast as ever his pen can scrawl, without having the opportunity of perusing them. The power of veto which the South has given to its President will afford a valuable corrective to that shameful system, for he can of course pick out what really must be passed in a money bill and refuse the residue.

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I now return to the question of slavery. I have shown that the North is as culpable, aye, more so, than the South in regard to slavery. The North profits by the unhallowed traffic in human flesh and blood, and it has actually gone into this civil war for the purpose of perpetuating slavery as an integral feature of the United States, for it knows that, if once the South parts from the Union, its own means of sharing the profits of slavery are at an end. There is no doubt a small, but sincere and earnest, abolitionist party in the North, with whom the Republicans have played fast and loose as long as it suited their pur-It remains to be seen whether that party may not get the upper hand. If they do so, the result will be immediate emancipation, which means bloodshed, outrage, destruction of property, and perpetual starvation over the South, by the letting loose of a race half-savage, halfchildish, and their transference into a position of freedom for which they are wholly without preparation. In the meanwhile the dismissal of Mr. Cameron, the member of the Cabinet who showed the strongest abolitionist sentiments, is not very like the acceptance of that policy.

The abolitionists are straining every nerve to succeed. Wendell Phillips and Lloyd Garrison who for the last 25 years have been cursing the Union as a league with the devil, a "covenant with hell," are now braying about its virtues, and making violent and inflammatory speeches

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in favour of its maintenance at the cannon's mouth. The policy of these fanatical or rather anarchical republicans, is of course to trade with slavery as a weak part in the old established institutions of their country, with a view to general communism and confiscation. Phillips has for many years proclaimed himself a disunionist and desired secession. Now that it has come, and now that he may be a citizen of a republic which has no slavery, he is invoking fire and the sword upon the South. the proclamation which General Phelps lately issued in Ship Island, off the coast of Louisiana, asserting that slavery was unconstitutional in all the States which had been added to the original federation, (i.e. in Louisiana itself), and declaring the emancipation of the slaves in the original States ought to commence at once. Can anything be more monstrous or more anarchical? Is there any other part of the world where a subordinate would have dreamed of issuing such a manifesto? Consider too the morality of General Fremont's famous proclamation, for which he was justly recalled by the President, which promised liberty to the slaves of men who were for the South, while those who belonged to the partizans of the North were to remain in bonds. Thus according to Fremont, slavery is a sin in a subject of President Davis, but in a follower of President Lincoln it is to be encouraged and protected. Even if the North should—which I do not believe—become emancipationist under the stress of this war, I shall have deep misgivings as to the result. It would become so, not because it believed in the Christianity of emancipation, but in hopes of ruining that South which it despaired of conquering in fair fight. Could any good results come out of such a motive?

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Will the success and independence of the South be a death-blow to the hope of the slave? I trust and Heretofore, the South has been obliged to play with slavery as a valuable card in its political game with the North, in Congress. Once free from that irritating and oppressive contest, the South will be able to deal with it as a matter of social convenience and prosperity, and not of vital political influence. condition of the slave has already been much ameliorated, in ensuing years much more will be done with the same tendency. To be a benefit to the slave, emancipation must be gradual not sudden. There are numerous stages of serfdom between absolute freedom and absolute servitude. In absolute servitude the slave is a mere chattel, and the law winks at any cruelty, even the cruelty of murder which the master may inflict on him. not the case in the Slave States of America. In absolute independence, on the contrary, the free man may rule the State or sit upon the tribunal of justice. But the gradations of privilege between the condition of a chattel, and the potentiality of rule, are infinite. There are rights more or less restricted of holding property, rights of testimony, municipal and guild privileges, rights of partnership, &c. &c. It is only wise men legislating in times of peace who can introduce the negro into those various conditions of constitutional liberty, so as to raise and to regenerate the commonwealth. Our generation is not responsible for the existence of the negro in America, and our generation must not try to meet that evil by creating a contrary one. Once let the South be released from the harassing contest it has hitherto had to maintain with the North, and it must perforce be brought into intimate relations with Europe, upon whom it must rely for its manufactures, education and literature. It will be brought into direct contact with the public opinion of Europe, which will irresistibly compel it to change its course in regard to slavery; the better and more enlightened men in the South will be led to comprehend the vices of the slave system, and to imbibe higher and more Christian ideas on the subject: and these will, in turn, constrain the more bigoted and ignorant to follow their line of policy. We are perpetually called upon to admire the Brazilian Empire as an example of good constitutional government and material progress beside the woeful anarchy of Mexico and other of the Spanish American republics. Yet strange to say, slavery exists in the Brazils, while in Mexico it has been abolished. I trust the very fact of the good character which the Brazils have earned in Europe may lead to such reflex ac ion as may tend in time to emancipation. But in the mean while it would not be fair to have one pair of spectacles through which to view the Brazils, and another for the Confederate States, whose affinities of language will bring them into much closer intercourse with us than we could expect with the South American Empire. Renouf, in the able pamphlet which he recently published, l'Europe et l'Union Americaine, insists verv strongly upon the hopeful view of the case, and points out how forcibly and infallibly the public mind of Europe may be exerted for good upon the Southern slave-holder, who will be induced to commute servitude into serfdom, and gradually to prepare the slave for the day when a coming generation, under the blessing of God, will be able to do what the present generation cannot—give him full and unrestricted freedom. But just as the kindly influence of England and

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France may be employed on the South for the good of the slave, so may the refusal of Europe to give them countenance and support, lead them in spite to review the prohibition of the slave trade, and to agitate for its re-establishment in all its horrors.

It was in self protection that the South carried the Fugitive Slave Law through Congress, which as English journals have been constantly reminding us of late, was due to the efforts of Mr. Mason; but when they seceded, they virtually repealed that statute, because, of course, it was not to be expected that the North would give the same protection to proprietors in foreign countries which had hitherto been accorded to them while they were fellow-citizens under the same Union.* In refer-

* Since the delivery of this lecture the newspapers have published the bill which the Military Committee of the House of Representatives reported on the subject of the property and the slaves of the Confederates; recommending a system of universal confiscation, which is likely to render it an eminently pacificatory proposition. We may, however, while dismissing it as a serious programme, profitably study it as an indication of Northern feeling. It will be remarked, that emancipation is dealt with, as in General Fremont's proclamation, as a penal measure; and the period of compulsory labour, which is to bridge over the interval between servitude and freedom, is to be the wholly inadequate period of 5 years, or until 25 years of age of all under 21. But the cream of the whole matter is to be found in the suggestion, that "The President shall acquire in Mexico, South "America, Central America, or islands in the Gulf of Mexico, lands, " or the right of settlement on lands, to which emancipated slaves "shall be transported, single persons receiving 40 acres of land, " and married persons 80 acres." -

The bearings of this recommendation are sufficiently obvious. The Federal Union lays claim to still unpeopled territories, west of the settled States, large enough to settle all the slaves of the South upon, and to hold millions of whites besides. But political emancipationism will have none of this. It was not enough to use the negro as a

ence, however, to the same Mr. Mason those papers forgot to say that it was he who made the motion in the Senate, which led to the most graceful act of courtesy which the American government has shewn to England for many years, the refitting and return of the Resolute.

Having cleared the ground thus far, I now enter upon the more important part of the subject. Hes England any interest in wishing success to either side? I do not say that, but I say that England has an interest in wishing to see peace established on the only possible terms for the happiness of the world—the final and complete separation of the two commonwealths. If you say that this is wishing success to the South, it is not my fault that it should be so. It is not my fault that all along the South has only sought to be let alone and to depart from the Union in peace, and that the North has been fighting for empire and for the suppression of what

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weapon of revenge against the men who dared to interpret the Constitution in the sense of State rights, without making him also an instrument of aggression upon the remaining world. A negro territory on the plan of the Indian territory is an unclean thing, and one which must never pollute the surface of the greatest republic on earth. So this Committee of Congress, almost in face of Confederate batteries, proposes the "acquisition," i.e. conquest, if needful, of additional territory, where the Union has always lusted after a footing, in Mexico, the West Indies, or South America, as the locale of its ricketty free-black settlement. I need hardly point out that such a colony would carry with it a military governor and a Federal garrison in Mexico, or the West Indies, or on the shores of South Americaand "What next and what then?" The cool effrontery of basing this advice upon Mr. Lincoln's aversion to emancipation without colonization is perfect, for no man of sense will believe, that even supposing the possibility of the establishment of such a colony, its political undertakers and military protectors would long rest without using it as a leverage for further acquisitiveness.

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ne Couim also negro ng, and ıblic on onfedeneedful. after a e locale at such garrison erica--basing without at even ony, its without they term a rebellion by the light, in General Butler's words, of the "smoking and rebellious cities" of the South. I will assume that peace with the South need not involve war with the North. I will assume farther that both parties have ambassadors at the Court of St. Should we derive any advantage from the double diplomatic representation? I need not expatiate on the advantages we have derived and may hereafter obtain from an alliance with the North. I have not got them catalogued, but I take them on trust. Well, then, the South is of immense extent and exuberant fertility, it is given up to agriculture, yields produce which we want-rice, sugar, tobacco and cotton-and consumes goods which we manufacture. I hope with all my heart that Indian cotton may succeed, and that the industry of the world, taught by the experience of the present blockade, will not allow itself in future to be wholly dependent on Carolina and other Southern States for its supply of raw cotton. But in any event the Southern cotton will always fetch its price in the market. South is not a manufacturing community, although under the pressure of stern events, it has turned its hand to manufactures, with much success, as you may read in a recent number of Blackwood's Magazine. Hitherto the North by brokerage, protective navigation laws, and so on, has kept all the trade of the South in its own greedy clutches: but if we make peace with the South all that will be at an end. London may then occupy on more generous conditions the position which New York has hitherto held in regard to the South. The cotton growers will export their produce direct to Liverpool, and will make their purchases in Manchester, Birmingham, and The fewer vessels the South has of its own

the more gladly will it welcome English bottoms into its ports—the fewer coasting craft which it owns, the more willingly will it admit English, Canadian and Nova Scotian vessels to its coasting trade. The South starts with unlimited free trade, and that is much in its favour. This cannot fail if we only use the opportunity, to lead to a direct, immediate and expansive trade, of the most

profitable character, with England.

Then the South is not devoid of political sympathies with England. Formerly the South was as guilty as the North in its swaggering, bunkum, and tall talk. spread eagle flapped its ruffled wings as insolently in the one part of the Union as in the other. But the very fact of recent events has moderated the violence of the South and compelled it to fall back on such old world phrases as "balance of power," "foreign relations," and "respect for frontiers." We may be told that that has not arisen from statesmanship or good sense; but the fact is indubitable. The South has become moderate, it is the business of Europe to keep it so. Let Europe take it at its word, lest by some strange freak of events it be driven back to an alliance with the North, and the spread eagle rise again from its ashes. Otherwise neither North nor South will hereafter be paramount; but either may be a great power. When Illinois and the neighbouring States, and when California have respectively consummated their secessions, each of these will also become a great power. The balance will be maintained to the North by Federated British America, to the South we may hope by a regenerated Mexico.

I am afraid the friendship and affection of the North is not very strong at this moment. It has envied us all along, and will continue to envy us, unless some strange

turn of the wheel of fortune changes its temper. The more, then, ought we to cultivate the goodwill of the South. No false charity or absurd Quixotism should prevent us from accepting opportunities which seem to be dropping, like ripe fruit, into our mouths.

I have shown you that an alliance would enable Europe to exercise its influence on the South in favour of the slave,—the influence, not of narrow semi-religious cliques who have hitherto handled the question, but of real politicians and eminent statesmen, the leading minds of Europe, to the force of which slavery must in time succumb. I own that the North may in some of its districts be more advanced in education, literature, and science, than the South, but these accomplishments are associated with some of the worst features of its vain and turbulent character. If much of the South is not so well educated, it has the opportunity of becoming so. North is as clay that has been set, moulded, and baked, and has come out, after all, a showy, but coarse and inferior article. The South is still as clay in the hands of the potter. Let Europe give its growing civilization a better direction and a higher form. It is in this way that we may look for some abiding good influence from an alliance between the South and Europe. It will seek our schools and our money markets; we shall send our sons there, primarily on their own business, but still as persons influential in the spread of English ways of thought.

One very practical proof of the best and proper course for us to follow may be derived from the behaviour of our American colonies. Canada and Nova Scotia possess stronger republican tendencies than can exist in the old country; they are knit up with the North in intimate

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e North d us all strange commercial relations; they are fervent and sincere abolitionists; and have every opportunity of appreciating Northern character and Northern policy. At first they began by sympathising with the Federals, but before long they changed their key, and they now denounce the North, and clamour for a cessation of the cruel and hopeless internecine strife.

The truth is that Canada and Nova Scotia are nearer the scene of action, and perceive more clearly and accurately the real bearings of the affair.

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I have been charged with too much bias on one side. I have endeavoured to do full justice to both parties. have not shown as fully as I might have done how superior in statesmanship the South is to the North. I have restrained my tongue in speaking of that "deed without a name" which destroyed the harbour at Charleston, and of the many insults which have been showered upon our country. I must be permitted but one word on the merely American aspect of the To any one who does not live under the question. stars and stripes, the ultimate disruption of the States A glance at the map is a mere matter of time. will show you the four or five divisions into which it must ultimately split up. Is it not the very mercy of God that this split should take place while the wide land is still so sparsely populated?

What might not be the horrors of a split were it postponed to that epoch which Lord Macaulay anticipated for the disruption, when all that vast extent of country was peopled up to its full producing powers! It has come long before that period, while there are yet millions icere ating they efore unce land earer accuside. s. I how Jorth. ' deed ur at been nitted f the er the States map which rcy of

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of virgin acres to be occupied, and while there is room for the disputants to separate peacefully. It is not too much to say, that the voice of nature and civilization echoes the cry of 'Separate in peace.' Why will the North stop its ears to the cry? Are we then—to adopt Lord Russell's most felicitous definition—to wish good luck to the North in its struggle for domination, or to the South in its struggle for independence? see some good for England in either result. If the South wins, I fancy I can descry glimmering on the horizon, gradual freedom for the slave, a liberal conservative constitution growing out of unbridled democracy, free trade with a boundless expanse of the richest soil, from which English mills and English ships will reap a golden harvest, the high civilization of old Europe pervading a people prepared and grateful for its influence, and a true ally, not only for England on the Channel, but for England on the St. Lawrence. If the North wins I would fain hope to see it enter into a fair and wholesome competition with ourselves-the rich ironmasters of Pennsylvania competing with those of Wolverhampton, the men of Massachusetts with the men of Manchester. I would trust and pray that the feelings of that fervent political people may be tempered with more moderation and generosity for others, and that the Federal Government may cordially respect the integrity of Canada as a dependency of Great Britain. Sanguine as I am I cannot be blind to the difficulties which surround that consummation. When I turn my eyes in that direction, I behold a dense bank of clouds and fogs, through which oom visions of Federal bankruptcy, and prolonged and aggravated internecine feuds. I see the shackles of the slave rivetted more firmly than ever, or else the whole institution of slavery swept away in a whirlwind of carnage and arson, lust and outrage, famine and desolation, the worst passions of an unchained democracy let loose to work out its dream of universal insult and promiscuous conquest, or else a military despotism placing its iron yoke upon an enslaved people, and hounding them on to outrage and aggression against the world.

THE END.

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