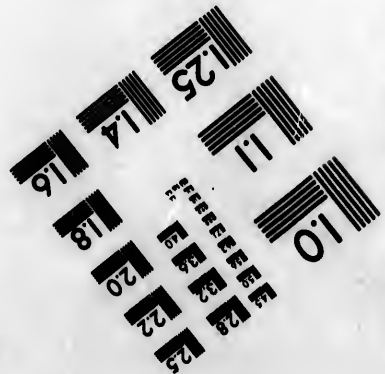
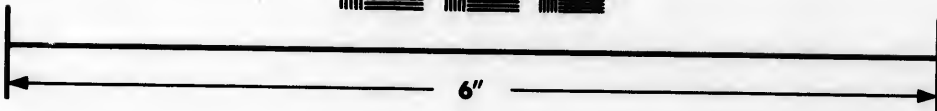
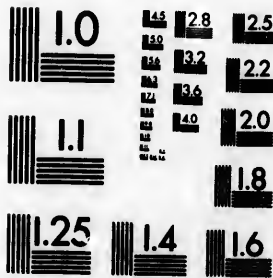


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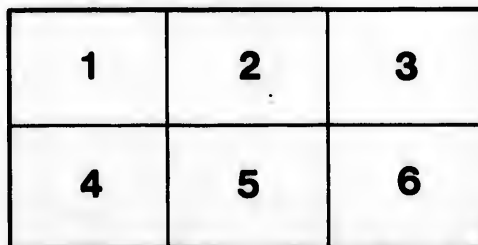
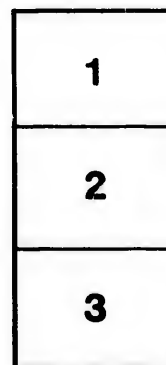
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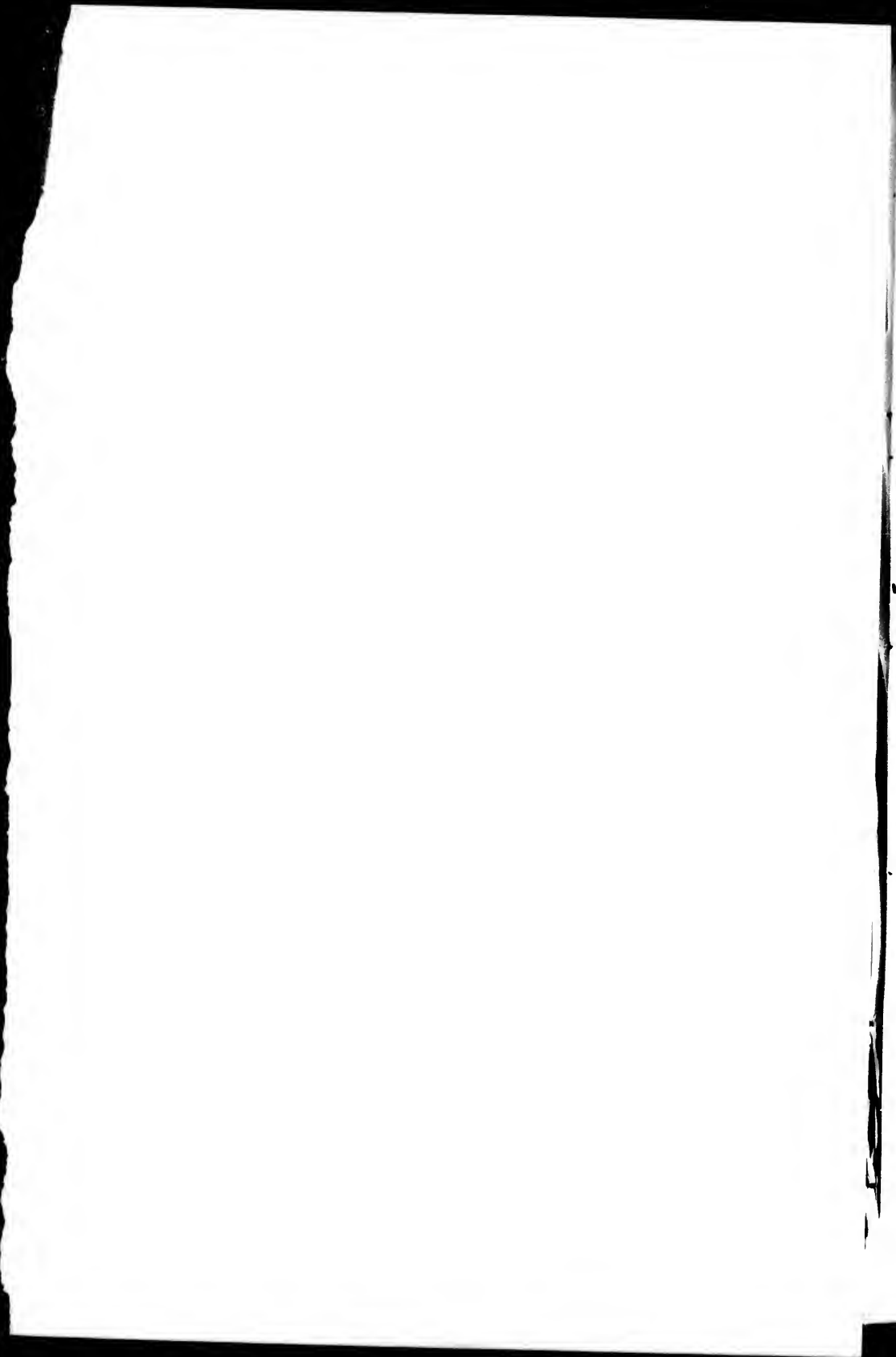
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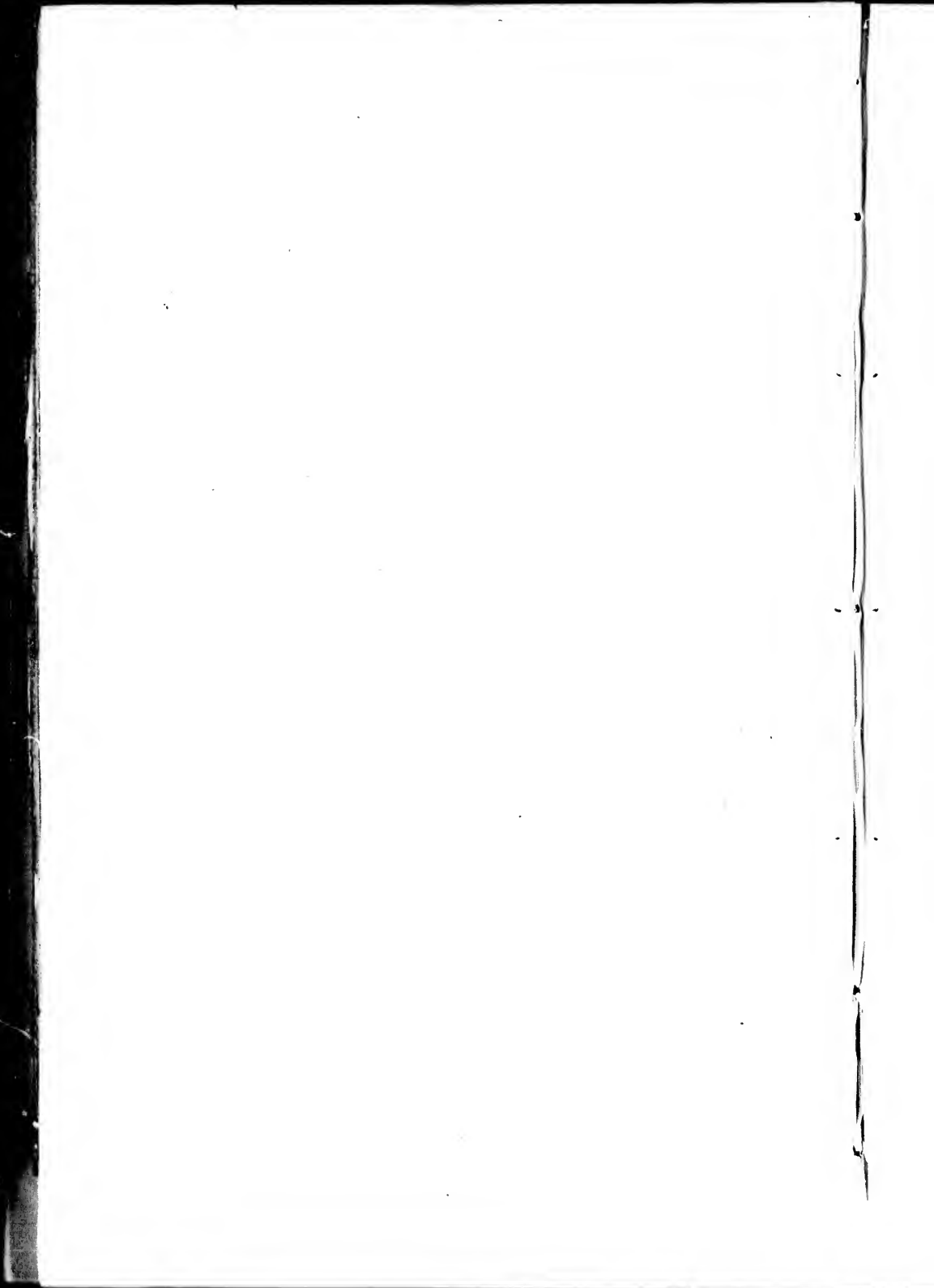
THE
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IN CONTINUATION OF
A POPULAR VIEW OF THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR,
AND
ENGLAND, THE NORTH AND THE SOUTH.

BY
A. J. B. BERESFORD HOPE, ESQ.

THIRD EDITION.

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JAMES RIDGWAY, PICCADILLY. W,
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RESULTS OF THE AMERICAN DISRUPTION.

I OFFERED at the close of last year a popular view of the American Civil War, which I followed by some observations on the duty and policy of England towards both North and South, in the course of which I had to investigate the constitutional questions underlying the break-up of the United States. When I last spoke the chief achievements of the war had been Bull's Run, Lexington, and Ball's Bluff. I am now ready, after the South, in the words of its President, has sustained "serious disasters," to invite attention to the results of the American disruption, under the alternative contingency of the Confederate States making good their independence, or of the North—*solitudinem faciens pacem appellans*—being so unfortunately successful as to bring the thirty-four States together again into temporary obedience to a central power at Washington, in preparation for later and worse disruption and more embittered secession.

If a year or two ago I had laid hold of any casual passenger in the street, and had asked him what was his idea of the principles of government embodied in the late United States, the answer I should have got would probably have been something of this sort: "Very much like what it is in England—Constitutional Government—only much cheaper out there, with none of the millinery and gingerbread we have here." This was at that day the

popular idea, but facts have by this time thoroughly belied the notion.

Though the Americans are called our "cousins," some of them, it is true, of more than one remove; others actually of English birth—though they talk the same language, and come in the main from the same Anglo-Saxon stock, yet their system of Government is totally different from ours. In clearing away the false notions which exist upon this matter, I wish to offend no prejudices. Invited as I have been to-night to address an assembly, which represents all the opinions of our free country, I should be unworthy of your confidence if I allowed the least shade of home politics to tinge my discourse. I take for granted there are many of different views amongst those whom I address. There are many, no doubt, who wish to see the suffrage at home extended—there are many, on the other hand, who would leave that suffrage where it is. Some probably are in favour of the ballot—others adhere to the system of open voting. But sure I am that every one here present—whether favourable to an extension of the suffrage or against it, whether for the ballot or for open voting—holds his own opinions with one and the same desire—to strengthen, maintain, and confirm our dear, good, old and tried English Constitution. With this belief, I ask every one here to believe me, whether he be Liberal or Conservative, when I say that the much-vaunted Constitution of the United States is a very different thing. The English Constitution—whether it approximates to perfection, or whether it wants correction—is one which pre-eminently allows freedom of thought, freedom of action

to every citizen. The Constitution of the United States, in attempting to extend freedom of thought and action beyond those limits which Providence, Nature, and common sense have laid down, has fallen over on the other side, and reduced each individual man to the condition of a mere fragment of a great machine—a something whose personal freedom is entirely in abeyance, if not rather forfeited in the interest of the political section or party to which he belongs. Late events in America have shewn you how, under this Constitution, the right of *habeas corpus* is respected—they have shewn you how it is possible, under a theoretical system of democratic liberty, for one man to set in motion the most despotic machinery—arrests by telegraph, military occupation, military search, suppression of newspapers, imprisonment without trial, and all the other devices by which free thought and action can be checked in favour of (to quote President Davis's inaugural address) "the tyranny of an unbridled majority, the most odious and least responsible form of despotism."

A pregnant example of the difference between English and American ways may be found in the two systems of electing representatives. The plan adopted here is essentially that of giving full swing to local interests—each borough and county has its own member or members; each constituency may, if it pleases, baffle the central party organizations; and every elector has the opportunity of questioning the candidate during his canvass, or of bullying him upon the hustings to his heart's content. The candidate for a seat in the English House of Commons must come forward on his own

merits and face his foes as well as his friends. There is very little of this kind of personal communication between the candidate and the electors in America. Emphatically, there is not that system of *local* representation which exists here. The whole country, as I explained in my "England, the North and the South," is cut up into a series of electoral districts, the members for which are periodically reapportioned. Party politics in America have not been conducted upon that give-and-take principle which prevails at home, but the maxim there is war to the knife, often literally, always metaphorically. A small committee of unscrupulous traders in politics bring forward a candidate, generally one of themselves, all arrangements being made upon a mutual system of plundering the public purse, and of coercing, crushing, and destroying all private feeling. If time permitted, I might illustrate the working of this system by an abundance of facts; but I am not over-stretching the case when I say that in the United States a despotism worse than that of France, of Russia, or of Austria, has been set up,—the despotism not of a single sovereign, who may be, and often is, enlightened and benevolent,—but the despotism of irresponsible committees, of dark agents working in secret, and pulling the invisible strings with ubiquitous hands.

In my preceding lectures I expatiated at some length on the value of the ill-named "Federal" theory of the American constitution, as held by the party now in power at Washington, in comparison with the State-rights or State-sovereignty interpretation of the same, on which the Confederacy relies in justification of its pro-

ceedings. I will not weary you by journeying over the same ground again. It is sufficient to say that, keeping myself strictly within the four corners of the "Articles of Confederation" of 1781, and of the "Constitution" of 1787, both of them literally and naturally interpreted, I find the unequivocal recognition of State-sovereignty. I do not find, and I defy Mr. Lincoln or Mr. Seward to shew me, that system of falsely-called "Federal" Imperialism which the North claims as its warrant for its war of invasion upon the South. I must be here forgiven for one supplementary observation, that the State-sovereignty theory as properly understood is a conservative element—I might add the only really conservative element—in the "States'" constitution under its peculiar circumstances. The States, it must not be forgotten, are many of them of the size of European kingdoms, some of them of large kingdoms. The population is filling up with more or less rapidity in all. When this population in all, or sundry of them, reckons by millions, the mutual balance of interests within each confederacy—supposing that the four or five or six great super-sovereign commonwealths preserve the federal form—will tend to maintain the balance of interests which is antagonistic to revolutionary changes in any. Supposing, on the other hand, that the whole-State theory prevails, the sovereign commonwealths, formed out of the ex-Union, will not count by four or five or six.

I lay peculiar stress upon the place which State-sovereignty holds in the American constitution rightly understood, because this accursed civil war (I can afford it no better appellative) which is bringing ruin upon the pro-

perty, destroying the peace of mind, and imperilling the lives of 30 millions of English-speaking men—many of them English descended, all of them English connected—is simply the fruit of the North's imperious denial of that patent fact. It is, I say, difficult to restrain oneself within the bounds of moderate language, when one sees that all this havoc has been brought about by the utterly unjustifiable misinterpretation of their own Constitution on the part of those Northern States. Whatever may be said of slavery, whatever may be thought of the rights and wrongs of the original points of difference, I have no hesitation at all in asseverating, after attentively considering the subject, that, morally speaking, the South—all things considered—has since the disruption been nearly as right, and the North as nearly wrong as two national disputants can be. Politics in plenty are mixed up with the subjects in dispute, but war or no-war is a question of humanity, and so holding strong convictions I feel bound to express my detestation of that policy of the North which has favoured the conflict. I shall have something to say about slavery presently; but I may here remark, that it ought no more to bias Englishmen in their judgment on the merits of the struggle, than the fact of Italy being a Roman Catholic country should influence the sympathy felt by Protestants for the unification of the Italian kingdom. Who are we that we should overlook constitutional right and wrong in face of a domestic incident appertaining to the injured community? Why it is not so many years since we—Christian Englishmen—helped Mahometan Turkey, because we considered its dignity and its independence threatened by Christian

Russia. We then refused to take account of the religion of either antagonist; and surely all consistency now forbids us to allow secondary considerations to blind our sound common-sense judgment in deciding between North and South.

But let us pass on; the fact cannot be disguised that the American Union is gone—and gone for ever, in spite of the downfall of Fort Donnelson, in spite of the very dissolution, if such were possible, of the actual Southern Confederacy. We may have entertained different views about that Union as a political institution, we may have lauded it as a noble and a magnificent creation, or we may have deemed it a sham and a humbug. Neither view, perhaps, is altogether correct. In one respect it was a very able work of art, elaborated by very astute politicians—Washington, Hamilton, Madison, and others. But it was one of those things, which, to use the familiar phrase rendered classical by Sir James Graham, are “too clever by half.” In their search after theoretic perfection, its framers forgot that it was to be worked by fallible human instruments. The grand, magnificent, liberty-giving, liberty-preserving Constitution which Washington and his compeers fondly imagined, and the result to which the Jefferson Bricks, and Elijah Pograms, described by Mr. Dickens, have reduced that creation, are as perfectly distinct as it is possible for two phases of the same original to be.

I shall not repeat the dreary history of the successive deflections by which Federals become Whigs to sink into Republicans, or of the strengthening of the lines by which Democrats in the South become a distinctive Southern

party, leaving their Northern compeers to fare for themselves. I have already explained the circumstances of the Buchanan and Fremont contest, and of the rapid consolidation of distinct Southern policy in the intervening years.

I have said that the Union is gone for ever. This has been admitted from the mouth of some of the most distinguished living American statesmen. One of the ablest is Mr. Everett of Massachusetts, Secretary of State to President Fillmore, and previously Minister in England—a statesman who upon the Trent affair astonished strangers by giving the weight of his great name in support of that piratical achievement. In 1860, Mr. Everett was the candidate for the Vice-Presidentship on the ticket of the “Union” party in connection with Mr. Bell of Tennessee (now a Confederate) for President. In his address he had to consider the probability of the South seceding, and he gave expression to these sentiments:—

“The suggestion that the Union can be maintained by the numerical preponderance of one section excited to coerce the other into submission is, in my judgment, as self-contradictory as it is dangerous. It comes loaded with the death smell from fields wet with brothers’ blood.”

A little later, on February 2, 1861, when several of the Southern States had already seceded and their Congress was on the point of meeting at Montgomery, Mr. Everett wrote a letter to the *Boston Courier*, in which this passage occurs:—

“To expect to hold fifteen States in the Union by force is preposterous. The idea of a civil war, accompanied as it would be by servile insurrection, is too monstrous to be entertained for a moment. If our sister States must leave us, in the name of Heaven LET THEM GO IN PEACE.”

And yet this same Mr. Everett is now going about haranguing in favour of this very civil war, and supporting Captain Wilkes with the solemn semblance of legal authority.

I next appeal to the late Stephen Arnold Douglas, leader of the Northern Democrats, and candidate for the Presidentship in 1860, against Lincoln, Bell, and Breckinridge the Southern candidate, who pronounced that "war is disunion, certain, inevitable, final, and irrepressible." The last word recalls, if it was not suggested by Mr. Seward's provocative prophecy of the coming "irrepressible conflict" between the North and the South, of which he was himself destined to blow the flame. Mr. Buchanan, the late President, officially expressed similar opinions; and, in short, before the mad explosion which succeeded the fall of Fort Sumter, everybody admitted that the old Union was virtually gone upon the retirement of the Cotton States, and that it could not be restored.

I have not scrupled to say that we have not seen the end of secession, and I adhere to my opinion. I believe that a complete break-up of the old United States has long been not only inevitable but desirable, and that in place of one overgrown, unwieldy Republic there should be a constellation of constitutional states of a compassable, manageable area. There should at least be a North-East commonwealth on the Atlantic, a Southern Confederacy, a Midland power, and another or Pacific seaboard realm, each of which would be larger than a first-class European power.* The Fort Donnelson victory

* The Confederate States without the Border States are larger than France, Italy, and Spain put together.

if not retrieved by the South, may possibly be the first step towards the creation of another separated power, comprehending Kentucky, Tennessee, the "Panhandle" of Virginia, and Missouri, *i. e.* the confluence of all the great rivers Missouri, Mississippi, Ohio, Tennessee, Cumberland, which run in one channel into the Gulf of Mexico, draining the large inland basins of North America, which would make its account in trimming in its policy between the Northern and Southern commonwealths. How, when the break-up does come, will a rational constitutional settlement best be effected? Surely by allowing the present movement to work out its own legitimate results in those Southern States which did not go out of the Union in anarchy and confusion, but which seceded, State by State, according to constitutional forms—which afterwards met in Congress, drew up a Confederate constitution for themselves as like the old constitution as could be, but with certain obvious improvements, and which elected a President to guide and direct their counsels. In the words of Mr. Everett, I say the South should be allowed "to go in peace," and thus its proceedings will form a precedent when the progress of events brings about those other salutary disruptions which must take place and which had best be faced.

But the slavery question confronts us. None of us can, or ought to, or do love slavery. But is the question of negro-slavery and negro-freedom at all at issue between the North and the South? The South, it is true, holds slaves, and the North does not. All that the North does is to batten and fatten upon slavery by

lending its money upon mortgage to Southern slave-owners, and by carrying on the inhuman slave traffic between Africa and the Spanish island of Cuba in New York and Boston vessels. In a word, the North is as deeply tainted with slavery as the South, with the additional element of utter disingenuousness. It allows slavers to quit and re-enter New York harbour at their pleasure, while it prostitutes law and morality to political capital by respiting a wretched Gordon, until the clique that domineers at Washington thinks it more advantageous to kill than to keep the man. The fact cannot be concealed that slavery is an heritage which America derived from the British colonial days, while as all know it was introduced into America by the Spanish missionary Las Casas. This most well-meaning man, horrified at the cruelty with which the aborigines were treated by the European settlers, brought negroes from Africa with probably much the same feeling as that which has of late years led to the encouragement of Coolie emigration, though apprenticeship and other humane restrictions were not thought of at that time. Thus was the first foundation of slavery laid in America, and when it came under British rule the extension of the system was fostered. In 1562, long before the settlement of Virginia, Queen Elizabeth headed a company for its promotion. In the reign of Charles II. grants of land were made to the colonists in proportion to the number of slaves they possessed; and in the time of William III. further encouragement was given to slavery, till, in the reign of George II. free trade in slaves was declared. I need not repeat how in 1776 twelve out of the thirteen colo-

nies held slaves, nor dwell again on the ingenious device by which a sale of their live chattels down South formed a feature of the emancipation policy of the Northern States. The present value of the slaves in the Southern States is estimated at five hundred millions sterling. In America there is no Lady Bountiful like the British Parliament, which, in the life-time of the present generation—just 28 years ago—righteously voted 20 millions sterling to purchase the freedom of the blacks in our West Indian colonies. That additional 20 millions to our debt was a burden which none will regret, for it has freed this country from a great reproach and disgrace. But if that 20 millions had not been forthcoming, will any man venture to make sure that negro slavery would not have existed in the West Indies up to the present time? Let us do the Southern slaveowners justice. We may abhor the system which keeps in bondage its millions—we may scorn the man who, under that system, ill-treats his slaves; but to handle the slave question as Wendell Phillips does in his speeches, and Mrs. Stowe in her novels, and to pronounce every man who owns a slave to be guilty of personal crime and villany, is not to think fairly towards ourselves nor candidly towards others. We have only cast the beam out of our own eyes within the last thirty years, and the process, though upon a comparatively small scale, was a very expensive one. At all events, the North cannot cast the stone of reproach till it has repented of the actively hypocritical part it plays on the slave question.

Be it recollected that, upon the 3rd of March, 1861, after six States had formed the new confederacy, a fort-

night later than the inauguration of President Davis, and one day before that of President Lincoln, President Buchanan and the residuary Congress of the old United States amended the Constitution in these terms:—

“That no amendment shall be made to the Constitution which will authorize or give Congress power to abolish or interfere within any State with the domestic institutions thereof, including that of persons held to labour or servitude by the laws of the said State.”

This provision, I need hardly observe, is the formal, the official, the ostensibly irreversible consecration of slavery as an existing fact by the United States in Congress assembled, and rid of the “Cotton Kingdom.” Had secession been simply a movement for the protection of slavery, the effect which this spasmodic abandonment by the North of even the appearance of abolitionism would surely have been one tending to demoralise the new nationality in the very first days of its existence.

Is it not then going beyond the bounds of absurdity to describe the North as fighting for the cause of freedom when its representatives in Congress, in face of the Confederacy and of President Davis, have altered and strengthened the Constitution in favour of the maintenance of slavery within and by the several States? The Confederate States were also dealing, within that same fortnight, with the question of slavery in their new Constitution. By the old Constitution the slave trade is not prohibited, and though it is forbidden by an Act of Congress, yet that Act is liable to be repealed at any time. But the Confederate States, sitting in constituent Congress in February, 1861, to frame their future Government, made the prohibition of the slave trade a

corner-stone of their Constitution, and so fenced its restoration in with limitations, such as do not environ any mere Act of Congress.

It is not many days since we read that a bill had been introduced into the legislature of the little State of Delaware, (which though nominally a slave state, has only 1800 out of the total of 4,000,000), proposing to abolish slavery, upon condition that within a certain number of years the owners of the liberated slaves should receive from the Federal Government a sum of 500 dollars (more than £100) per head. In short, Delaware, with great nobility and magnanimity offers its slaves to the bankrupt North, at the rate of upwards of £100. per head—an estimate which, if applied to all the slaves in America, would make the cost of their redemption something over 400 millions sterling.

There is, of course, the rough-and-ready expedient of declaring the slaves free at once without compensation to the owners. The slaves might or might not take their freedom, suddenly or unconditionally offered. Hitherto, they have stuck to their masters, although escape must be an easy matter. If they were to be freed at once, without any training for liberty, without education, without principles of self dependence, with no assured capital beyond their savings—for of course they could not claim in fee simple those cabins, and those allotments which they now hold on sufferance—a state of things would result which tend to the advancement neither of humanity, civilization, nor to the good of the blacks themselves. A servile insurrection would be attended with all kinds of horrors—murder, arson, rapine and

outrages to which I cannot even allude. President Lincoln has foreshadowed and Congress has entertained a scheme for dealing with this matter, which is to say the least, very remarkable. It is none other than that of establishing a black colony, not in the vast unoccupied central territories of the United States, but in some fresh region to be acquired upon the coast of South America. This means getting a footing there, establishing a garrison, sending a governor—netting in short, by underhand means, an opportunity of pushing those projects of aggrandisement in South America which the United States have ever cherished. The same ambitious grasping spirit has led to this civil war, and truer words were never spoken than those used by Lord Russell, “that it was a contest for domination on the part of the North and for independence on the part of the South.” It is plain that the South broke off from the North not because of the question of slavery, for I have shewn how the North went, as it were, cap in hand, grovelling in the earth upon its knees, and sought to win back the South by expressly recognising the right of each State to do what it pleased with slavery, while the South with averted ears was banning the slave trade.

It is elsewhere that we must seek for the cause of secession. It is to be found in the Navigation laws in favour of the North by which the Southern commerce was ground down—in the Protectionist, or rather prohibitionist policy of the North—in the greedy attempt of New York to govern all the commercial relations of the Old as well as the New World, and in the political exclusiveness of Northern demagogues. Rather than submit

longer to this thralldom, the South has sacrificed its dreams of ambition—of annexing Mexico, of acquiring Cuba, of stretching out right and left—in exchange for life and liberty. The very fact of secession has, as you know, removed one strong incentive which the South always had to extend slavery, the acquisition of fresh votes in Congress. Now, however, supposing that the South can make good its independence and control its own policy, all these secondary considerations are at end. Slavery, even if it be not mitigated and gradually abolished, as those who have studied the question anticipate will be the case, must be left to take its natural course according to the laws of the labour market and the exigencies of climate.

The other day I saw, in the *Daily News*, an ably written letter from America, asserting that this was a contest between a higher type of civilisation represented by the North, and a lower type of civilisation represented by the South. I grant that it may be a contest between a higher and a lower type of civilisation, but whether the North is the representative of the higher one depends upon circumstances, which the writer of that letter seems to me to overlook. No doubt school teaching is more general in the North than in the South—no doubt scientific and literary pursuits are more generally followed. The area too of material luxury, includes lower strata of society in the North than in the South. But what have been the lessons in the manly science of corporate government and of mutual dependence, which the progress of this civil war have given to the impartial student of political history. All over the

North gigantic jobbing, the grossest political turpitude, ostentatious disregard of principle, cynical self-seeking, have been flaunting and wantoning. In the poorer, less cultivated, more thinly populated South, we have discovered a unity of feeling and of action perfectly astonishing. So far as we can ascertain, the right of *habeas corpus* has no where been suspended, or the right of free discussion in the newspapers prohibited. We have more than once seen quoted in the daily papers leading articles from the journals published in the Confederate capital, Richmond, where, if anywhere a strict system of police would be in existence, criticising and condemning in strong and severe language the policy of President Davis and his cabinet. Odd to say, articles from the Southern press in favour of the Confederate government very seldom made their appearance in the London papers.* Notwithstanding this, we find that Mr. Jefferson Davis, was the other day unanimously elected President of the Confederate States, for a term of six years. This combination of great license of speech with unanimity of action, surely shows the existence of strong governmental instinct kept alive by healthy independence. Recent disasters have been met with calm and modest truthfulness, and more confirmed determination. All over the North, power seems to be perpetually scrambled

* The secret of this powerless though free-spoken opposition is twofold. Vice-President Stephens was, it is well known, one of the latest of Southern statesmen to accept the fact of secession, in fact, he voted against it in the Convention of Georgia; an abortive attempt was accordingly made to get up an opposition ticket for Vice-President. Again, there is an impatient clique which is seeking to divert the Davis government from its wise policy of defensive warfare.

for by a succession of short-lived demagogues. In the South the natural rulers of society, men of position, talent and wealth, are sought and are sustained by the general voice.

The very interesting article, in the December number of Blackwood, entitled "A Month among the Rebels," pictures the extraordinary zeal and activity which the South had displayed in setting-up manufactures of all kinds for the production of articles both of a warlike and a domestic nature, as well as the vast pecuniary sacrifices cheerfully made by the men of wealth throughout the South. I could myself supplement these statements with other facts which have come to my own knowledge. Taking into account all this public energy, all this vitality and determination, all this governmental instinct, all this negation of self, to help forward the common cause, I maintain that, though the North may surpass its rival in the civilisation of literature, of science, and of wide-shared luxury, it has not shown the still higher civilisation of corporate action, of corporate feeling, and of organised patriotism, which have been so remarkably and unexpectedly developed in the South. Whatever may be the upshot, posterity will, I believe, say that the North, with great advantages, fell miserably short of them in its moral spirit. The South with great drawbacks, shewed itself superior to fortune.

The results of the disruption shape themselves in two lines: the North will conquer, or the South will be sustained; which contingency will occur we cannot yet fully tell. At the beginning of the struggle the North was shamefully and ridiculously discomfited. Bull's Run,

Ball's Bluff, Lexington, Big and Little Bethel, moved our contempt last year. Within the last few weeks, though the mud of Virginia has prevented the southward advance of "the young Napoleon," and Washington is still beleaguered by the Confederate army, an eruption of success has attended the Northern arms in other quarters. Roanoke Island, in Pamlico Sound, on the borders of Virginia and North Carolina, has been occupied, and the defeat of General Zollicoffer at Somerset, followed by the fall of Forts Henry and Donnelson, and the evacuation of Nashville, and General Price's ill success in Missouri, leave the border states of Kentucky and Tennessee, and Missouri, open to Northern occupation. Still, however, Sydney Johnson commands in Tennessee. General Beauregard, the darling of the army, and a most accomplished engineer officer, has been sent from the army of the Potomac to his assistance. They are commanders who will operate for safety and success, and not for newspapers. Whatever be the result, no one can deny that the South has made a most gallant resistance. Its object all along has been to hold its own, and in that it has hitherto manifested strenuous persistence. It has and can have no idea of invading or coercing the North, while it has come out in the published report that after the battle of Bull's Run it was the moderation of Mr. Davis which restrained the Confederates from dashing on to Washington when its defenders were stricken with almost mortal terror.

The North has, on the other side, imparted into this struggle a blood-thirsty and savage spirit, which proves, if proof were needful, that King mob is not the less intolerant for being uncrowned. The barbarity of the expe-

dient of blocking up harbours, which are the property of the world, with stone fleets, will at once occur to all. Within the past few weeks I was in one of the most important and ancient cities of Europe—I will not betray confidence by saying where. At the *table d'hôte* at which I was dining were seated two gentlemen beside myself, one of whom was an Englishman, and the other, though he spoke English well and appeared to be intimately acquainted with this country, was clearly not of English birth. In the course of conversation it accidentally came out that he was an American, and I afterwards learned that he represented American interests in the place. “In these times,” said I, “it is necessary to ask whether you belong to the North or the South.” “No reason for that,” he replied; “this secession is merely a temporary delusion on the part of our Southern brethren.” “Oh! indeed!” I answered; and went on to ask him what he thought would be the result of the war. “Have you any doubt of it?” he asked. “I have not much doubt,” I replied; “I suppose the South will establish its independence.” “Do you believe that?” “Of course.” “It’s impossible—either they must conquer us or we must conquer them.” “I am sorry I cannot agree with you—I do not wish to see either you or them conquered. Why cannot you separate in peace?” “Impossible; we are prepared to sacrifice 500,000 lives, if necessary, and reduce the whole of the South to the condition of territories.” The person with whom I had this conversation was thoroughly a gentleman—a man whose views upon all other matters were moderate and rational—and yet he could talk in this cool way of sacrificing the lives of half-a-million of his fellow countrymen in order to punish the

grandchildren and the imitators of Washington and Madison and Jackson, by the re-establishment not of Republican equality, but of an arbitrary, and ostentatiously Imperial domination over a country larger than France, Italy and Spain put together, by reducing it to the condition of territories—and all because of the mortifying blow which the vanity and ambition of the North has received from the secession. This conquest, mind you, was to be carried out in the name of boundless freedom and republican liberty—prostituted to the support of a ruthless despotism, which has not its like in France, or Austria, or Russia, which has barely its like in Turkey, but of which you might find the like of in China.

Private correspondence from the States, in proportion as it is unshackled, keeps no medium, it either breathes conquest, or expresses a just horror of the whole war. When one knows that so many people who give expression to the most extreme sentiments are in private life, moderate, God-fearing, intellectual, clever men, the more one is shocked at the views they proclaim, and the smaller is the hope of a healthy reaction taking place in a nation which seems given over to judicial insanity. A collapse to be sure may and probably will take place, but it will be the result of bankruptcy and disappointment, not of reason. But these opinions are not confined to private conversations or correspondence. On Saturday, the 22nd of February, the Americans resident in London celebrated the anniversary of Washington's birthday, by a breakfast at the Freemason's Tavern. In the chair was Dr. McIlvaine, Bishop of Ohio, and Dr. McGowan was set up to propose President Lincoln's

health, no doubt because Dr. McGowan is considered a person of importance amongst the American community of London. Well, I find this gentleman giving utterance to the following mild and Christian sentiments:—

“ We feel assured he (President Lincoln) will maintain the majesty of the law without vindictiveness; that when, by the blessing of God, rebellion no longer jeopardises our national existence, he will be found magnanimous, and a worthy representative of a Christian people. We confide in his patriotism that, so far as in him lies, the fair heritage of our fathers should be handed down intact to our children; that our empire should be preserved from the Atlantic to the Pacific, including as a necessity, the absolute control of the Gulf of Mexico—*mare nostrum*, as the Romans styled the Mediterranean: in other words, that if our erring brethren of the South will not be our fellow-citizens, they shall be our subjects.”

President Lincoln has hitherto maintained “the majesty of the law” by suspending the right of *habeas corpus*, by telegraph arrests, by newspaper suppressions, by crushing State legislatures, and this, according to Dr. McGowan’s notions, was all done “without vindictiveness.” Indeed, throughout the whole passage, Dr. McGowan’s modesty and forbearance are extreme. His ambition is satisfied by the extension of the American “Empire” (not Commonwealth, or Union, or Republic, but “Empire”) from the shores of the Atlantic to the Pacific, with the absolute control, “as a necessity,” of “*mare nostrum*” the Gulf of Mexico, upon and near which, be it remembered, are seated the independent Republics of Mexico, Central America, and Hayti, the Spanish island of Cuba and the British and other West Indies; and then in the kindest, most philanthropic manner he would convert “our erring brethren” into “our subjects” by means of the torch, the sword, the axe, and the Dahlgren gun!—in other words, he would

make these millions of English-speaking men, accustomed to liberty of thought and action, the bondmen and subjects of the Northern republicans! This is no fancy sketch, but simply what fell from the lips of Dr. McGowan in the presence of the American Consul, and of a Right Rev. Bishop of the American Church. For my own part, putting Bishop against Bishop, rather than be Bishop McIlvaine of Ohio, presiding at a public dinner in England, and tolerating such sentiments, I would be Bishop Polk of Louisiana, fighting at the head of my regiments, upon the banks of the Mississippi, for the independence of my invaded country. On the very same day there was another festival in another great city, New York, where a more noted speaker than Dr. McGowan, Mr. Raymond, a leading journalist, used this atrocious language amid the besotted applause and merriment of a congenial gathering of lay and reverend notabilities :—

“South Carolina needs what all bad children need—discipline—and that she is now getting. After we have given her people the chastisement they deserve, and have hung a dozen of the leaders who betrayed them (applause), we shall have given them a lesson which their children will not forget in all time to come. But, whether it takes one year, 10 years, or 20 years, South Carolina must be redeemed. If we could put her into the sea; if we could sink her at the mouth of Charleston harbour, and thus establish an effectual blockade there (laughter), I should be glad. But we cannot; South Carolina is at least a ‘geographical expression;’ we cannot get her off the map.”

There was other speaking on the same day in this strain :—

“With confidence in the wisdom and virtue of those who will share with me the responsibility, and aid me in the conduct of public affairs; securely relying on the patriotism and courage of the people, of which the present war has furnished so many examples, I deeply feel the weight of the responsibilities I now

with unaffected diffidence am about to assume, and, fully realising the inadequacy of human power to guide and sustain, my hope is reverently fixed on Him whose favour is ever vouchsafed to the cause which is just. With humble gratitude and adoration, acknowledging the Providence which has so visibly protected the Confederacy during its brief but eventful career, to Thee, oh God! I trustingly commit myself, and prayerfully invoke Thy blessing on my country and its cause."

The scene of this was Richmond, the speaker Jefferson Davis.

The truculent relentless spirit of the North creeps out in every variety of shape, and in the smallest matters. For instance, I have a collection of the popular pictorial Northern envelopes, and among the favourite devices is President Davis hanging on the gallows.* But perhaps the palm of diabolical malignity must be accorded to "Leslie's Illustrated Paper," the American counterpart of the "Illustrated News," which lately used this fearful language: "if necessary to crush out this rebellion, we are ready to make the South one great wilderness again, white with bleaching bones, under an atmosphere noisome with the corruption of death."

I have already referred to the energy and fertility of resource shewn by the South, and I will answer Dr.

* From a number I select the following choice assortment:—
 1. A halter, motto "End of secession." 2. Pair of handcuffs, motto "Confederate bonds." 3. Jefferson Davis hanging from a gallows, on which is written "Let me alone;" motto "Jeff. Davis taken from life." 4. The devil frying Jefferson Davis on a grid-iron, a negro looking on and saying "De debel claims his own," motto "a warm reception for Jeff. Davis." 5. A gallows composed of four vertical and one transverse soldiers, from which a Confederate soldier is hanging; motto, "the new Zouave drill. Choke secession (Three motions)." 6. A torn black flag with death's head and cross-bones, inscribed "JD his Marque;" underneath, "AL his Mark."

McGowan's rhodomontade by an address recently issued to the citizens of Georgia. All are aware that during the first year of secession, a provisional Government was established, first at Montgomery, and then at Richmond. This Congress was recently dissolved, when the time came about to elect the permanent one. The address from which I propose to quote was issued by the four members who represented Georgia in the Provisional Congress. Two of them, Howell Cobb and Robert Toombs, are men of mark. The first-named was Secretary of the Treasury under Buchanan. Since the secession he has been the President of the Southern Congress. Robert Toombs, though he never held office at Washington, was a prominent senator, and on the formation of the Montgomery Government, was appointed the first Secretary of State. These are men occupying prominent and responsible positions, and whose counsels have a great and wide influence among their countrymen. In the address which they put out, after they have admitted that the North has shewn more determination, and greater resources, than was anticipated, and called upon the South to baffle numbers and wealth by activity and spirit, they pronounce these remarkable words:—

“The foot of the oppressor is on the soil of Georgia. He comes with lust in his eyes, poverty in his purse, and hell in his heart. He comes a robber and a murderer. How shall you meet him? With the sword, at the threshold! With death for him or for yourself! But more than this—let every woman have a torch, every child a firebrand,—let the loved homes of your youth be made ashes, and the fields of your heritage be made desolate. Let blackness and ruin mark your departing steps, if depart you must, and let a desert more terrible than Sahara welcome the Vandals. Let every city be levelled by the flame, and every village be lost in ashes. Let your faithful slaves share

your fortune and your crust. Trust wife and children to the sure refuge and protection of God—preferring even for these loved ones the charnel-house as a home, than loathsome vassalage to a nation already sunk below the contempt of the civilized world. This may be your terrible choice, and determine at once and without dissent, as honour and patriotism and duty to God require.”

When language of such tremendous and bitter determination is published to the world, by leaders such as Howell Cobb and Robert Toombs, what hope or chance is there of “our erring brethren” being brought back into the Union according to the formula of Dr. McGowan? This is a war to the knife. If the South be conquered, it will be conquered inch by inch, step by step:—it will never yield to soft words and patriotic speeches, or to grand reviews. There are two alternatives suggested by the Unionists—either the South must go back as “fellow-citizens,” or as “subjects.”

Dealing with the last alternative first, let us suppose that the North has done its best or its worst—that the South is utterly and completely subjugated—that Davis, Beauregard, and all the other Southern leaders are exiles, wandering over the world houseless and penniless, or worse than that, have terminated their existence at the rope’s end,—what would happen? Do you believe that those Southern men and women, speaking our own tongue, with our own blood running in their veins, would quietly endure the iron yoke? Is it conceivable that they would tamely endure their country to be reduced to the condition of “territories” and themselves governed by pro-consuls sent out from Washington—by such men as General Butler, who boasted that he would conquer the South by “the light of their smoking and rebellious

cities?" or by Mr. Raymond with his hopes of hanging and his dreams of drowning? It is incredible, impossible.

Burning hatred on the one side, and the intolerable sense of independence all but achieved and then forfeited, and on the other that cruelty which is ever engendered by fear and suspicion, would maintain the wide South in a condition of chronic conspiracy and of perpetually fermenting disaffection, which would more than tax the powers financial, moral, and military of the North to suppress. Hardest of all for the self-righteous, truculent Northerner this troublesome possession would be a perpetual lien on his own good behaviour and peacefulness to the remaining world. He never could, henceforward, however much he might covet the luxury, insult Great Britain or France, for there would be ever, for years to come, glimmering on the horizon, the image of a banished Davis, or Johnson, or Lee, or Beauregard, awaiting the day when America had brought upon itself the retribution of over-provoked Europe, and ready to cross the Atlantic or may be only the Gulf of Mexico, in the ships of the foe, with the news that the servitude of the South had reached its term.

The other alternative—that of the South going back into the Union as so many States inhabited by the equal citizens of an equal Republic—is past contempt, below ridicule. Is it possible that men like Davis and Beauregard, and Toombs and Cobb, who have stood up in arms against the North, who have issued proclamations advising death before submission, could meet Seward, or Butler, or Lincoln, in Congress and society? We might

as well expect — but comparisons are useless, for the most extravagant would fail to equal the absurdity of this supposition. By a stretch of the imagination let us suppose that even this has been accomplished, and that Senators and Congressmen from North and South are once more sitting together in the Capitol of Washington. In what position would be the slavery question? If all the slaves were emancipated and deported to South America, the Southern States would be ruined—if they were not emancipated, then Europe and the world would cry shame against the hypocrisy of those who proclaimed a deadly war under a specious pretence of sympathy for the blacks and then abandoned its own pretence.

But even slavery would be only one of innumerable and inextricable complications. The Southern members would of course be in a minority in the Legislature. But they would be a minority powerful in all disproportion to their numbers. There would be a secret unity of purpose and of action among them sufficient to clog the wheels of even a more statesmanlike and dignified assembly than the Congress of Washington. No one conceivable question, the admission of new States, foreign relations, tariff and revenue, including the taxation needful to pay for their own subjugation, would arise, which would not excite their fiercest passions and set them on their endless task of baffling their hated Northern colleagues and that sectional President who might for the existing term be in office. I do not touch on the secret work which would be going on day by day and hour by hour in lone plantations, in the depths of forests and swamps, intangible and unquestionable—for

the South be it remembered would hypothetically be a sharer in equal freedom—the work of gradually collecting the material and arranging the plans for the next secession.

Upon every side there is darkness, and doubt, and difficulty, out of which complete separation is the only means of escape.

If the North conquers there will either be an oppressive military despotism brooding over the whole land, or utter chaos and confusion, with petty insurrectionary movements bubbling up here and there and bursting everywhere. And for what is all this? For nought but to satisfy the greed of the North—to rear a “Federal” (falsely so called) “Empire” on the ruins of State rights—to make out a case of “right divine” for President Lincoln. Coming to the question of divine right, which is now so glib on the tongues of Franklin’s countrymen, we are lost in a maze of perplexity. If the secession of the Confederate States is not to be held valid, then what can be said for that of the United States from England? Yet if this precedent is to be disallowed what is to become of 1688? In short, if logic ruled the dispute, it is a question for the South, between the rights of Mr. Davis and those of the ex-Duke of Modena, the eldest representative of James II. But I beg logic’s pardon for introducing it into such uncongenial and incongruous company as that of Northern politics. Neither logic, law, consistency, nor principle has anything to do with the proclamation of an American “empire,” the assumption that the Gulf of Mexico is *mare nostrum*, and the reduction of the “erring brethren” who live on its shores into “subjects.”

Let the South prevail, and what then? Its proceedings hitherto would lead us to hope for the establishment of a Constitutional Government south of the Potomac. Although framed in a great hurry, under severe difficulties, its Constitution remedies the most salient defects and supplies the most glaring deficiencies which the practical working of the old Constitution had revealed.

It has proclaimed free-trade with all the world—it has given guarantees for order and stability in its Government—and even in the matter of slavery reports have been bruited abroad without contradiction, that it is willing to make some agreement for the gradual abolition of that unholy institution, which can only be abolished with the free will of the Government under which it exists. If, moreover, the South establishes its independence it must give up all those dreams of aggression which it once entertained, with the view of acquiring political power, and in which it was cockered up by the speculative ingenuity of its timeserving allies of the North, of that Democratic wing which has gone over to the Republicans, and is now fanning the flames of war.

The moment the South elected to secede it necessarily and indispensably abandoned all its projects of ambition in return for liberty and independence. All schemes of aggression to the North-West, of conquering Mexico, of acquiring Cuba, are now no longer feasible. Whether all the seceders realised this when they left the Union is not the question—the fact remains the same. Reconstituted Mexico would form a barrier to aggression south, and a central commonwealth would check extension over the midland continent.

The North, I repeat, must and will go to pieces, and had better for its own real happiness. If the divisions were those I have anticipated, the old United States would form about five great commonwealths, each of them larger than an average first-class European power, each of them with as much facilities for growing in wealth and population as it is good for any State to have. We need not be deceived by the frantic whoop which the ruffianly "New York Herald," and the more decent spoken but as really venomous "New York Times," raised at the first breath of the tidings of the fall of Fort Donnellson. It is their stock in trade to proclaim the restoration of the "Empire," for that word represents circulation, and circulation represents profit.

But the "Empire" of the United States a word less suited to a Federal Republic than to legions, dictators in arms, and aggressive conquest—is past and gone. May it repose quiet and unregretted, for this kind of Empire is neither good for the citizens of the State by whom such bastard imperial policy is pursued, nor for the world at large. The creation of independent constitutional States, with standing armies no doubt, and Foreign offices, each large enough to enjoy a strong and firm Government, and not large enough to be unwieldy, auspicates prosperity for their citizens, at the price of learning and observing international courtesies, and keeping the peace with their neighbours, from their mutual knowledge of each other's strength.

By the side of these States our own loyal colonies of Canada, Prince Edward's Island, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, Red River, and British Columbia,

would grow in strength and prosperity, with an ally in the South to protect them from the jealousy and animosity of the North. Whatever be the result of this struggle to the once Union, one result of great importance to ourselves will, at all events, I hope and believe, be produced. It is that English eyes will by these events be opened to the folly and madness of supposing that any peace, happiness, and prosperity which are incompatible with the Union Jack, can be found under the Stars and Stripes. Henceforward, without doubt, British emigration will flow where it ought to do—to British North America.

On the publication of each of my two former lectures, I received a letter from an unknown correspondent, dating first at Washington and then at New York, and describing himself as an "Octogenarian." The writer of course discusses the question from an American point of view, and does so with so much ability, that I have no hesitation in quoting both communications in full.

Washington, Dec. 13, 1861.

If very few Americans understand the nature of the American constitution, why should Europeans be expected to do so? They hastily assume its character to be that of monarchies, or aristocratic republics of past times; they confound citizens with subjects. Let us examine the case.

Thirteen independent sovereign States form a covenant or constitution, in view of mutual interest and protection; reserving as many of their sovereign rights as were not absolutely needed for an efficient general Government. The rights conceded for this end were *specifically* named and granted, all *others were retained*. In this compact of constitution there was *no clause of duration*, nothing said as to any right of withdrawal on the part of any State. She was *neither denied nor permitted* this privilege. But she insists that such a right, not being *specifically conceded*, of necessity remained with the States themselves, still sovereign in all but the delegated powers. Here, then, the case becomes a matter of *inference* merely,—on the one side,

that the compact without a separative provision implies perpetuity; on the other, that, like an ordinary business contract of co-partnership, having no clause of duration, any partner may quit at pleasure; that under such a specific constitution as ours, specified powers only can warrant action, and the right of withdrawal ought to have been *expressly conceded* by any State to warrant the rest in demanding her continuance in the compact. Again, there is no clause in this compact authorising coercion, or enforcing the continuance of, or a return to the Union, of any seceding member of it. In so important a step, it is contended that only *express authority under the constitution* could warrant the other States in coercing one of their number. Such was the view taken by Mr. Buchanan, the late President, and also by many eminent statesmen, and is probably the correct principle. Thus, then, we reduce to a *doubt* the right of secession. But the Administration next bring forward a clause of the constitution providing for the punishment of treason and rebellion; but who *are* traitors and rebels? Not sovereign States, if the right of withdrawal remains with them. "No," says the Government, "we do not assert this, but we claim to punish its *citizens* as traitors. We say that in some cases, though the majorities are against us, the minorities are our friends." Very well, but then, a State being sovereign within her own bounds, the Government cannot take cognizance of its majorities or minorities—*that is its own matter*. The State shields her citizens with her own undisputed sovereignty, like any other country; hence it is with the *sovereign State* that the Government must deal; a majority of her citizens, in State legality, pass an act of Secession, it becomes a State act, and the assailant cannot go behind it. Yet, as before observed, the compact gives no power to the latter to coerce any State, and State sovereignty protects its citizens. "What a strange Government!" Europeans say, and they are right; but so it is, and so it was intended to be, a compact of concessions, compromises, and balances, working only upon mutual interest. Yet the Administration ignores the fact, but act upon obsolete monarchical principles. Here, then, upon a *doubtful right of withdrawal* (a case, in fact, for compromise or peaceful separation), the Administration institutes a brutal civil war, worthy of the darkest ages, when one word might have prevented; for there can be no doubt that the South intended no attack on the North—it only desired to go free, under its own construction of the constitution, and the provisions of the Declaration of Independence, that "all just government is only by consent of the governed"—a principle that the present Administration directly violates at the outset, and thus nullifies

the theory of their fathers, whom it terms the patriots of the revolution! But the real history of this atrocious war is far different, and may be stated thus:

In the first place, the 'spoils,' or the vast expenditure of millions, affording stupendous plunder to Government officials. Secondly, the permanency of the protective system, so effectually secured by a vast national debt that it *cannot* be changed by the free-trade policy of any succeeding administration. Lastly, the war was instituted to *keep hold of the slave chain*. It is manifest that the vast wealth and prosperity of the North for many years has largely arisen from slave labour. Looms have multiplied immeasurably—it takes a thousand ships to carry the cotton alone. For hats, shoes, clothing, &c.; in fact for every article of necessity or luxury, the South has depended upon the North. Hence it is easy to perceive that did the seceding States establish their independence, a proper treaty might throw all these advantages into the hands of some large foreign power. Here, then, may be seen the trinity of motives urging the North into this war; here may be seen also why it is the interest of the South to resist it, to buy where they can buy cheapest, and sell where they can sell dearest; free-trade, in fact, the favourite theory of Great Britain, the emergence from the darkness of ages. Which side can she sympathise with? You say, perhaps, *not with slavery*; but the *North is fighting for its continuance*.

Nor, were it otherwise, could so stupendous a subject as emancipation be arranged under the heated passions of civil war. Can any European have even a faint conception of the difficulties at any time? Can it be done at all to any effective purpose without the co-operation of the slaveholders themselves? All the world is deeply interested in the products of slave labour. We must extend the circle of consideration far beyond the concerns of master and slave. Perhaps the human mind is incapable of grasping the whole subject. At all events, it is a *peace*, not a *war* measure, and the first step is manifestly for the North to shake off the reproach of slavery by assenting to a peaceable separation. Left to itself, the South may, under the pressure of favourable treaties from Europe, consent to organize some feasible scheme of emancipation. Meantime this atrocious war is proceeding. *Great Britain can stop it*. The great interests of humanity and civilization demand it. Her honour grossly insulted and bullied for years by a powerful Union, will she submit to have tarnished by *half a country*? If so, her prestige is gone all the world over. Moreover, what is her duty? is it not to save her starving operatives? What is her interest? is it not to open, and, if forced to do so, to close

Northern ports, getting on her own terms the whole produce of the South and the carrying trade of the world. Honour, duty, interest, humanity, are not these sufficient motives? Alas! then are we without human hope of a speedy termination of this infamous contest. A million of Americans, now crushed and silenced by Republican tyranny, would welcome *any cause* of peace. Anxious eyes are cast over the Atlantic to the land of real law and liberty. Shall it be in vain? asks an

OCTOGENARIAN.

A. J. B. Beresford Hope, Esq. London.

New York, Feb. 3, 1862.

MR. BERESFORD HOPE,

As truly stated in the *Morning Post* of Jan. 17, has very properly characterised the attempted destruction of the Southern ports by sinking ships loaded with stone, and some of the English papers very pertinently view this step as an abandonment of all hope of recovering the seceded States; the idea being to leave their ports useless to themselves as well as any foreign powers they might form treaties with. And yet, the universal system of public plunder and swindling, for which the war was commenced and is continued, has quite as much influence in this abominable undertaking as the desire to inflict injury.

The Quakers have had a large share of the whaling trade in their hands, and most of these old condemned ships belonged to them. Their principles being naturally averse to war, it became no bad policy to buy all their old vessels at a double or treble price, and thus at least secure their neutrality if nothing more. The daily exposure of fraud and swindling on the Government, astounding as they appear, are yet perhaps trifling compared to the undiscovered. In short, the whole war was got up by the dominant party, simply for the purpose of filling the pockets of its friends, and from its inauguration into office it has been guilty of a series of inconsistencies and violations of rights and liberty, only to be paralleled in an arbitrary Government. Mr. Seward and his coadjutors taking advantage of the abolition excitement, made it the hobby horse to ride into power. His banner was, "No union with slave-holders," and that "the Constitution was a league with Hell." Hardly is he warm in his seat, than he reverses these very principles and institutes civil war to *preserve Slavery and the Constitution*. Does the abolition party murmur? Mr. Seward points to his half million of troops! Next he passes an abominable antiquated protective

Tariff. Then he suppresses the right of *habeas corpus*, then all freedom of speech and the press. Having already violated the rights of the States by coercion, which the Constitution nowhere authorises. Then comes the absurd 'Trent' affair, in relation to which there can be no manner of doubt *that all* American cruizers were ordered to search *all* vessels, for the Commissioners, and Mr. Seward's denial is not worth a straw. This stupid Secretary believed that he might safely bully England, in the confidence of having France on his side, and lost no time in backing out when he found his mistake. There was no chance or accident in the matter, the whole was a deliberate plan against England. To crown the folly of the administration, the war it wages, successful or unsuccessful, equally destroys the Constitution it is fighting to maintain. A compact of Government founded by sovereign States on the free consent of the governed for mutual interest, ceases the moment any of those States become conquered provinces, held as Austria holds Hungary or Russia holds Poland. And as to Slavery, when we consider that successful emancipation can only be by a calm well considered plan, with the cordial co-operation of slaveholders themselves, it is plain to be seen that a state of war or any rash measures can only produce infinite mischief and horror.

Can Great Britain view these Northern proceedings with indifference? But even if she does not despise them, can she be regardless of her own interest? If she opens the Southern ports, she obtains millions of cotton, tobacco, sugar, rice, naval stores, &c. at her own prices; and in return, at a nominal tariff, she supplies not only the South, but by smuggling the North, also with immense quantities of her manufactures. She feeds her starving operatives at home also. If from taking these steps war ensues, she closes every Northern port by a blockade, and has the whole carrying trade to herself at the expense of her rival. She takes the whole products of Cuba, Brazil, &c. heretofore shared by the United States. Last but not least, she subserves the great cause of humanity all over the world.

The way is open however, *without* war. Let the great Powers of Europe ask as a favour to be allowed to mediate or arbitrate, that will soothe the public mind, it need not know that private diplomacy adds a "must" to the request.

The easy way in which Mr. Seward twisted the whole rampant North out of its bravado on the "Trent" question, is a tolerable warrant that he can manage a mediation. Moreover, the Government is aground for want of funds. It hesitates between two horns of a dilemma. Unlimited issue of paper money and internal taxation, sure to produce unpopularity the moment

the tax-gatherer goes his rounds. Not less stupid was Mr. Chase than Mr. Seward, because he valued the wealth of the country at thousands of millions, he concluded that it was floating capital ready to seek any good investment; he was mistaken. Ours is *fixed* wealth, *invested* capital, and out of 300 millions issued, not over 60 seems to have been actually taken.

The public enthusiasm as to the war has faded materially; indeed, were it not for the Government press (we have no other) it would die away entirely.

Be assured that a mediation by European powers would not be objected to, both the Government and the people are in *their hearts* desirous to terminate the war as it stands. I am a descendant from the pilgrims who, in 1630, landed at Plymouth, there can be no better American, but with millions of others I look with horror on this unnatural war. Our voices cannot be heard here, but you have them with you in any effort to separate these combatants.

Yours,

AN OCTOGENARIAN.

The allusion to Mr. Seward contained in the second letter, refers to the fact to which I adverted in my second lecture, that some two or three years ago he put his name to Helper's book, in which compensation to slave-owners was denounced as ridiculous and damnable; while previous to this outbreak the Abolitionists were in the habit of talking of the American Constitution as "a covenant with the devil," "a league with hell."

To sum up, what is the conclusion to which we arrive? The British colonies ought to be our first interest. What then is best for them? I answer, the break-up, as speedily and as mercifully for themselves as possible, of the United States. In the agricultural South we shall find an ally for Canada. Never shall we find that in the aggressive, scheming, blustering North. In the interests of humanity for what should we pray? We behold the Furies, of Hatred and Discord and Civil War, low-

ering and glaring around the death-bed of the American Union. What prevents us as Englishmen and as Christians from uttering the hope that some more benign influence may ere long disperse those fiends, and call in the angel of peace to cheer the last dying moments of the hopelessly diseased and much enduring sufferer.

P.S. *March 20.*

To-day's *Times* contains President Lincoln's "proposition"—in which he has the foresight to observe, if it "does not meet with the approval of Congress and the country it is at an end"—"substantially to end the rebellion," by buying up the slaves of those States which will listen to him out of the Federal revenues. The same paper informs us that Congress's Committee of Ways and Means has reported a bill, in which it is proposed to tax, *inter alia*, lard, oil, gas, soap, salt, leather, meat, flour, paper, locomotives of every conceivable description, gold and silver watches, telegraphic messages, incomes, salaries and legacies, &c. &c.

Is deep or shallow the more appropriate epithet with which to designate the suggestion? Is the President jocose or enthusiastic? At least Mr. Lincoln has succeeded in setting the New York papers by the ears.

THE END.

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