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WE have but to read the accounts of travellers from the earliest period of their researches to the present time, and the fact everywhere forces itself upon us, that the African barbarian of to-day is a fac-simile — a faithful reproduction of the African of centuries of the past.

Had he been endowed with the mental capacity of other races, it would seem that sufficient time had elapsed for that capacity to have given some evidence of its existence. The first steps of progress, however, have not yet been taken, and we must believe that he is but performing the part which his Creator has assigned to him ; and so far as human wisdom can judge of the future by the past, centuries will roll on and find the African negro still a barbarian.

There was a time when this manifest destiny was not so manifest ; when, indeed, many of us were more hopeful for their future, and some, more sanguine, thought they saw the time certainly approaching when the blessings of Christianity and of civilization would be extended to the benighted African. The progenitors of the present Southern negroes, placed under the tutelage of the civilized white man, had increased and multiplied until their descendants numbered four millions, all doctinated in the Christian faith, taught habits of industry which rendered their condition far superior to that of their African prototypes, and made them useful to mankind at large. Had the same circumstances continued under which the Southern negro had prospered and increased in numbers, the time would have been when the four millions of to-day would be ten, and twenty, and forty millions, and from these was to be derived the hope of extending Christianity and civilization to Africa. But God, in His wisdom, which surpasses all human understanding, decreed the liberation of the negro from the control of the white man, broke up the monopoly of labor which he had enjoyed for so many years and thrust him into a competition for his bread with a race superior in mental calibre, and in this unequal contest he must succumb. The institution of slavery was, in fact, the concession to the negro of a monopoly of labor in the whole Southern section of the country, and while the negro derived benefits from this monopoly which he would not have enjoyed had he been born in Africa, what were the reciprocal advantages to the white race ? For the benefit of the negro,

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THE PARTISANSHIP OF THE "*SPECTATOR*."

THE Divine Author of the Christian religion rebuked those "who receive honor one of another, and seek not the honor that cometh from God only." The people of the late Confederate States are less obnoxious to this charge than most others. They have shown themselves as free from the petulance of the Northerners under the adverse criticisms of foreigners, as from the sycophancy which provokes them. Still, it is presumed that they have too much good sense to affect entire indifference to their good repute among their neighbors. They probably regard this as worth a just self-defence, but as less valuable than a good conscience, or than their own peace of mind. When unjustly reproached, they seem to bear it, somehow, very composedly; consoling themselves, perhaps, from the ignorance and silliness of their accusers.

The piece which we republish from the London *Spectator*, entitled, "The Country of the Lost Cause," we presume, will be found by the ex-Confederates to contain enough of these elements of consolation, to neutralize the smart which it was evidently designed, notwithstanding its affected impartiality, to inflict upon them and their sympathizers. The writer aims at terseness. In one sense, he has succeeded remarkably in this quality; for he has certainly aggregated in a small space an astonishing number of mistakes. The Southerners do not "remember their late struggle by the name of the Lost Cause." We have heard of but one writer among them who adopts that term; and the rest dissent very energetically against the mistake of taking him as the exponent of either their ideas or history. To believe theirs a "Lost Cause" is, in their eyes, to despair of mankind; for they now regard it, just as much as ever, as the cause of constitutional freedom for all the families of men.

The Confederates were not characteristically either "arrogant" or "fire-eaters," but singularly forbearing under long provocation, and modest in the hours of splendid success. Sundry things in their newspapers were resentful or boastful? True: but none know better than the *Spectator*, how little those who write for the weekly press represent the thought and character of that great body of citizens who constitute the pith of a country, or of those truly influential men who govern it. The Confederate leaders were not ignorant of the opinion and diplomacies of Europe, for these were the very men who had conducted the Union through all its foreign relations to its recent pitch of glory. Witness the complaints of Northerners, that Southern statesmen habitually had the control of the Federal Government. "The most acute Southern statesmen" were not all mistaken about the intervention of England and France. Mr. Yancey expressly told them, on his return from a journey of inquiry, that there would be no interven-

tion in any event. Few were more forward than he was in sustaining the war. John B. Floyd, one of the most far-seeing among them, always predicted that recognition would be refused until it was no longer needed. While the politicians among them, (very much like those, we surmise, with whom the *Spectator* is acquainted,) encouraged doubtful Confederates by pointing to the obvious interest which these powers had in their success, the spirit of the government and people in the contest was one of lofty independence and self-reliance. They never asked England for anything but fair play, which they did not receive. But surely, "the most acute Southern statesmen" were pardonable in supposing that England would see her interest in the triumph of the Confederacy, as Napoleon, the only true statesman in Europe, saw his. It was not unnatural for them to expect that a power whose polar-star has ever been self-interest, would appreciate the advantage of dismembering her natural and inevitable rival, and (as it is revealed by her blindness to her opportunity,) predestined destroyer, without cost to herself; and of receiving a splendid and devoted ally into a relation of commercial dependence, more precious to her than all her colonies. These Southerners also would doubtless beg to be excused from the absurdity of believing that "allying their country with slavery" would be any obstacle to people who had so often allied themselves, for similar ends, with the extremes of spiritual and secular despotism; who had been, were then, and are now, in close alliance with slavery, and also with polygamy, in the case of "the Sick Man," and who were not too nice to subsidize the worship of Juggernaut in India.

After the defeat and surrender of Lee, "moderate terms" were not rejected; for none were offered. These men only declined to fasten the chains of their own shame and ruin with their own hands. No laws were passed by them for "enslaving the labor" of the freedmen. On the contrary, their legislatures, after submitting to a violent and mischievous abolition, proceeded with unparalleled generosity to enact laws protecting the privileges so iniquitously conferred, and placing their late slaves substantially above the *status* in which the *Spectator's* latest and most liberal reform leaves all British subjects who happen not to pay a ten-pounds' rental. The North was not "forced in honor to defend the blacks by making them depositaries of political power." But the reviving strength of the Northern opposition then made it convenient for the Radicals to strengthen their own faction with black votes. On this side the ocean, it is held an insult to one's good sense to assign to him any other motive for negro-suffrage. The *Spectator* places one truth, indeed, amidst this cloud of errors: that this unfortunate region is now under a frightful bondage,—that of the sword and their late slaves combined. But this truth is made the occasion for an instance of that presumption which is so often impious: assuming to read the secret designs of the Almighty in His dispensations. We fear the sturdy Confederates, (a terribly Bible-reading folk,) may remind him of a certain ancient "Spectator" of Pharisaic affinities, who, seeing the blood of some poor Galileans mingled with their sacrifices by Pilate, concluded that they must have been sinners above all the Galileans, and of the scathing rebuke of infallible Justice: "I tell you nay: but except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish." Whether this injus-

tice to a noble people is a "divine judgment" or a paternal chastisement, we shall not be so profane as to decide. But one conclusion seems very safe: that it cannot be a retribution of "flagrant misrule" of the negroes, seeing no such misrule occurred. On the contrary, it is notorious in America, that the Southern planters in the main exercised that power over the Africans thrust upon them by slave-trading Britain, so humanely and well, that the freedmen had no wrongs to avenge; and the gratitude, kindness and order inspired by this benignant rule, have, so far, resisted all the malignant seductions of Radicals, and (with the wonderful forbearance of the whites,) have saved the country the designed horrors of a war of races as yet. That Mr. Rhett and Generals Hampton and Forrest "precipitated the war by their violence," is news as astounding to all who know them, as that they "disgraced it by savage license." Those who are acquainted with these Generals know that they deprecated the war while they felt their honor permitted; and when it was thrust upon them by the North, waged it with chivalrous humanity.

The next blunders will strike the poor Confederates, we fear, with something of the cruelty of a mockery. "The South is recovering!" Northern merchants, who are so unlucky as to have Southern debtors, tell a different story: that the South is now far more impoverished and distressed, than in the autumn of 1865. "The incalculable gain which it finds in the mere abolition of slavery," they find a gain of that species reaped by St. Domingo and Jamaica. It is, to Americans, a ludicrous dream that the four millions of slaves "were usually on the watch for whatever might ruin their masters, or free themselves;" they were usually contented, attached, and cheerful retainers. But it is a very solid reality, that they now *are* usually "on the watch" for something to pilfer, wherewith to alleviate the famine and destitution bestowed on them by their Northern friends. All the Southern staples are half-ruined, and the sensible observer finds little solace in these expedients of disaster and desperation, and the unwholesome growth of some towns, which are but symptoms of the overthrow of legitimate industries. A "Spectator" should not have committed the gigantic blunder of placing Sherman's march among the rice plantations of the Carolinas. They are, indeed, effectually destroyed; not by his bummers, but by abolition. This writer's mineralogy and domestic economy will doubtless strike those "to the manor born" as no less wonderful than his geography. Nobody in Virginia could, by any chance, expect plumbago in the marl-region, or mistake the one for the other; since all the marls of that country are either white or green. There is no old negro in Carolina who needed war and abolition to teach him that (not the rice flour, but) the husks or chaff, detached by the hulling mills, with some farinaceous dust from the grains, was useful provender. Only since abolition enlightened them, there is no rice to be cleaned.

The statements that Northerners will not occupy Southern lands, and that European immigrants will not stay to till them, are probably true; the causes assigned are false. Free labor never was disreputable at the South; and if it affixed the name of "mean whites" upon those addicted to it, this was only in the mouths of Abolitionists. It was those who would not work whom the Southerners disesteemed. The plan-

ters, generally burdened with debt, are extremely anxious to sell lands cheap to Northerners or foreigners; and the only acts of lawlessness which have repelled these, are perpetrated by negroes or Radicals. The sole reason that Northerners do not accept the eager overtures of the planters is, that upon inquiry they usually find the country so effectually blighted and cursed by Abolition and Northern rule, that the disposition to own it or live in it on any terms is effectually extinguished.

The political speculations with which the piece closes contradict each other, as much as its statements do the facts. It asserts that the negroes are "demoralized by long years of slavery." Now, the *Spectator* knows very well that when English and Northern slave-catchers thrust these people upon the Southern planters, the Africans were wretched savages, already slaves of savage masters, or the scarcely human captives from the wretched remnants of the bush tribes on the Guinea coast. Now that "long years of slavery" have made them far worse than even this, they are marvellously proper voters in the eyes of that *Spectator* whose white fellow-citizens are not fit to vote, unless they pay ten pounds' rent. Of course, as an anti-slavery journal, it believes in that "golden rule" which abolition is so fond of obtruding on slave-holders. The question is therefore fair: how the *Spectator* would be pleased, if every voter in England were matched by a black savage from Africa, who, being a savage when he left there, has been made indefinitely worse since? The advocate of negro suffrage should take heed how he talks of "the demoralization by slavery;" unless he believes that the Africans have been greatly improved and elevated by it, (which he very well knows is true,) his scheme is both insane and atrocious. But that this great mass of black voters is still incompetent, and will be wielded by demagogues on the one or the other side, through the most unprincipled means, is so obvious, that the *Spectator* recognizes the foreshadowing of it very clearly in the recent result in Mississippi. Yet the permanence of negro suffrage seems to be regarded by him with a placid and sunny pleasure, which almost puts him into a good humor with the naughty slave-holders. This complacency is doubtless to be accounted for by the close resemblance which will thus be produced between elections in the South and elections in the North and England.

Let the reader especially note the admission that the "colored population is evidently diminishing," and that "the children perish" for the lack of the master's care. It is hopeful to see that, at last, this flagrant fact has found its way through the shield of anti-slavery prejudice, hitherto so impervious. Now we set two opinions of the *Spectator* at points with each other. Emancipation, he says, is good, and slavery is evil. But the latter fostered and blessed, while the former blights and destroys. A queer system of ethics this! which makes it criminal to benefit the African in any feasible way, and requires us to annihilate him in order to do our duty to him!

The *Spectator* thinks the war of coercion was altogether praiseworthy and right. But he is amiable enough to admit, that another instance here of "vicarious government like that of Poland or Ireland" would be deplorable. Now it was precisely because the Confederates thought

the same, that they resisted. If the *Spectator* is right, they were right; and coercion was wrong. They would be likely to add, that they were entitled to expect another "vicarious" despotism like that of Ireland; because the schemes of the sectional party, if unresisted, obviously assimilated the government of the United States to that which had perpetrated the wrongs of Ireland, a centralized parliamentary government. They would claim the sanction of that unvarying lesson of history, that a power founded in usurpation is under a criminal necessity to be violent and malignant; because it knows that its own injustice gives the victims a forcible motive to hate and resist. And they would conclude that their action, in accordance with these anticipations in 1861, was now perfectly justified by the fact, that the conquerors loudly declare it necessary for their own safety to crush the unhappy South under the foulest and direst form of oppression ever invented by man. Of all this chapter of contradictions which we have reviewed, the strongest is that which declares the "Southern level of civilization is not equal to the Northern." Yet these "half educated" masses of the South had more intelligence than the *Spectator*, and his "liberal" and "radical" friends: witness the fact, that the former unanimously foresaw principles and conclusions when only *in thesei*, which, when illuminated by the meridian light of their fulfilment, still cause the latter to reel and stagger with contradictions — foresaw them with a clearness which caused them to endure their fearful ordeal of four years. And this less civilized people of four or five millions had civilization enough to resist twenty millions of the *Spectator's* admired paragons; and could not be subdued, until all the adventurers of Europe, of the *Spectator's* way of thinking, were brought to help where there were already five to one; and until more than one million of combatants, including two hundred thousand of their own slaves, were arrayed against their sixty or seventy thousand. If civilization is a good thing, how is it that the less civilized should do better than the more civilized?

The title "Spectator," "looker-on," suggests a temper of cool, dispassionate impartiality. We fear this looker-on is of that very common species which only looks at the side it likes. He manifestly limits his reading chiefly and his belief wholly to Radical prints. The Confederates, poor half civilized creatures, still abide under the antiquated conviction, that it is not fair to take the slanders of a man's interested enemies as good testimony against him; and that he who does, is very sure not to learn the truth. When they become, by virtue of anti-slavery influences, as holy and enlightened as the *Spectator*, they will learn differently.
