

SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN.

LETTER I.—TO THE RIGHT HON. LORD PALMERSTON. ATTEMPTED
DISMEMBERMENT OF GERMANY.

„ II.—TO THE BRITISH PEOPLE. THE BRITISH PRESS *VERSUS*
CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS AND NATIONALITIES.

„ III.—HURRIED GLANCE AT HISTORY OF MAN IN EUROPE.

„ IV.—RESPECT TO NATIONALITIES NECESSARY TO PEACE
AND PROGRESS IN EUROPE.

„ V.—THE NECESSITY FOR THE REMOVAL OF THE MALIGN
INFLUENCES WHICH REPRESS HUMAN PROGRESS.

BY

PATRICK MATTHEW

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SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN.

AT no period, for more than half a century past, have I observed so much spleen and low abuse vented upon any people, as recently by the British Press upon the Germans; and that without any cause given by that honest, highly moral, long-suffering, but determined race. In the following Letters, I attempt to disabuse my countrymen of the wrong impressions they have taken regarding the German people and the Schleswig-Holstein question. This unfortunate misconception arises, in a great measure, from the gross misrepresentations of a partial, disingenuous, and sneering Press, who seem to regard public feeling as an instrument it is their calling to play upon 'what stops they please,' and, like the dissenting priest, find that cultivating the passions, especially that of political antagonism as the other does religious antagonism, pays better than cultivating kind feeling and kindred affection.

Taking advantage of the natural disposition of humanity to protect the weak against the strong, the oppressed against the oppressor (a feeling which has actuated Germany to come forward to protect the German Duchies from Danish usurpation, plunder, and oppression), the gentlemen of the British Press, with, it is true, some honourable exceptions, have done their utmost to raise up a hatred of Germany and affection

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for Denmark, without regard to truth, right, or justice, making up for adverse facts by abuse of everything German, and praise of everything Danish. *In this case their twisting the robber into the robbed is a specimen of their ingenuity, and is on a par with their general misrepresentation.*

I lay before the public the following Letters (intended for the London Press, but refused), in the hope that a plain statement of facts by a plain country farmer of fifty-seven years' practice, who has seen more years than men of the Press, from their arduous employment, usually reach, who has had more opportunity to obtain a knowledge of facts, and more time to reflect, may have a beneficial impression in removing animosities from two kindred peoples. Should current prejudices be too strong for removal, I rest confident that posterity—that future gentlemen of the Press—will recognise the truth of my statements, and accuracy of my views, as the present age is beginning to do in regard to other very different subjects which an age ago I had laid before the public—so long to be neglected.

PATRICK MATTHEW.

LONDON: *May* 30, 1864.

LETTER I.

ATTEMPTED DISMEMBERMENT OF GERMANY.

To the Right Hon. Lord Palmerston.

MY LORD,—I have seen it stated that your Lordship declares that none in Britain comprehend the Schleswig-Holstein question except yourself—that at least you did so

once, but that now it may have escaped your Lordship's memory. Perhaps in the actual experience and knowledge of the subject, I am not far behind what your Lordship may once have been. However that may be, however much your Lordship may have forgotten, your Lordship must be sensible that no person or persons whatever have a right, contrary to the will of an independent state or states, to transfer it or them in subjection to another nation, even though that nation were not deservedly hated by the state or states attempted to be transferred. This is what has been attempted to be done in the case of Schleswig-Holstein, in the face of opposed nationalities, language, and hatred of races; and it would appear that your Lordship, as Prime Minister of Britain, had given it your sanction, probably from being aware of the pledges given by Denmark to Austria and Prussia, previous to signing the protocol of 1852, that the rights of the Duchies would be respected.

Holstein, as everyone knows, is an integral portion of the German Bund, though, till lately, usurped for a time by the Danes. It, along with Schleswig, constitutes the Dukedom of Schleswig-Holstein. This ancient Anglo-Saxon territory, Schleswig-Holstein, comprising the ancient Anglen, may be regarded as the brood-ground of the purest, most energetic German race. The population, with some few exceptions, speak the low-country German (parent of the modern English), a purer, terser, and more expressive language than the high-country German. The people of this territory, by their colonisation of England, giving to England their name and language, while England again, along with the lowlands of Scotland (colonised

by the north Frieze), has colonised North America, Australia, New Zealand, &c.—the Duchies may thus be regarded the remarkable brood-ground of the most extending race on earth, a race who will probably lay the foundation of a universal language for civilised men.

Schleswig, partly the ancient Anglen ; partly a portion of the ancient north Friezeland, the greater part of which is now submerged ;* partly, upon the northern border, Danish (originally Cimbric), is about two-thirds German, and one-third Danish, the towns and leading portion of the people being almost wholly German. Schleswig has been subject to inroads by the less civilised Dane of Jutland, assisted by the Islands, the same as the more civilised portion of Scotland by the highland Celts. Still it is evident that Jutland and the Danish Islands had, at some past era, been subject to German sway, as the Cimbric language had wholly disappeared before the era of historic records, replaced by a branch of the Teuton or German, though much of the Cimbric blood may have remained.

To reduce the people of Schleswig to be subject to the Dane, would be much the same as to reduce the people of the lowlands of Scotland to the government, language, manners, and social standing of the highland Celt. It may be asked, what right has the German

* The lowlands of Scotland were chiefly peopled by the north Frieze. These, when their own country was devoured by the German Sea, being much of a maritime people, crossed over into Scotland, driving the Celts to the mountains. Their language appears a little modified in the present broad Scotch. In conversing much with a native of Sylt, I found it often convenient to use Scotch words. Sylt lies off the Schleswig coast, and is a remnant of north Friezeland.

Bund to drive out the usurping Danes from Schleswig? The right and duty is clear and undeniable, not only of the German Bund, but of any of the German States, to protect their kindred in their own country. Schleswig constitutes a half of the Schleswig-Holstein Dukedom, constitutionally under a German Duke; and surely by nationality, by language, by constitution, Germans have a right—if anything whatever can constitute a right—to defend Germany and German people, while Denmark has no right whatever, but that of force, which is rightly met by force.

The connection between Britain and Hanover afforded a case almost identical with that of Denmark and the Duchies. In Britain and Denmark the succession, when not elective, is to heirs male and female, while in Hanover and the Duchies it is to heirs male. Hence, upon the death of the late King of Denmark and Duke of Schleswig-Holstein, the succession of the Duchies falls to the eldest male line, the Augustenberg family, and if not elective, in Denmark to the nearest of kin by the female side, as took place in Britain and Hanover upon the death of William IV. There might be however one slight difference. As far as I know, the British kings never came under any solemn obligation not to mix the two governments, while the King Christian of Denmark, when he was elected to be Duke of the Duchies in 1460, came under the most solemn obligations that the two nations or states should have the governments entirely distinct, and that the Duchies of Schleswig-Holstein should remain for ever undivided. This oath was taken by all the succeeding sovereigns previous to the three last. This shows that,

from the first, the danger of Danish aggression was foreseen, and, as far as possible, means adopted to prevent it. In defiance of this constitutional stipulation, the encroachment by Denmark upon the constitutional rights of the Duchies has been going on for a number of years back, till it came last autumn to the climax of Denmark declaring Schleswig to be an integral part of Denmark, and to treat Holstein as a conquered province, occupied by Danish troops, and a large emblazoned shield of the Danish arms, with the words, Königliche Zoll—King's Custom House—placed before the Altona Custom House, a display to brave the German Bund, and mock the constitution of the Duchies.

In this case, seeing that Holstein is one of the German Bund, thoroughly German in race, language, literature, and feeling, and that Holstein and Schleswig constitutionally form a twin Dukedom, and besides that, though there is a part of the population of Schleswig on the northern frontier Danish, that the great proportion, including nearly the whole of the leading classes, with exception of the Danish officials, are thoroughly German, can there be a doubt of the right of the Duchies to demand complete separation from Denmark as an independent state, like Austria, and Prussia, and Holland, in part connected with the German Bund? Instead of taking part with the usurper, should Britain see any other nation attempt to dismember Germany (the neighbour, kindred, and ally of Britain), or interfere to assist Denmark in her attempted usurpation, it is the duty of Britain to resist such an outrage against national rights. Should Britain fail in her duty towards Germany, she may lose the favour of her old friends—

perhaps miss their assistance should she require it at some future time.

The best friends of Denmark must agree with me here. I am the well-wisher and sincere friend of Denmark in all that is right and advantageous for herself. I rejoice in the prosperity of her agriculture, and her great increase in wealth so derived, favoured by the abolition of the Corn Bill in Britain. I will also rejoice in her improved representative government, should it take a just and improving course. Wherever there is a Danish population in Schleswig desiring to be attached to Denmark, I would be the last man who would wish them placed under German rule. But I am not the less a friend to justice and of Germany. The true interest of Denmark is to make a commercial league with Britain—entire free trade betwixt the two nations—perhaps articles of mischievous tendency, alcohol compounds, tobacco, opium, excepted. This would render the two countries necessary to each other, and friends lastingly.

The heir of Schleswig-Holstein by the constitution of the Duchies, which no power but the will of the people has a right to change, has stated in his manifesto, in speaking of the usurpation of the Duchies by the Danes: '*The people's sense of right is the best guarantee of the rights of princes. Under pretence of the rights of princes the Duchies have been oppressed by the Dane, and under a prince they shall be righted.*'

It may be proper to state to your Lordship, at least to recall to your Lordship's memory, how the oppression of the Duchies by the Dane has been carried out, the people treated more like sheep to be shorn than

men to be justly governed. Independently of a high tax, both upon imports and land, an extraordinary contribution of 18 million dollars was some years back levied upon the Duchies to pay Danish debt, reducing numbers of landholders to bankruptcy, for the repayment of which the Duchies have a just claim; the youth of the Duchies, the German youth, have been forced away to Copenhagen to man the Danish forts, serve in the war vessels, and work in the dockyards, constructing a war fleet to overawe Germany by threatening her commercial navy, and to retain the Duchies in thrall; while so low was their pay, that their parents in the Duchies—often poor men obliged to borrow funds—had to forward money to their sons at Copenhagen to prevent them from starving. Such is the horror the young Germans have of being taken to Copenhagen by the Danes, that they fly their country rather than submit thus to be made work against their sense of patriotism.

Lately, upon the anniversary of one of the battles in which the Holsteiners were worsted by the Danes, after they were deserted by the Prussians at the threat of Russia, and by which the Danes say they conquered the Duchies and made them their own, some of the friends of the slain Holsteiners buried at Altona hung a few wreaths of flowers upon the graves of the slain. The result was that about 4,000 Danish troops with a park of artillery were immediately sent to occupy Altona. How could Germany submit to allow a portion of herself to be thus insulted and trampled upon? Did the absurd protocol of 1852 authorise this? Did it stipulate that tribute in money and young men as slaves

should be paid? Did it stipulate that the Duchies should pay the Danish debt? and that the tribute should be paid in Danish coin only—German coin being the usual circulating medium of the Duchies? Did it stipulate the use of the Danish language in the schools and law courts of the German towns of Schleswig? It might as well have done so as what it did.

Is this system of oppression to be supported by Britain against all constitutional right and justice, and only to be upheld by the right of force? Of late the tyranny (see 'Dundee Advertiser') was carried so far that any person found to have in his possession any of the smaller German currency, was liable not only to have such money confiscated, but to be fined or imprisoned for the offence, while the police were empowered to seize purses, search shops, break open tills, in quest of German coin, and that these measures were recklessly enforced in Altona, which is by position a mere suburb of German Hamburg. Still more galling is it that the Danish Government should wage a perpetual crusade against the German tongue in the churches, the schools, the universities and the services in Schleswig, thus endeavouring to metamorphose German people into Danes! Is your Lordship to send off a British fleet and army to assist the Danes in this sort of work? Your Lordship may depend upon it, that this act and its perpetrators would receive a meet award from posterity.

I am almost ashamed to detail the numerous ways that '*poor brave*' Denmark has taken to repress the energies and the capacities of improvement of the

Duchies, but an example or two will suffice to show the character. In the case of the university of Kiel, which formerly had a high standing as one of the centres of education and science in the north of Europe, especially as having the purest Hoch Deutsch spoken, and to which the youth from both Duchies resorted, this seat of high education has been in every possible manner depressed by the influence of the Danish Government, chiefly restricting the government patronage and place to the youth who had studied at Copenhagen, while those who had studied at Kiel were looked askance upon. This was entirely opposed to the constitutional law of the Duchies by which the study during two years at Kiel university was required to render the student eligible as a candidate for any of the learned professions or official situations. This illegal and shameful centralisation towards Copenhagen had the most injurious effect upon the Kiel university; as having studied there was found to be a bar to advancement, the number of students naturally fell off; from the low salaries attached to the professorships, and the diminished number of fees, the emolument was insufficient to call forth men of the highest standing, while one of the most important branches of study to befit the student for an extensive class of officials, was repressed at Kiel and removed to Copenhagen, where the student from the Duchies had first to learn Danish before he could follow it out. Also a professorship of agriculture, so important in the almost entirely agricultural Duchies and for which funds were collected to endow, when solicited for the Kiel university, was refused to be permitted by the Danish usurpers.

The same insidious means were taken to repress the material advancement as the mental. The rising commerce of the nations bordering on the Baltic eastward with the rest of the world has been under the necessity of circumnavigating the Cimbrian peninsula, increasing the length of the voyage in dangerous seas about 1,000 miles to what it would be were a convenient canal cut across the Duchies—the Kiel canal of an old date being very circuitous, inconvenient, and only suited for small craft. Canals have been proposed at three or four different places across from the Baltic to the German Ocean, either of which would be of immense importance to the Duchies and the Baltic nations; but Denmark, in order to render Copenhagen an entre port for the Baltic, and till lately to enhance the black-mail she levied on the Baltic trade, has denied permission for such a canal. The wonder is that Russia, Prussia, Mecklenburg, &c., and Britain permitted such an imposition as this levying of black-mail, called Sound dues, at Elsinore, or such an obstruction to the commerce of the north of Europe as the want of a convenient canal across the neck of the Jutland peninsula. It is probable that the proposed canal from the excellent entrance harbour at Neustadt on the Baltic side to a little east of Brunsbüttel on the lower Elbe, would prove the most advantageous. With a railway line at each side and two steam drags, vessels might make the transit in a few hours without any risk; while proceeding round by the Skager Rack and Skaw as many weeks might be required, and danger incurred.

In the present involved state of affairs in Europe which the British diplomacy has to meet, it is above all things necessary to cultivate the friendship of Germany.

We have seen a danger resulting from Denmark being influenced to act against us. We have to guard against the restlessness and warlike bent of the French, and the intrigue and cunning of Russia—to restrain the grasping ambition of both—that of the former to absorb Belgium, Egypt, Sardinia, and make the boundary of France on the north-east the Rhine—that of the latter to seize the entrance of the Baltic and the Dardanelles. These are the objects of each, and if they combine to carry these, it will require all the power of Britain and an united instead of a dismembered Germany to prevent their success.

It affords a melancholy view of humanity in its highest development to observe right, justice, every sentiment of patriotism outraged by the leading governments of Europe—the greater, the stronger being the most guilty—instance the protocol of 1852. We naturally ask ourselves, Can it be possible that the governments had a knowledge of good and evil, and that the German portion of them did even sign such a document stipulating the dismemberment of Germany—holding as nought the liberties of nearly a million of the most ancient branch of the German race, recklessly breaking the old constitutional rights, upon which their own governments were based. It is with difficulty that we can believe that Austria, Prussia, Mecklenburg, and their old ally Britain could be guilty of this. They well knew, they had already seen, how the usurped power over the Duchies by Denmark had been exercised. They well knew that by authorising this usurpation, they were devoting the Schleswig-Holstein people to the worst possible domination—to be the slaves of

another people, speaking a different language, different in literature, feeling, manners and customs; and more, that the ruling nation was of a lower grade in civilisation than the subjected. The governments signing the protocol could not surely be ignorant that, where a people is different in language from the people and nation by whom they are governed, the subjection is the most galling and unwholesome of all, and should the people trampled upon not right themselves by force, that a decline of energy of race in the subordinate is in time the certain sequence—that under continued slavery the mind of the race becomes debased. Hitherto the domination of Denmark over the Duchies has only tended, not to humble the people of Schleswig-Holstein, but rather to strengthen the love of liberty and to exasperate them against their oppressors. Can any maltreatment exceed that which I have already pointed out—the Duchies taxed for the means of keeping up a large naval and military force, quite disproportionate to the population and means of Denmark, in order to retain the Duchies in subjection—the officials in Schleswig generally Danes—the young men of the Duchies taken to Denmark as slaves and subjected to severe drudgery, not even receiving sufficient food to save them from starvation? The signers of the protocol knew, or if not they ought to have known, that to have the conditions of the protocol observed by the Danes, at least those promised by Denmark to Prussia and Austria, would require a large army to watch their conduct constantly kept up.

In order to flatter the governing families of Germany, that they might be led to give their concurrence, the

intriguers who planned the protocol got a German prince, a relation of the late king, but not the heir to the Duchies, nor I believe to the crown of Denmark, protocol-appointed to be king of Denmark and duke of Schleswig-Holstein, should the late king have no direct heir. This might also be with a view to render the German people more complying as well in the Duchies as in the rest of Germany. Here it is evident that, from the new constitution of Denmark, the influence of the king, though with German predilections, would not be great to befriend the Duchies, and that, in another generation, any German leaning would disappear, when the Duchies would be left to the tender mercies of the Dane.

It happened rather unluckily for the success of the protocol, but luckily for human rights and the future peace of Europe, that the signing of the protocol by Prussia and Austria was on certain stipulations regarding the manner the Duchies were to be governed, and to come into operation from the time the protocol was signed. To these stipulations the Danes, in their unbridled lust of power, gave no heed, only looking upon the Duchies as a conquered subordinate dependency of Denmark. The Prussian and Austrian parties to the protocol are thus relieved from their gage, unlawful though it was. *In the case of the Danish usurpation it is only the German people who are entitled to see the Duchies righted, as being a portion of themselves, whether in Schleswig or Holstein.* It is stated that Prussia has withdrawn her name from the protocol; the other governments who have signed the protocol seem to be too proud to admit of error, though

aware they have erred—not to possess honesty or courage to repair what they have done, though opposed to justice, patriotism, and in part to the strong feeling of their subjects. This is a dangerous position they have placed themselves in, and if ill befall, they will know whom to blame. In the case of the German nation not being able to assert the rights of Schleswig-Holstein, then the European nations, under the plea of the preservation of the balance of power, might have a right to interpose to prevent the Danish usurpation, but no right whatever to decree by protocol the usurpation.

Earnestly desiring the well-being of Denmark, I would strongly recommend her to arrange the affair of the Duchies without delay. The protocol arrangement will not suffice. Can it make Danes of Germans? A complete clearance from the Duchies is necessary. Should any connection remain, constant quarrels will take place. Denmark would be like a bird with a broken wing, and her king would be *Christian with his burthen of sin*. The Duchies would prove a thorn in her side, disabling her and ready to combine with her enemy should war take place. Besides, the connection would entail the hatred of Germany. She sees in the case of Poland that the sense of injustice and usurpation can never die—at least under the extending education and knowledge of modern Europe—but on the contrary, increase till nationalities prevail. If she attempt by force to oppose Germany, being the weaker party and in the wrong, she may depend, sooner or later, upon condign punishment, great destruction of Danish life and property, to end in a compulsory giving up of her unjust claim, and, after the French fashion, being made

to pay the expense of the war. With regard to those governments that have given their sanction to the unjust London protocol of 1852, they must, like others who have done wrong, and who may have any moral sense or common sense left, repair the evil as quickly as possible. They cannot do away with the fact that the people in the Duchies are Germans, and that to force them to be slaves to the Danes would be one of the greatest crimes perpetrated in modern times, and like slavery in the United States, not abolished in time, eventually to meet its reward.

Need I remind your Lordship that, under the existing and increasing moral sense of modern Europe, the only means of providing for peace and prosperity is a strict observance of nationalities? There is a knowledge of good and evil in civilised man progressive as civilisation progresses, which cannot be overcome and which will regulate governments by nationalities in spite of unjust protocols. Schleswig-Holstein, from the difference of the language alone, can never incorporate with Denmark, unless the language of Denmark change to German, which is not improbable, at least more probable than that the Duchies should remain under Danish rule. The necessity of a common nationality and language was seen in the unworkable incongruity and consequent separation of Belgium from Holland, proving the absurdity of protocols made by ignorant unprincipled men at Vienna as well as at London. It is also seen in the expediency of Britain giving up the Ionic Islands, and the further expediency of Austria giving up Venice, and France Rome.

As regards Germany, once so much torn by religious

antagonism, it is well that this cause of division is nearly extinct. It is also to be hoped that jealousy between the Austrian, Prussian, and smaller states party will not blind their better judgment to the necessity of uniting to resist the dismemberment of the empire. This affair of the Duchies is, I believe, destined to have a valuable combining effect upon Germany; that is, provided the signers of the protocol do not remain bigoted to persist in wrong. It will, in Germany, afford a sort of useful drill, or school of unity of feeling and action. Lying in the centre of Europe, able, if united, to sway the destinies of Europe to peace, order, progress, and the establishment of industrial liberty, equally important as political liberty to the well-being of the species—shame upon the degenerate German, if such there be, who from paltry jealousy would stand idly by and see his fatherland dismembered! and shame upon the English branch, the Angles, originally from this ancient Angel-Sachsen—this very Schleswig-Holstein—who would forget the claim of parentage, of kindred! Are they to be as regardless of the ties of blood as the Anglo-Americans?

The Germans had an example in the French conquest and occupation of Germany of the consequence of the want of unity. Let this never be forgotten. If complete unity of action and organisation be not previously arranged, all ready to rise as one man to resist any attempt at dismemberment or interference with German territory, it is not impossible Germany may again be reduced under foreign yoke, and perhaps be unable a second time to rise and retrieve her liberties.

In closing this letter, I cannot help again adverting to

the character of the protocol of London, with which your Lordship was connected. Judged aright, it is a combination of a number of governments, so far despots as despotically to interfere with what they had no business whatever, and in doing which they outraged every principle of constitutional right and of human liberty.

The Schleswig-Holstein affair is merely a dispute between the Danish Government and the Duchies, the half of which forms a part of the German Bund, which the German people, the observance of the constitution of the Duchies, and the law of nations, will quite suffice to arrange. There is, however, an observation attributed to your Lordship, which I hope is not correct, to which I have already alluded, that your Lordship had said you had perhaps forgotten the bearing of the question of the Duchies. (This will be taken as implying that you consider the dismemberment of the German Empire, the nationalities of the Duchies, the liberties of nearly a million of German people of the same blood as ourselves, as not of sufficient importance to merit your Lordship's recollection) is forgotten by the Prime Minister of England. I sincerely hope that this marked slight upon the importance of the liberty of the Duchies, of the integrity of the German Empire, of nationalities, is untrue, and that it will be denied by your Lordship.

I remain, my Lord,

Your obedient Servant,

PATRICK MATTHEW.

GOURDIEHILL: Dec. 21, 1863.*

* MSS. of similar bearing to the above letter were forwarded about the above date to Lords Palmerston, Russell, and Derby.

LETTER II.

TO THE BRITISH PEOPLE.

FRIENDS AND COUNTRYMEN,—Having left my home in the Carse of Gowrie, Perthshire, about three weeks ago, and taken a run through Schleswig-Holstein, a country I have long had an intimate knowledge of, I have hastened back to London to try if possible to disabuse you of the wrong impressions you have received from the gross misrepresentations of the British Press in favour of the attempt by the Danes to usurp the German Duchies. That this is, or rather was, a most unjust attempt at usurpation—entirely evil in its origin, purpose, progress, and tendency—directly opposed to nationalities, constitutional rights, and the natural rights of man—I am certain to have your verdict as soon as you come to have a knowledge of the facts. These I will try to lay honestly before you. In the first place, I will mention my journey.

On coming in sight of Heligoland in the Leith steamer, we observed a British frigate (the 'Aurora'), under steam, come rapidly round from the northward by the west side of the island and anchor on the east side. About the same time, between twelve and one o'clock, slight concussions of guns were felt, the noise reverberating downward to the deck from the sails of our vessel. On advancing a little farther we could distinguish through a smoke-haze the German and Danish fleets in action, about twelve or fifteen miles north-east of the island, the noise of the cannonade.

becoming, as we advanced, louder and continuous. This had a strong exciting effect upon our seamen aboard, causing their eyes to open wide and flash in a remarkable manner, as if none had a right to fight upon the sea but themselves. After the action had continued about two hours, we observed a dense column of smoke arise high up from one of the largest vessels. A portion of her rigging was on fire, and some of her spars appeared either broken or burned. Upon this two of the large ships, the one on fire and another, and three of the gun-boats (the German force), retired south-west to within the British waters of Heligoland, and cast anchor, no doubt to repair the damage of the vessel which had caught fire; while the three remaining large vessels (the Danish force), after a little delay, bore away northward. On my return I had opportunity at Cookshaven of seeing the two large German vessels which had been in the action. One of them, the 'Schwarzenberg,' the rigging of which had been on fire, had a few brown spots on her sides, but neither seemed to have received serious damage. It was said that the kindling of a portion of the rigging was owing to the very foolish act of bringing upon deck in the hurry a number of shells, which, lying in a heap, accidentally exploded, kindling the rigging and killing and wounding numbers of the men. This accounts for the great loss of men in the 'Schwarzenberg,' and the slight loss in the others.

Upon reaching Altona and proceeding inward, German and Schleswig-Holstein flags were waving everywhere; the utmost order and regulation prevailed; Austrians, Prussians, soldiers of the Bund and of

Schleswig-Holstein being on the most friendly terms mutually and with the country people; the soldiers billeted on the farmers seeming a portion of the family, and playing with the children. Holstein appeared the land of harmony and kindness; all was right—the hated Dane was expelled.

Although having witnessed several German springs reclothe the land in verdure, I never observed a spring so genial and grand as the present. A little longer delayed than usual, the sun, having attained greater strength, roused nature up with a bound from her winter sleep. When I left Scotland the trees and country were green. On April 28, more than a week before I left, I measured my own rye-grass in the field thirty-one inches long. In Holstein, three degrees farther south, on May 10, nakedness and barrenness prevailed; but in a few days the whole face of nature was changed, as if by enchanter's wand—exuberance of expanded leaves and flowers. Summer was come, 'the meadows painted with delight,' the summer birds were come, and every garden resounding day and night with the nightingale's song—the poor little thing transported with joy!* Such a change had occurred with man,

* In Germany the innocent small birds are held sacred. There is a kindness in the German character which displays itself on numerous occasions. During the rigour of winter in the north of Germany, when the small birds have, of necessity, migrated southward, I have seen the crows walking about in the streets among the people. It is held criminal in Germany to steal from an innocent bird that does not destroy the crops, as much so as from a human person, and is punishable by fine and imprisonment. It is certainly baser and more cowardly. Even the clergy from the pulpit denounce it as a crime. How different this from the Wren-hunt in Celtic Ireland. The hedges are run along by a

May I hope that this most genial spring is a good augury of the future of this beautiful country—that there will in future be protection to person and property—that no more forced contributions will be levied on the Duchies to pay the Danish debt, and that the young men will no longer be forced to flee their country, to escape being sent as slaves to work in the Copenhagen dockyards, and starved from want of sufficient pay to procure food?

While in the neighbourhood of Altona I saw at Blankenese the reception, by the assembled people, of the Duke Frederic of Augustenburg as their future sovereign. The whole country population, for many miles around, turned out to welcome him; music playing, banners flying, the men of the numerous agricultural villages, all well-dressed men, marching in order, each village distinct under its own banner, and with the white ring round the arm as pledge of their faith and readiness to take the field. Here the whole population was unanimous. The day was splendid. All the roads around were filled with people, and the reception most enthusiastic. Duke Frederick of Schleswig Holstein is a man of 'manly make,' tall and handsome. A face indicative of firmness without much play of feature—a quiet determined look, as if he would know and do his duty without many words in the

number of young men in search of a wren, and when one is found the hunt commences, till the poor thing is exhausted in its powers of flight and killed. This even exceeds in brutality the Butcher-Battus in the game preserves of England. I would hint to our Trade of Butchers, that they lose a source of profit they might avail themselves of, the letting of the shambles to those men of fortune who so much delight in slaughter.

Leopold fashion, never become the slave of luxury and sensual enjoyment—perhaps rather too much of a military bearing, but that may be useful.

The only cloud to the general brightness was the sight of Danish prisoners. Why did they not all run home, as they ought? They had no right to be in Schleswig-Holstein. The effect of sympathy mastering the better judgment was exemplified a few days ago in myself, upon meeting a detachment of Prussians escorting Danish prisoners. I could not help feeling strongly for the poor men under their misfortune; but when, at the cemetery at Kiel, I passed the burial military procession of a Prussian soldier of the liberating army, who had been severely wounded, my feelings took a different direction. The prisoners were in German hands, the kindest people in Europe, and would be better treated than they merited. They had been the aggressors, they had fought on the anti-nationality side, they had been guilty, at least, of attempted murder of those who had never injured them—of those protecting their native land against a foreign usurpation. They, if only poor instruments in the hands of others, were yet so far guilty in having allowed themselves to be made the tools of unprincipled Copenhagen politicians, who have been existing upon the spoils of the Duchies. The public feeling in Britain, taking part with Poland against foreign usurpation, and with Denmark in favour of foreign usurpation, must arise from some strange confusion of ideas.

In nations, as in the individual, certain provisions are necessary for the maintenance of health and capacity of development. Even rare fertility of soil,

superiority of climate and position, are not of themselves sufficient without these. Of these provisions, home-government is the most essential. In the case of the Duchies, nature has been highly propitious. In race we have the old pure German Teuton, offsets from which have gone to form the leading portion of the English and Scotch peoples, and, at the second remove, that of the American United States. In climate, that sea air tropical current from the southwest which passes over the British Islands sweeps across the Duchies into the Baltic Channel, greatly modifies the climate, and affords more regular showers to the growing crops than in more continental positions, giving greater certainty of production. The rich silt deposit on the west side of the Duchies and along the Elbe border affords the finest pastures in Europe, producing breeds of horned cattle and horses primarily superior to any other, and of which Britain has availed herself as a bases of her improved breeds, as well as of the superior race of man. The eastern side of the Duchies, rising into beautiful undulations, the highest not exceeding 300 feet, consists generally of a rich deep clay loam, over a sand and gravel bottom affording natural drainage. This eastern portion, the ancient Angle land, is peculiarly fertile in the cereals, grasses, and legumes, producing great quantities of that superior butter with which London is chiefly supplied. In position the Duchies partake much of that of Britain, both lying as natural entrepôts on the west side—to seaward—of the European continent.

The central portion or backbone of the Cimbrian Peninsula, including Schleswig-Holstein, running from

the Elbe northward almost to the Norway coast, is the sand-bar of the Baltic. Most gulfs and rivers have a similar bar where the sea-waves break. This Baltic Bar, thrown up when the sea was from 50 to 100 feet higher, or the land lower, and where not only the Atlantic wave broke, but also where the north-east Baltic wave would strike the Atlantic west-wave, both laying down or rather heaping up their wafted materials, forms the basis of the Cimbric Peninsula. This sand-bar, from 50 to 100 miles broad, and near 400 long, is curiously twisted in the stratification, from the whirlings of the impinging waves and currents meeting from east and west; and the mud or clay wafted matter not being deposited where there was so much water commotion, the soil in this central portion is too silicious and much of it uncultivated, partly covered with a peat deposit, formed by and bearing heath, mosses, and poor grass. On the west side of the Duchies, a later deposit of silt covers up this sand basis. This silt land, not above a few feet higher than high-water level, much of it below that level with the sea walled out, forms the rich marsh pastures, where the cattle reared in Jutland are fed off. On the east side of the peninsula we have the very interesting rich loam formation covering the basis sand, in some places to great depth, in others only a few feet. This clayey formation, in some places with boulders, seems a glacier moraine, deposited when the Baltic was a vast glacier river, the rich clayey mould being the glacier scourings of the mud bottom of the Baltic Sea. This material has to some extent suffered displacement by earthquake movement, but the inequalities of the surface are chiefly the result of the

scooping out by the streamlets. This beautiful undulating eastern division is much more extensive than the flat silt western division now is. But at a former period, when North Friezeland existed, they might probably be about equal. The poor central sand and gravel division, nearly level, fully equals the rich eastern in extent; the former is also in some places modified by earthquake commotion bringing up clay, marl, and various mixtures. The whole peninsula seems here and there to have received deposits from icebergs, and is entirely a modern drift formation, no rock except a little chalk and some other recent calcareous agglutinations being reached by boring or digging.

From the situation of the Duchies, barring up what would seem the natural mouth of the Baltic, and throwing the Baltic navigation northward round the Cimbrian Peninsula, as I have before stated, a deep convenient canal, long projected, and easily practicable across the Duchies, would be highly advantageous to the nations eastward which bound the Baltic. It is dread of this, which would throw Copenhagen, and Denmark generally, out of the line of the Baltic trade, that renders Denmark so covetous of the Duchies, that she may prevent this, crush the improvement of the Duchies, prevent the development of their natural capabilities, and their becoming the channel of the Baltic commerce, laying Denmark, and more especially Copenhagen, in the background.

This solves the question of the Duchies, accounts for the policy of the gradual step-by-step usurpation, and the pertinacity with which Denmark has kept hold of her prey, till wrung from her by main force. Are the

British to allow themselves to be made her tool in attempting to get back to Denmark what she had stolen? Abroad, it is said, some of the British Press have been bribed—they themselves best know. This may have given the cue, and they followed each other like a flock of sheep. They might with equal justice and chance of success attempt to re-establish the Algerine pirates as Danish slavery over the Duchies.

I may mention here that, about fourteen years ago, upon the retirement of the Prussians who were assisting the Schleswig-Holsteiners in removing the Danish usurpation, the forces of the Duchies were driven beyond the Dannewerk, where the Danes entrenched themselves, and resisted several strong attacks made by the Schleswig-Holstein forces to retrieve Schleswig. Upon this Austria sent an army into Holstein, demanded the Provisional Government to lay down their arms, and that she would see the rights of the Duchies maintained. Upon this, the Danish Government coming under certain pledges to Austria and Prussia that the constitutional rights of the Duchies should be respected, the Austrian army was withdrawn, and Austria and Prussia, trusting to these pledges, signed the protocol of 1852. These pledges were, however, only made to be broken; so far, indeed, that last autumn the Danish Government had the audacity, as before stated, to declare Schleswig an integral portion of Denmark, and held Holstein only as an enslaved dependency, thus rendering Austria and her army of occupation mere instruments in accomplishing the usurpation of the Duchies. The death of the late king of Denmark and duke of the Duchies having changed

the line of succession, Austria and Prussia, finding the pledges of the Danish Government completely broken by the continued Danish usurpation, upon the faith of which pledges they signed the protocol, have had no alternative but to withdraw from the protocol, and use force with those whom pledges could not bind, as the rightful means to check this impudent attempt to dismember Germany and enslave German people.

The tactics of the two great German states are now being developed. They have done the German work, and done it quickly, which saves miles of red tape, when cotton is so scarce, and thousands of lives. A few weeks' longer delay might have rendered the liberation of the Duchies a work of difficulty. Help to the Dane from Scandinavia and Britain was expected. Denmark, by legislating the seizure of Schleswig as an integral portion of her dominions, completely broke from the protocol of 1852, and gave an opportunity to the German Governments, who had rather unwisely signed the protocol, to free themselves from their engagements, and at the same time gave them as Germans full right, the right of nationality, whether with the sanction of the Diet or without it, to defend the integrity of ancient Germany by expelling the Danes from the Duchies. Now that the work has been so energetically accomplished, it will be right to offer terms to Denmark before pursuing the war. That Denmark renounce all claim to the Duchies—restore all the men of the Duchies which she had so unjustly forced from their homes as conscripts—refund whatever contributions Denmark has levied upon the Duchies to pay the Danish debt; also to pay the value of the German

shipping (private property) she has captured on account of the Germans having spared private property they captured in Jutland—at least in this to make a balance. The integrity of Denmark was never interfered with, till she refused to restore the stolen German territory; and only when she attacked the private property of the Germans upon the seas, has Germany attacked the Danish property on land, in retributive justice. What confusion of moral judgment must reign in the head of Earl Russell, who thinks the seizure of private property at sea more just than that of private property on land, when, if any difference exist, it is the reverse. The only reason I can see for his Lordship's opinion is that he himself may have his property on land. It was also amusing to hear Earl Ellenborough complain of the contributions the army of liberation had been levying upon the property of Jutland in time of war, and not say a word about the contributions levied by the Danes upon the Duchies in time of peace, one of which amounted to 18 million dollars, by which many of the landholders in the Duchies were ruined.

As the Duchies were regarded only as a field for plunder by the Danes, no wonder the Danes in Copenhagen are in consternation and wrath. The Duchies, naturally rich in agricultural wealth, afforded to the ambitious, grasping, idle Copenhageners a rich field for pillage, and they took very good care to work it.

At length force for once has been exhibited on the side of nationalities and constitutional rights, and has prevailed. Britain appears to have been deceived by the gradual usurpation by the Danes of the German

Duchies, and influenced by the absurd idea that because Denmark is not of great extent she has a right to seize her neighbour's territory. This is indeed the chief reason I have seen given by the London journals for the seizure of the Duchies by Denmark. The protocol acted upon this principle, and the British, so generously inclined, wish to be generous at another's cost. Here the British will not take the trouble to make any enquiry into the fact, but too willingly submit to be led by the Press, who in this case have resorted chiefly to the argument of sneer, abstaining from facts, or misrepresenting them. The rest of Europe cannot account for this Danish leaning, so opposite to British interests. It would seem indeed that the gentlemen of the British Press had taken up the Dano-German question as a competitive game, trying to surpass each other in contumely and abuse of Germany, and in praise of Denmark. This is not a very commendable game, and ought to be checked by everyone who has any regard for his country's reputation, or for common decency. Here, this unjust, calumniating conduct of the British Press is more hateful to honest peaceable men, than even the pertinacity of the Danes themselves in holding their rapine. It brings the blush of anger and shame to the British brow, where the facts are known. The Danish pertinacity is encouraged by British flattery and misrepresentation, and greater destruction of life and property, and more suffering to the Dane, is the result.

Would that the same forces now employed in chastising the aggressive Danes, and even the obstinate misled Danes themselves, were, along with a French and British army, employed to right Poland and to

drive the ruthless Tartar hordes back to their dreary steppes! When nationality, when justice, when humanity has been outraged in the most horrible manner—to an extent that human nature can no longer bear the description—it becomes the bounden duty of civilised nations to interfere, right the injured, and punish the evildoer in a manner as to be a memorable example to posterity.

It is strange that Britain, so proud of her own freedom, should threaten to enter into a great war in aid of usurpation against nationalities, and certain to be highly injurious to herself, to support a weak, ignorant, but presumptuous nation in an attempt to seize upon a portion of the territory of her neighbour, the most powerful people that exist—a people slow to anger, averse to quarrel, but who, once roused by unbearable injury, and united to a man, as they are here through indignation of the present attempt at dismemberment of their fatherland, and uncalled-for interference of other nations, have a determination, perseverance, and mental and physical resources beyond any other continental people.

It may be asked, How comes it that the paltry state of Denmark adopted a line of conduct so absurd as to attempt to usurp the German Duchies? This impudent act of aggression has been gradually progressive, no doubt encouraged by the great forbearance of the Germans, but was only completed last autumn, when, upon the late king, also Duke of Schleswig-Holstein, dying without progeny, an edict was passed by the Parliament and Government of Denmark, uniting Schleswig, the northern half of the Duchies, with

Denmark, an act opposed to all constitutional right, nationalities, and moral right, while Holstein was held by Denmark as a dependency—as a field for plunder by the hungry Copenhagener, as a sheep to be shorn, or, as the Holsteiners say, a fresh-milk cow. This attempted dismemberment of Germany—this completed aggression, the seizure of ancient German ground, and its incorporation into Denmark, exceeded the bounds of forbearance. The German people could no longer brook the infatuated Danish usurpation. They demanded that the integrity of the empire and race should be upheld against all opposition, and this has been effectually carried out, and will be maintained against all opposition by a million of men in arms of the foremost race existing.

It is difficult to account for the defect of judgment exemplified in the conduct of the Danes upon other occasions as well as this. During the great French war, their leaning to France obliged Britain twice to clip the wings of Denmark, to prevent her flying off to the enemy, and now again Germany is forced, by the usurpation of the Duchies—a far more urgent occasion—to give the transgressors a check. To this mistake of attempting to make prey of a province of Germany, the ignorant and mischievous countenance of Britain has no doubt had its effect; but this is no reason why Britain should continue, by exhibited feeling in their favour, to cause them to persist in evil. The special favour of the British towards this troublesome little kingdom, and their disfavour towards their old allies, in direct opposition to their own interest, to justice, morality, and constitutional

right, arises from a combination of circumstances to which it is not here necessary to allude. Our chivalric Press exclaims : ‘ Can a chivalric Englishman stand idly by and see two great nations attack and trample upon a weak neighbour? This ignores the fact of criminal aggression by the weaker party. Some thirteen years ago, when the weaker Duchies, upon the desertion of the Prussians at the threat of Russia, were trampled upon by the comparatively stronger Denmark, we heard very little of this boasted chivalric feeling on the part of the British people to protect the weak. The only difference in the two cases is, that the Duchies were in the right and Denmark in the wrong. Shall we suppose British sympathies towards Denmark arises from a fellow-feeling—that she herself is a guilty aggressor? I leave Ireland to reply.

In Denmark, during the two last reigns, a great change has taken place in the government, in what is termed a popular direction. Previously, the king was an absolute monarch, and the measures of government were not quite so partial in favour of Denmark and to prejudice of the Duchies. But since the government came to take a representative character, and the monarch’s power restricted, the Danish element and interest has prevailed, and Copenhagen had come to be what Paris is to France—the absorber of all power and place, and the field of expenditure of nearly the whole income of the Peninsula as far as the gates of Hamburg. A strong navy has been constructed at Copenhagen, partly by pressed shipwrights from Holstein and timber from the Duchies. A sea and land force has been embodied quite incommensurate to the population and resources

of the country, entailing debt and high taxation, for which the Duchies have been highly assessed, while the disbursement of the collected taxes has been almost wholly limited to Copenhagen and its vicinity, situated at the other extremity of Denmark from the Duchies. Hence the Duchies, under the new system of government centralisation (here the reverse of central) were destined to have their life's-blood sucked out by Copenhagen, the same as that of Ireland, and also to a considerable extent that of Scotland, by London centralisation. This was the more felt by the Duchies, as the war preparation and *materiel*, which the taxation of the Duchies went to furnish, was to keep up their own subjugation. It is a general rule, that distant provinces, dependencies, under alien government, and more especially when of alien language, are regarded by the superior power merely as fields for plunder. It is also the case, that the more popular and republican the superior government, the more tyrannically oppressive is the treatment of the dependency. The Orations of Cicero illustrate how far this tyranny over a subjugated people can be carried. Having the sovereign and government present in a country, more especially an agricultural country, is of the very first importance to the general prosperity and to progress. Look at wretched Ireland, with the sovereign and principal landowners absentees. Hence the once populous Ireland is fast becoming a cattle and sheep run, and the Irish people banished from their own country. Without the intervention of Germany a like fate awaited the German Duchies. In fact, the young men about twenty were running away to escape the Danish conscription. [Do the British

people really think that the Germans would remain passive in seeing Germany dismembered—one of the oldest portions of fatherland seized by a piratical neighbour and the people trampled on in this manner? Such would have brought dishonour and contempt upon the German name.

The malign effect of alien government, and more especially by an alien race, has not been sufficiently pointed out. It has led generally to the sinking and destruction of the subject race, or their expulsion. This is exemplified in the case of Ireland, where the ancient Celtic and mixed population have, during the last twenty years, been destroyed or expelled, at least diminished to the amount of nearly three millions, first by the disastrous famine—which I, eight or ten years previously, had pointed out as imminent, from the extreme poverty and precarious potato diet—the natural result of the wealth and produce of the country being carried away to England as rent to the absentee proprietors. A sweeping expulsion followed of the working agricultural population evicted from their small farms. This clearance has been carried out by the great lords of the soil, mostly absentees, letting their land, formerly agricultural, as large grazing farms, cattle and sheep runs; and, as the most efficient means of effecting a clearance of the rural population, sending round hired bands under their land-agent, protected by military, to destroy the villages, throwing down the houses, and leaving only heaps of ruins! This is alien government! This is only carrying out, though in a different manner, the often-expressed wish of the spoliation class in Britain, 'That the only radical cure for Irish disturb-

ance (disturbance produced by alien mal-government) was a dip in the ocean for twenty-four hours of the whole island!' No doubt the Danes and their British supporters would be satisfied could they decree Schleswig-Holstein to a similar fate. Yet, perhaps, the German population of the Duchies being, like the Scotch, one of the most industrious peoples that exist, the hungry Copenhagener would rather prefer to have them as two laborious bee-hives, making honey for Danish consumption.

Under present circumstances, the foreign minister of Britain having contemptuously refused to receive the address of the people of the Duchies (as if the people of one of the oldest states of Europe were of no more account than a flock of sheep of which the owner was doubtful, I think the people of the Duchies should address their kindred, the people of England and Scotland, and state the facts of the attempted usurpation by the Dane. It might even be useful to address all the states of Europe upon this subject. The other governments might not follow the example of the British foreign minister; the case of the Duchies may come to be their own. In other parts of Europe, several peoples and portions of peoples are at present suffering under alien government, and it is high time, from the advance of the moral sense of the age, that justice and constitutional rights be strictly attended to, and any breach of national rights signally punished as an example to evil-doers on the large scale.

It might tend to raise the British a little more in the estimation of Europe, that they exerted themselves to repair the evils which result from the infraction of the

rights of nationality in their own dominions instead of defending an outrage upon nationalities in another. It would be amusing, were it not a too serious matter, hearing an Englishman declaim on the sacredness of nationalities as respects Italy and Poland, but taking the complete opposite side as regards the Duchies. How are we to account for this inconsistency? Is it from jealousy, or prejudice, or ignorance, or merely in opposition to France, or is it as incense to the rising sun? I find it more difficult to solve this problem than the problem of species and vital development.

Is it because England is herself equally guilty with Denmark in trampling upon nationality that she so strongly supports Denmark in her predaceous aggression? The two cases of Scotland and Ireland exemplify, so far, the effect of alien government; the former robbed of the wealth which her extreme industry and economy creates to feed devouring London, the latter so deeply robbed and trampled upon as even to influence the character of race, depriving it of all disposition to industry and economy.* But we find the disposing causes to evil in alien government greater in the case of the Duchies subject to Denmark than in the case of Scotland and Ireland to England. It is only a small portion of the Celtic Scotch and Irish who do not speak the English language, while few of the people of the German Duchies speak Danish. It is necessary that the three British peoples should be under one

* The different character of race is here exemplified. What crushes the more sanguine Celt, in poverising the more obdurate Scotch, descendants of the North Freize, stimulates them to excess of economy and industry.

monarch, but the presence of the monarch and ministry, to hold court, should be divided between the three kingdoms in the ratio of the population and amount of taxation paid by each, say eight months of the year in London, two in Edinburgh, and two in Dublin. This would afford an excellent change of air, physically wholesome and pleasant, and mentally give a strong impulse to the intellect, and also a knowledge of facts connected with human well-being and progressive improvement of race. In no other way could the monarch and ministry obtain a correct knowledge of the character, condition, and wants of the population of the three kingdoms.

Her Majesty, our queen, in her delicate moral sense, could not but acknowledge the justice of Schleswig-Holstein independence; and it is said that Her Majesty's sanction to the protocol of 1852 was obtained in rather a compulsory manner, much against Her Majesty's sense of right and better judgment. It is also said that upon a late occasion Her Majesty's sanction was requested by her ministry to some very improper interference with the German-Danish affair which might have led Britain into hostilities with Germany, and that her widowed Majesty requested to retire into a private room for a little time to ask of the spirit of her husband his assistance to direct her mind to what was right and just for her to do—that is, to consider what her lamented husband, whose superior judgment she had been accustomed to lean upon and trust to, would have advised. Could anything be more affecting? Could anything more exemplify conjugal affection, sincerity, and desire to do right? After some time passed alone in reflec-

tion, it is said that Her Majesty stated she would rather resign the crown than give sanction to what was calculated to lead to an unjust war against the people of her mother and husband. What shall we think of thus harassing Her Majesty upon a question which should never have been proposed—propositions of interference which their own judgment and moral sense (if they had any) must have seen were opposed to justice, peace, order, and the prosperity of a kindred people. I hope we shall not have to listen much more to the boasted chivalric feelings of the British ministry or British Press in favour of the usurping Dane, or any other usurper attempting to trample down nationalities and constitutional rights.

With respect to the law of nations, no government or combination of governments have a right to interfere with nationality under any pretence whatever. The law of nations extends only to protect nationalities, not to crush them—to prevent one nation by an act of aggression absorbing another or portion of another and thus overturning the supposed balance of power.

The whole affair, apart from the meddling and muddling of diplomatic wiseacres, is as clear as day. I have pointed out the facts of the gradual encroachment made by the Danes upon the independence and nationality of the Duchies, the absurd attempt to metamorphose Germans into Danes—and consummated last autumn, as they thought, by their impudently decreeing Schleswig a portion of Denmark. Should a doubt be pretended of the German nationality of the Duchies, why not put the question to the people themselves?

Europe has listened *ad nauseam* to the cuckoo-cry

of the British Press, 'Let us haste to save the integrity of poor brave Denmark.' Here is a most absurd misconception or misstatement. No one ever attempted to interfere with the integrity of poor brave Denmark, but Germany has interfered to rescue poor brave Schleswig-Holstein from the thrall of aggressive rapacious Denmark. Should Denmark fancy herself cut in twain by Germany taking back her own, I have only Hamlet's advice to give her, 'Live the purer with the other half.'

PATRICK MATTHEW.

LONDON: *May 30, 1864.*

LETTER III.

HURRIED GLANCE AT THE HISTORY OF MAN IN EUROPE.

HAVE the British, the descendants of the Angel-Sachsen and North Frieze Germans, actually forgotten their own origin? Are they ignorant of the cause of the rise of Britain to her present superiority in the scale of nations—that it is the colonisation of Britain by these very Duchies, of the purest of the ancient Teuton or German race, which they are now attempting to get enslaved—a race certainly the most remarkable the earth has produced, and the cause of the unparalled advance of civilisation and the arts of life in the present era? Has Britain forgotten that without the industry, the providence, the steady persever-

ance, the strong body and sagacious mind of the German element, she would have been little better than what Ireland is—tributary to some part of the continent, as she was before she received the German leaven of a race superior to the British Celt? Ireland, more distant from the Teuton supply, has only in the north-east corner received enough of that element to render that a district of progress; while the Celtic portion, subdued, but not colonised, by Teuton England, has been made a tributary land—a great portion of the agricultural wealth, agriculture being almost the only source of wealth in Celtic Ireland, being regularly remitted to English landlords, whose progenitors had appropriated to themselves the land of Ireland; this regular drain where there is no genius for manufacturing industry necessarily leaves the country in indigence.

The history of the Teuton or German race is not sufficiently studied by the naturalist. This people in ancient times, as at present, occupying the region between the Rhine and Poland, including the Duchies, had made greater advancement in agriculture, freedom, social equality, organisation, and high estimation of woman, than any other nation we have accounts of, and, being more robust in mind and body, and having greater powers of increase and of combination, they naturally overwhelmed the inferior races—Celtic, Cimbric, Belgic, and Slavic, around them, subduing, partly colonising, and giving branches of the German language, and so far German civilisation, to Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Iceland, a portion of Belgic territory, the rich alluvion of the Delta of the Vistula, and ultimately Britain. Their northern strength brought them into collision

with rapacious military Rome, at the height of the Roman power, which they withstood, while the Celtic and Belgic races of Spain, Gaul, and Britain fell under the Roman yoke. Upon the decline of the Roman power, and the split into an eastern and western empire, the Germanised Teutons of the north threw out repeated swarms of armed colonists, who overwhelmed Britain, Spain, France, Italy, and a portion of Africa, giving a land aristocracy to these countries. Although in these countries the population had greatly increased under the Roman government, the race had lost all manly independence, power of self-government and self-defence, at least were incapable of resisting the formidable Teuton. Hence the South of Europe became the prey of the northern invaders. These new masters of southern Europe, not being in numbers sufficient to become colonists over such extended possessions, only afforded, as above stated, an aristocracy or ruling class, and seizing upon all the land as landlords, gave rise to the feudal system. This system, however, was or is only calculated to live its day. This Teuton aristocracy in their turn yielded to the enervating demoralising effect of the hot south, for which they are unfitted by constitution of race, have generally become useless as a ruling class, and in France, where a comparatively energetic Celtic and Belgic indigenous population remained, this aristocracy has been ejected, and the feudal system swept away, which will also take place in Spain and Italy as soon as the original Celtic and mixed population become capable of the effort. To effect this gradually and peaceably, the aristocracy of these countries, who must be aware they are in a false

position, ought immediately to do away with all the unjust laws and customs made to support the feudal system—land entail, primogeniture succession, &c., which, being directly opposed to the natural law of competitive selection, is certain eventually to produce degeneracy of race, and the sooner, as this aristocracy had been built up by nature in adaptation to a cooler climate.

Although the powerful and expansive German had thus mastered nearly the whole of Europe, owing to the colonists not having swept away the indigenes from the conquered countries, as history states the Jews and other barbarous peoples of the East have sometimes done, Germany proper, that is, the ancient brood-ground, embraces much the same territory it did in ancient times (it being chiefly her British colony, which is extending so widely the Anglo-Saxon race over the earth), and is not now like some other nations, an encroaching power, seizing by hook or crook the possessions of their neighbour. On the contrary, of late, her extreme forbearance has only served to encourage her northern neighbour to attempt the seizure of a portion of the German territory. The modern Germans, a peaceable, highly intellectual and industrious people, no doubt erred in not having checked the first encroachments made by the Danes upon the independence of the German Duchies, waiting, perhaps, in expectancy that the different law of succession would soon sever them. This the death of the late king of Denmark and duke of the Duchies has indeed effected. But, upon this event, the Danes not taking a hint from Germany to retire from the Duchies, Germany, irresistible

when once roused and combined, has rightly exercised force to effect what constitutional right, reason, and good advice was ineffectual in doing.)

This is an act to which Germany is compelled by the strongest bonds of honour and duty to her own countrymen to perform. To have permitted the enslavement of the Duchies by a neighbouring nation, who as a claimant had only the right of force and usurpation, would have branded the German people with lasting infamy. It is an old saying that 'He who will not protect his own is worse than an infidel.'

All this being patent, how comes it that a great portion of the people of Britain, and especially the British Press, have a hostile feeling to, look with a jaundiced eye upon, this patriotic act of Germany, even speak of employing hostile means of preventing Germany from protecting herself!—of protecting Denmark in her scandalous attempt at usurpation? Is this because Denmark and the Danes have been the faithful ally and friends of Britain? or is it because Germany and the Germans have been Britain's insidious enemies? Is this out of delicacy and regard for the feelings of our widowed Queen that these *loyal* haters of Germany look thus askance upon justice, right, nationalities, upon an act, considering the character of race, authoritatively demanded in human liberty and progress, quite as much as the manumission of the negro in the United States, Cuba, and Brazil?

War is war, however lenient the parties engaged may be towards the population where war rages, or however chivalric the contending parties may be towards each other. In an affair of life or death, victory or defeat,

little ceremony is going, and the innocent or peaceable sometimes will suffer, however much the combatants may regret it. The British Press has been especially eloquent upon the asserted barbarity of the Prussians opening their fire upon the village of Sonderburg within the Danish fortified lines, the head-quarters of their forces, and where a considerable portion of the Danish soldiers resorted for sheltered night-quarters in warm beds, while the besieging army had little other cover than the dome of heaven. The villagers knew this, that they were in the Danish head-quarters—that if they did not remove out of harm's way to a more distant locality from the Prussian batteries—if they remained assisting the Danes, probably as their servants, cooking their food or cleaning their weapons, that they must take the consequences. The number of non-combatants injured were few, not the tenth part, I believe, of what the British Press reported. The Prussians threw a shot or two over the village as warning before shelling the village, and if the non-belligerents did not remove, they had themselves to blame. Here the fault, if fault there was, did not so much lie in the Prussians as in the Danes making the village their head-quarters, as it were to shelter themselves under the Prussian clemency. I put the question to the gentlemen of the Press, who have been most eloquent upon this asserted barbarity, or, to use their own word, *brutality* of the Prussians, if they had been the commander of the Prussian besieging army, would they have acted otherwise in justice to the brave men under them engaged in a winter campaign, to whom speedy success was life—a lingering siege death to many,

and perhaps defeat. To whom then would the term *brutal* be most fitting?

How can we account for this perversion of the British moral sense, to which the greater part of the British Press has so pandered? I cannot believe that it is entirely brought about by the misstatements and colouring of the Press. The germ must have previously existed, and the Press have only cultivated it. It is rather strange that the French people and Emperor seem to have a greater leaning to justice and nationalities than the British?

A conference is stated to be resolved upon to treat of the affair of Schleswig-Holstein. If well-informed, judicious, honest men, and of adequate powers, be employed, all will go right. Are those guilty of the same crime as that attempted by the Dane to be the judges? I hope the angel of justice will stand at the portal, and strike down every delegate of a government equally guilty as that of Denmark.

The conditions of the Protocol of 1852 require some notice, and show the utter incapacity or evil design of all connected. No statesman, if he had not an ulterior intention of embroilment, would have proposed such a *settlement* of the Duchies question, certain to act as a trap to catch the Danes in the self-same act of usurpation, plunder, and oppression, which Germany has at length been roused to put down. The conditions of the Protocol place Schleswig-Holstein and Denmark exactly in the same false position they formerly fell into under the same sovereign—at least as false, certain to compromise the independence of the weaker, which, though an entirely different people, and its individuality

secured by the most binding statutes, would sooner or later fall to be usurped by the stronger. Otherwise Danes would not be Danes—would have lost their inbred character of race, which, when repressed, as sea-rovers, from plunder on the ocean, led them to try to carry it out by land. Under the protocol arrangement a German army would be required for protection, an army of observation constantly stationed on the northern frontier of Schleswig. Is the reason, judgment, sound sense of Europe of the present intelligent age to be outraged by such an absurd protocol-*settlement* of the Duchies question? Let it be remembered here that the first false position of the Duchies (a weaker power brought under the same governing head with a stronger) was brought about constitutionally, but that, on the contrary, the new protocoled false position is in direct opposition to constitutional succession, as well as against all sense of utility, expediency, and justice.

PATRICK MATTHEW.

GOURDIEHILL: *April* 30, 1864.

P.S.—There is one circumstance of which I would remind statesmen connected with this Danish affair. It is a natural sequence in the condition of man, that the superior civilisation under a state of peace gradually makes way against an inferior, when no strong boundary line divides them. Hence the line of demarcation between Schleswig and Denmark, as Germans and Danes, will gradually advance northwards, that is, if the Germans do not decline from their ancient energy.

P. M.

LETTER IV.

RESPECT TO NATIONALITIES NECESSARY TO PEACE AND
PROGRESS IN EUROPE.

THE following letter was written towards the end of 1862, but not published :—

The present agitation of Europe is not caused by the quarrels of despots leading nations to destroy one another to gratify a mischievous ambition. It is now a wholesome agitation—an expansion of right and justice to free nations and peoples from foreign domination. On the Vistula and the Elbe, on the Po and the Danube, four different nations claim emancipation from foreign thrall, and form centres of disturbance, giving apprehension to existing governments and causing jealousies betwixt nations. This nothing can remedy till the cause of the evil is removed—peace and good neighbourhood cannot return to Europe till, in these four cases of usurpation, national independence be again achieved. A man is stigmatised by the term usurper when he displaces another person as governor of a nation, although with the consent of the majority of the people. How much more does a nation merit to be stigmatised as such when it usurps dominion over another.

The relative position and condition of Schleswig, one of the points of contention in the north of Europe, does not appear to be well understood in this country, or rather is misunderstood.

In Schleswig the German element prevails—the lan-

guage and literature, the industry and mercantile connection, are German. This connection and national feeling, for a considerable time back, has been gaining ground, and mastering the Danish influence, in spite of all that Denmark can do, as a more advanced civilisation naturally does in proximity to a less advanced. In the north of Schleswig, where the Danish language is still spoken by a portion of the population, it is limited to the lower and less educated grades, much in the manner that Gaelic or Celtic still is in Scotland and Ireland. In the middle ages Schleswig was governed by its own dukes, who joined Germany in war against Denmark. In the year 1375, the reigning Duke Henry dying without issue, Schleswig fell by heritage to the Count of Holstein, and from that period dates the connection or union of Schleswig with Holstein. In the beginning of the fifteenth century, King Erich of Denmark attempted to dis sever Schleswig from Holstein, then under their own duke of the Schauenburgh family, but was defeated. From that time the independence and union of the Duchies was acknowledged by Denmark till the recent usurpation.

In 1448 the Count Christian of Oldenburg became King of Denmark by election of the Danish Council of State, and in 1460 became absolute monarch of Denmark, and about the same time was elected Duke of the Duchies, limited by a constitution which has been maintained till the recent Danish usurpation, while Denmark remained an absolute monarchy.

On being elected Duke of Schleswig-Holstein, Christian I. solemnly pledged himself to maintain the following conditions, which all his followers, till the

last three reigns, upon ascending the throne, also pledged to maintain :—

1. The succession to the Duchies to be in the male line only (the succession in Denmark to heirs male and female was decreed in 1665).

2. Schleswig-Holstein shall for ever remain united (ewig zusammen bleiben).

3. The inhabitants of Schleswig-Holstein, without their own consent, shall have no new taxes laid upon them.

4. The internal administration of affairs in the Duchies, and everything regarding their own welfare, is to be conducted by themselves in conjunction with the Landtag.

5. All the authorities of Schleswig-Holstein must be natives of the country.

6. No foreign war can be commenced without the consent of the Schleswig-Holstein Council of State.

7. No Schleswig-Holsteiner is to be forced to serve the King of Denmark out of the Duchies.

That all these constitutional pledges have been violated by Denmark everyone knows. While not more than the half of the revenue of the Duchies has been expended in the Duchies, the other half being a tribute to Denmark ; besides, a considerable portion of the half expended in the Duchies was in payment of Danish officials filling government offices in the Duchies. The regular taxes imposed upon the Duchies at the will of the Danish Government, and which only could be paid through the extreme industry of the German population, was not enough. In 1813 a contribution of more than eighteen million dollars was imposed on the

Duchies to support the sinking credit of Denmark, and levied in such a manner upon the heritable property of the country as to produce incalculable evil, amounting almost to a general bankruptcy—and which the landed interest at this day has scarcely got above. This extraordinary impost upon the land of the Duchies took precedence of all heritable bonds. And the monied interest of Hamburg &c., refused to allow their capital to be lent on Schleswig-Holstein property, upon such doubtful security—when a Danish king could come in and say, ‘Though your bond was the first registered, yet my impost shall take precedence of your bond.’ In justice this contribution must be paid back.

This enormous financial robbery was not enough, was only one item of the whole amount of plunder. For a number of years back the pillage of the Duchies by Denmark has been maturing to a complete system, and has been brought to as high perfection as anything of human construction can well reach. Every encroachment the needy place-hunters of Copenhagen could contrive has been sedulously followed out. The German population of the Duchies are comparatively a more industrious people than the Dane; and the powerful Danish fleet of men-of-war, far too great for any purpose of good and quite beyond Denmark’s own means, has, in fact, been constructed by the wealth and money produced by German industry, and indeed maintained, and to a considerable extent manned, from German resources. The Danes, originally sea-robbers, and comparatively averse to honest industry, could never of themselves by honest means have placed this fleet upon the ocean. In former times the sea-kings of

Denmark plundered in a bold above-board manner. But the modern Dane has resorted to other means in carrying out his predatory instincts. The Dane has succeeded, for a length of time, in turning the industry of the patient German to account. But patience has its limits even among Germans.

When Hanover and Britain came, much in the same manner as the Duchies and Denmark, to be under the same monarch, no advantage, no usurpation on the part of the stronger state, took place to render the weaker subservient as a field for pillage, or to interfere with its nationality as one of the German Bund. How, then, is Denmark to be permitted this usurpation? Where would the honour and prestige of Germany be, were she to submit to such treatment of one of her own body? (I have already stated that in all respects Schleswig-Holstein has been treated as a conquered country, and made a tributary of Denmark; the young men of from twenty to twenty-one years of age taken away from their homes to man the fortresses and fleet at Copenhagen, principally under Danish officers, and to work in the dockyards, and so insufficiently paid that their fathers (working-men) were under the necessity to remit money to their sons to keep them from starving;) no tradesman in the Duchies was allowed to do a day's work in his calling to anyone except to a master of the trade, and to become a master it was necessary to petition the government officials at Copenhagen, and to pay a considerable sum for the sanction, besides bribing the officials privately. The taxes, duties, the tolls, even in Holstein, were also obliged to

be paid in Danish money—not the usual circulating money. The roads in Denmark were made with the money of the Duchies, and the roads in the Duchies neglected. Everything possible was also done in the dukedom of Schleswig, and even in Holstein, to put down the use of the German language and literature—in short, treating the people of the Duchies as conquered slaves.

Recently, upon the remonstrance of Germany, and, it is said, the advice of the leading potentates of Europe, the Danish Government made certain promises in regard to the taxation of the Duchies—that the supplies should be voted by the Representative Assembly of the Duchies. These promises, however, when they came to be explained by the Danish Government, when occasion came for their being acted upon, turned out to be sham. All that was carried out—all that was meant, said the Dane, was that the Representative Assembly should have the privilege of giving advice to the Danish Government in regard to this and other matters, but that their power of voting supplies could only extend to give their sanction to such taxes as the Danish Government might impose—a sanction power, without a veto power!—to be worked only as a convenient engine of taxation! Upon this subject I recently received a letter from a proprietor in the Duchies, of which the following is an extract:—‘Our Representative Assembly will, I believe, without a dissenting voice, reject every proposal which has been made by the Danish Government, and they cannot act otherwise without prejudice to the rights of Holstein as a German

state. The Danish Government has acted a shuffling dishonest part in promising the great powers to lay the budget before the Holstein Assembly. Nothing of the kind has taken place. The royal commissioner has merely promised to supply material in case the Assembly wish to consider the part relating to Holstein of a budget already voted by the Danish State Council (a body in which Holstein is not represented), and which neither the Holstein Assembly nor the Danish Government have any power to change, and which will remain in force without change, though the Holstein Assembly should object to it or any part of it. The Assembly will refuse to take the budget under consideration on those terms.

‘Under present circumstances, I think it is likely that Holstein will be occupied by German troops, but it does not necessarily follow that we will have a war with Denmark, and I do not think the time well chosen for the Germans. The political affairs of southern and eastern Europe will likely absorb all interest.’

It would be useless here to point out the bearings of the Schleswig-Holstein difficulty upon the politics of Europe. Everybody knows that in the case of a war in which Britain may be opposed to France, Denmark would take part with the latter if she were not prevented by fear, while Germany, if she thought her assistance would be needed, would assist Britain. The Danes say, The present time is ours for securing the Duchies. Warlike France will support us. This support of anti-national rights on the part of France is, however, somewhat doubtful. France may have herself enough of work before her in putting her own house in order,

and in retiring with a good grace from her Italian difficulty, to intermeddle in a question opposed not only to human liberty and progress, but also to justice and constitutional rights.

P. MATTHEW.

GOURDIEHILL: 1862.

LETTER V.

REMOVAL OF THE MALIGN INFLUENCES WHICH REPRESS HUMAN PROGRESS.

HUMAN error, taking the character of a catching enthusiasm, has greatly retarded human progress. In history we see it rush along like a torrent, overwhelming reason, judgment, and the moral sense, 'the knowledge of good and evil.' We have seen Christianity, or, in other words, the principle of universal benevolence, justice, truth, take Manichean forms—priest despotism, fanaticism, religious antagonism. We have seen it even take a Judaic character of exclusiveness, and become a religion of wrath, proceeding to horrible persecution of all who might dissent from the reigning bigotry. Hence auto-da-fés, or, in other words, human sacrifices (an ancient religious rite of man in a lower stage of mental development), the burning of witches, the sacking of the fairest districts, even of Germany, long-continued desolating wars betwixt Protestants and Roman Catholics, each believing that in the destruction of the other they were serving the Deity, never thinking of the low passions, pride, and selfish interests by which they were guided. We see in the Western

World a most destructive war going on betwixt the pro-slavery, and, to some extent, pretended anti-slavery portions of the American British, apparently with no other result than extermination, especially of the Irish, so ready to fight without thinking of cause—a war carried out on a scale to which the Schleswig-Holstein affair is as yet small. And we see the home British so fanatically beset by ignorance and wilful error, as to be in danger of engaging in destructive war against their brethren and natural allies of Germany, upon a question they have made no rational enquiry about. Having taken up the idea that it is chivalric in them to assist the weak against the strong, they hug the fancy in self-glorification so far as to propose that we should enter into the Quixotic scheme of defending the trampler upon nationalities and constitutional rights from the retributive justice which his aggressive acts have naturally brought upon him.

Are we to see a like spectacle of mutual destruction carried on in Europe as in America? The gentlemen of the Press, and even some of the members of both Houses of Parliament, speak of using compulsion towards the great German people, without ever a thought of what a war against united Germany would be. The gentlemen of the Press seem never to think of the animosity their insulting taunts, and despicable misstatements, are breeding in the German mind. Is this right conduct towards an old ally and good neighbour, because, after using every peaceful means to retrieve her own, the pertinacity of the aggressor obliges her to use force? Is this a justifiable reason for the late bearing of Britain, the ministers of the Crown

using threats towards Germany? Are two of the most powerful nations existing, and like those of America of the same race, to enter into deadly conflict on account of a most unjustifiable interference by Britain to vindicate Denmark in her attempted usurpation of the Duchies, a question with which Britain has no connection.

The present fantasy regarding Schleswig-Holstein, the lapse in the British mind from the wonted calm judgment into unreason and error, shows how prone the human organism is to misconception, when it willingly surrenders its reason and judgment to its feelings worked upon by an unprincipled Press, twisting wrong into right and right into wrong. The reigning British fanaticism in favour of the aggressive Dane can only be accounted for by the new-discovered influence Biology, where the more numerous the party to be acted upon, the stronger becomes the mutual fantasy, and at the same time more extended the fascinator's power. The phenomena of Biology are only coming into view. This influence or power seems a natural provision to effect social and political combination, and necessary to the existence of civilised man. It extends at least to some of the lower animals, and presents new views of the principle of life. Being a law of our existence, it, like others, is liable to be perverted to evil, which this fantasy regarding the Dano-German question affords so remarkable an instance.

History and existing facts lead to the conclusion that small independent states are preferable to large ones—are more combined in feeling, admit of being better governed, give the individual greater liberty of action,

and raise him to a higher order of being. Man never rose higher than in the small states of Greece, and we may add Italy, previous to and after the great Roman monopoly. Holland, Belgium, Switzerland, Portugal, have also risen high in proportion to their population and territory. And both in Denmark and Schleswig-Holstein, I have no doubt the condition of man—the independence and freedom of the individual, the morality and the wealth of the country—will rise higher entirely divided than in any way united. With regard to the great German Empire, centralisation ought to be carefully avoided. Let there be one language, one literature, one spirit to resist foreign aggression, one feeling of nationality and brotherhood, one freedom of commerce, except perhaps in articles deleterious to humanity. But let each state keep its own house in order in the manner it may find most effectual—all the German states striving, competing, to have the richest garden and cleanest house—freest from the weeds of pauperism and filth of crime—and above all, the finest specimens of man as well in mind as in the physique.* The

* It is a sad thought that in man the physique and the mind itself is degenerating in Britain. This is in a great measure owing to the crime of England—the maltreatment of the Irish in their own country, that is, the result of alien government. Here the crime of England recoils eventually upon herself, as it is now doing in unhappy Denmark. Shoals of poor Irish are pouring into Britain, who from inferior civilisation can exist on lower wage and inferior food than the British working-man of the German type, and driving him from his own land—replacing an inferior race in his stead, doomed to work in dusty ill-ventilated factories, or in cities where degeneracy of race is still further carrying out. But this is not all. By a mischievous system of land tenure or occupancy—removal of the tenant at six months' warning—protection to property is denied in Britain to capital

British Government has for a number of years back acted with great judgment in increasing the power of the local representative governments of our colonies, thus in a great measure doing away with that baneful centralisation of all power in the parent government, which is only calculated to injure both parent and offspring, and eventually bring them to collide.

The resurrection of Poland, the triumph of nationality in that country as well as in Italy, would have settled the Schleswig-Holstein question. The power of public opinion which had aided nationality in Poland would not have acted against it in the Duchies. A line would have been drawn across the peninsula a little north of Flensburg, where the races and languages change—the Danes to be Denmark, and the Germans Germany. The value of Poland as a field for human extension—for dense population under good *home* government, and protection to property, is not sufficiently known. One acre of what I have seen in Poland is worth two of the most of Prussia. Poland, severed from Russia, would prevent the aggressive power of the latter to the westward (as it at one time did Turkish aggression), and bar up the Russian in his Tartar steppes. If through Britain this had been achieved, she would have in future

invested upon the lasting enrichment of the soil, thereby ruining the *vegetable mould* by an exhaustive hand-to-mouth system of cropping. By this, production is diminished at least one-half what it with protection would soon come to be. This diminishes our healthy rural out-door working population more than in the same ratio, while the indoor-working and city unhealthy population are rapidly increasing. Here our landlords pay much attention to the breeds of cattle, and improved implements of husbandry, but little to the human agent. I have explained all this fully in the agricultural journals.

commanded the confidence and esteem of all Europe. At present she is working to lose it. I do all I can to set her right; and have given these letters nearly in the form they at different times were written as the ideas rose in my mind, perhaps more natural and more effectual than combined in one regular treatise. I entreat the gentlemen of the Press to aid me in this. Nothing shows the innate preponderance of Right over Wrong in the human mind, that man is not 'deceitful above all things and desperately wicked,' than receding from wrong as soon as the mind feels it is wrong.

Nationality sometimes takes an intricate character. In the case of the Duchies no intricacy exists. The right is clear as any social and constitutional right can be. In the case of the portion of Poland under the Prussian and Austrian rule, if the majority of the population wish to remain under these comparatively advanced governments, to which they for many years have been accustomed, where property is protected (the great desideratum), and good laws made be observed, they have a right to remain as they are, although the portion of Poland now under Russia, or rather under anarchy, should regain its independent nationality. The case of Savoy, handed over to France by diplomatic intrigue, is of a different character, more especially as the assent of the people was given evidently under coercion, directly or indirectly. In the case of the United States of North America, the right of the southern portion to secede was clear, and the northern portion had no right to oppose, but under the plea that they could not tolerate a slave-holding power on their fron-

tier, as piratical and dangerous, the basis of the social and political existence of the southern being slavery.* In the case of British India, the British domination can only be defended upon the plea that the great body of the population had been so enslaved by religious, social, and political despotism, that it was a moral duty to liberate them, and bring them under the improving influence of British science and the modern arts of life. In the case of British colonisation of North America, Australia, New Zealand, &c., where a few tribes of roving savages stood in the way of a dense population of civilised man, where the occupants, if occupants

* To me the disruption in the United States appears merely a natural effort of the social union to place itself in a workable position. History affords no example of the existence, at least the long existence, of a vast republic. Republics can only be permanently practicable and advantageous under narrow limited territory, where the leading men are well known to the people generally. Human nature, not even of the boasted American type, is sufficiently perfect for a widely-extended republic, and the duration so long of the wide United States republic was only in consequence of the plenty of the wilderness land to extend back upon. Further division or despotic government awaits the people of the United States as population fills up. It was rather too much for the Northern States to expect that by a high tariff in favour of the manufactures of the North they were to monopolise all the wealth procured by slavery without the odium of having slaves. They, indeed, did assist by the national military forces in keeping down the slaves in slavery. But this was only a little indirect partnership connection, kept as much as possible out of sight. The Northern States, like the Danes, may rejoice that they are now nearly freed from the partnership stain. The pertinacity of opposition in the Northern States to division of the United States is from a hope of a great American Republic being able to dominate over the whole earth. This, I believe, the power of human combination is not able to attain, even assisted by Biology and the potent influence of the Press. Here the very effort now making to preserve unity will act to sever it further.

they could be called, had made no progress, and were incapable of making progress in cultivating the earth, and rendering it productive so as to support a dense population, civilised man, increasing rapidly, has the right to enter the wilderness where man has not placed his mark, cultivate it for his subsistence, and resist any wild hunters or pretended owners where the face of nature shows no trace of culture, nor mark of ownership.

P. MATTHEW.

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