

contrary to the Declarations of Paris, contrary to the general international law, permitted a blockade of 3,000 miles of the Southern coast of America. It is quite true we did so. It is quite true—and there perhaps there seemed at least a plausible reason for complaint—that though this blockade was kept up by a sufficient number of ships, yet these ships, many of them adopted into the United States' navy and sent to sea in a hurry, and illfitted for the purpose—did not keep up that blockade so effectively and so thoroughly as it must have been held an effective blockade required. But still, looking to the law of nations, it was a blockade; it was a blockade which we as a belligerent Power in former times should have acknowledged. We ourselves had a blockade of upwards of 2,000 miles, and it did seem to me that we were bound in justice to the Federal States of America to acknowledge the blockade. But there was another reason, I confess, that weighed with me,—our people were suffering, and suffering very greatly, for the want of the material which was the support of their industry. It was a question of self-interest whether we should not break that blockade, but, in my opinion, the name of England would have been for ever infamous if for the sake of interest of any kind we had violated the general laws of nations, and made war with those slave-holding States of America against the Federal States. (Hear, hear.) And, gentlemen, I am not speaking the sentiments which are peculiar to myself, or to those who have no immediate interest in the question, but these are, I am convinced, the sentiments of that noble-hearted people of Lancashire, who have lived and flourished by that industry; but who would not, I am sure, allow a single spot on the escutcheon of their nation in order to maintain that industry. ("Hear, hear," and cheers.) Well there came new complaints—a complaint on the part of the Federals that we allowed a ship to leave the port of Liverpool, which afterwards committed depredations on their commerce. Gentlemen, it would lead me far if I were to go over all the particulars of the question, but you must know that in order to prove an offence you require such evidence as can be sifted in a court of justice, and it was not till the very day the *Alabama* left Liverpool that in the opinion of lawyers we had evidence sufficient to keep the vessel and crew; then I doubt whether if we had brought the evidence before a court of law it would have found that we had sufficient evidence to condemn her, because, by an evasion of the law, the ship was fitted up without the arms necessary for her equipment, and these arms were conveyed to her in the waters of a foreign country, very far from the jurisdiction of England.

Gentlemen, these questions must be weighed, and I think they will be weighed, as they frequently have been weighed by the Government of the United States of America, in the balance of equity. We know that the Foreign Enlistment Act and the whole law respecting the subject is very difficult of application. The principle is clear enough. If you are asked to sell muskets, you may sell muskets to one party or to the other, and so with regard to gunpowder, shells, or cannon; and you may sell a ship in the same manner. But, if you, on one hand, train and drill a regiment with arms in their hands, or allow a regiment to go out, with arms in their hands, to take part with one of two belligerents, you violate your neutrality and commit an offence against the other belligerent. So in the same way in regard to ships, if you allow a ship to be armed and go at once to make an attack on a foreign belligerent, you are yourself, according to your own law, taking part in the war, and it is an offence which is punished by the law. But these questions lead, as you will see, to most difficult problems—as to whether, for instance, a thousand persons here may go out as labourers to the Federal States, and in the next place a thousand muskets may go out in another ship, and when they arrive in America these thousand labourers, having had an understanding before, may make a formal engagement and be armed with these thousand muskets; though if that had been done in the territory of the Queen, and on the soil of this country, it would have been an offence. There are other questions with regard to ships that have lately been prepared in this country, because these ships are not like ships which receive the usual equipment known in wars in times past, but they are themselves, without any further armament, formed for acts of offence and war. They are steam rams, which might be used for the purposes of war without ever touching the shores of the Confederate ports. Well, gentlemen, to permit ships of this kind knowingly to depart from this country, not to enter into any Confederate port, not to enter into the port of a belligerent, would, as you see, expose our good faith to great suspicion; and I feel certain that if, during our war with France, the Americans

had sent line-of-battle ships to break our blockade at Brest, whatever reasons they might have urged in support of that, we should have considered it a violation of neutrality. Such is the spirit in which I am prepared to act. Everything that the law of nations requires, everything that our law, that the Foreign Enlistment Act requires, I am prepared to do, and even, if it should be proved to be necessary for the preservation of our neutrality, that the sanction of Parliament should be asked to farther measures. In short, to sum up, her Majesty's Government are prepared to do everything that the duty of neutrality requires—everything that is just to a friendly nation, taking as a principle that we should do to others as we should wish to be done to ourselves. (Loud cheers.) But this we will not do—we will not adopt any measure that we think to be wrong. We will not yield a jot of British law or British right in consequence of the menaces of any foreign Power. (Loud and prolonged cheers.) It is singular to observe how jaundiced the minds of those who speak in the New England State are on this subject of our conduct. I will not detain you further on these subjects; but one remark I must make on the general tendency of the speeches and writings in America. The Government of America discusses these matters very fairly with the English Government. Sometimes we think them quite in the wrong; sometimes they say we are quite wrong; but we discuss them fairly, and with regard to the Secretary of State I see no complaint to make. I think he weighs the disadvantages and difficulties of our situation in a very fair and equal balance. But there are others, and Mr. Sumner is one of them, his speech being an epitome almost of all that has been contained in the American press, by whom our conduct is very differently judged. With regard to all these matters there are difficult questions; we may have reason to complain in some instances, and the Federal Republic of America may have reason to complain also. But let us recollect that we are, as I have said, descended from the same ancestors, that in the courts of justice in America the common law of England is constantly studied, and the decisions of our great judges constantly referred to as decisions to be there respected; that our Shakespeare and our Milton are to them classical books as they are to us; that we have the same inheritance of freedom; that many of our institutions, as you may see by reading that excellent book of M. de Toqueville on America, are identical; that the same spirit of liberty animates us both; that we after our revolution chose a constitutional monarchy as the best form of government, and they after their revolution chose a republic; but that thus united, having the same spirit of law, having the same spirit of literature, having the same spirit of freedom, we ought, when this unhappy contest is over, to embrace one another as friends, and that we in the Old World and they in the New ought to be the lights to promote the civilisation of mankind. (Loud cheers.) Now, gentlemen, with these feelings, I own I almost lose my patience, when I see men, in what is called an oration, heaping up accusation, and misrepresentation after misrepresentation, all tending to the bloody end of war between these two nations. I cannot but say, are they not satisfied with the blood that has been shed in the last two years, with that field of Gettysburg where 10,000 corpses of men, most of them in the prime of manhood, were left lying stretched on the ground? Are they not satisfied with that bloodshed, but would they seek to extend to the nations of Europe a new contest in which fresh sacrifices are to be made of human life, of human interest, and human happiness? (Cheers.) Gentlemen, I trust that that will not be the case. I know, at least, that my efforts, such as they are—weak they may be, ineffectual I hope they will not be—will be directed to keep peace between these two nations, and to do everything which I think is just and right towards these people; and, ready to meet attack if we are unjustly attacked, ready to bear our part in the contest, if contest there must be, but yet believing that we ought to make every effort that all these various conflicts may end in peace, in union, and in friendship, I shall at all events have the consciousness that I have done my best to preserve peace between these mighty nations. (Loud cheers.) Gentlemen, it is a great subject; it affects the people of this part of the world and of America; it affects the future stage of civilisation; it affects the well-being of the black race, whom it was the crime of our ancestors to introduce to America, and who, if these matters end well, will be, as I believe they are fitted to be, peaceable and intelligent members of a free country—(cheers)—on behalf of whose welfare we have been ready to make great efforts, and to sacrifice much. But we will not sacrifice any of those views of ours to mere pretence. We have strong feelings for the good of mankind as

any people can have; we must maintain our own position; and my belief is that the people of what were the United States, whether they are called Federals or Confederates, will finally do us justice, and that they will observe—as, indeed, they cannot help observing—that in this free country, where there is so much discussion and so much difference of opinion, there are parties very considerable in number who sympathize with the Confederates, and other large masses—I believe superior in numbers—who sympathize with the Federals; but whether sympathizing with the one or the other we have all embraced in our hearts that sentiment of justice—justice we will do to others, justice we expect for ourselves, and I hope I am interpreting the feelings of your minds when I say that justice ought to prevail.

The noble earl sat down amid prolonged cheering.

For the Christian Messenger.

### Annapolis County Ministerial Conference.

DEAR EDITOR,

At the last meeting of our Ministerial Conference, held at Hillsburgh, on the 13th inst., the attendance was large, and the session one of pleasure and profit. During the meeting the following Preamble and Resolution were unanimously passed:

"Whereas, It is exceedingly desirable that a deeper interest be manifested by our churches in the cause of Missions,

And whereas, It is incumbent upon the Pastors to put forth efforts both individually and unitedly to present before their people the claims and operations of this important cause, with a view to excite a more commendable zeal therein,

Therefore Resolved, That public Missionary Meetings be held in connexion with the meetings of this Conference, the appointments for said meetings to be arranged by the Pastor."

Accordingly, on Thursday evening, a Missionary meeting was held in the Baptist Chapel, Hillsburgh, in which brother Moore the pastor, acted as chairman. Addresses were delivered in advocacy of the claims of Missions (Home and Foreign) by brethren J. C. Bleakney, of Carleton, St. John; J. Spencer, G. Armstrong and I. Wallace.

The Rev. Mr. Pickles, Wesleyan Minister, being called on, briefly expressed his gratification at the interest manifested in the good cause.

A collection was taken at the close, the amount of which I have not learned, but I hope it was liberal.

Our next meeting will be held (D. V.) in Granville. I hope the attendance of ministers will be large, and that the Missionary meetings will be successful.

Yours truly,

ISA. WALLACE.

Lower Granville, Oct. 1863.

## Christian Messenger.

HALIFAX, OCTOBER 28, 1863.

### Southern Slavery.

A short time since we gave our readers some extracts from the "Address to Christians throughout the world by the Clergy of the Confederate States," recently published, and advertised in several of the evangelical periodicals of Great Britain. We did this by way of exhibiting the views held by Southern Christians on the subject of Slavery, and by which they upheld their practices, in reference to the "peculiar institution." We at the same time expressed our opinion that slavery was a blot on society wherever it existed, and that the present war would sooner or later put an end to it. Notwithstanding that we did this, some very sensitive Northern friends of ours sent us an anonymous remonstrance against the said article, strangely supposing that our noticing such a document was evidence of our sympathizing with the South. We protest against such construction of our views concerning the great fraternal struggle between the two political parties in the United States. Whatever we may think of the measures of either party, and we should be sorry to endorse all the doings of one or the other, we cannot allow any doubt to exist respecting our hatred of human slavery.

Our antipathy against that abominable system is no new-born piece of policy introduced as a necessity arising from war, but a part and parcel of our nature as citizens of a free country and believers in the great Christian law: "As ye would that men should do to you do ye also to them likewise." The writer had the honor, many years ago, of taking a small part, so far as petitioning the British Parliament could do so, in removing from our nation the stain of slavery.

We are glad to see that a firm and temperate reply to the said address has been published by clergymen in Scotland, and that it has been signed by a large number of clergymen of all denominations in that country. Some of the names are appended. These may be taken as an indication of the character of those who concur in the sentiments expressed. Our readers, we believe generally, will be glad to peruse the said address, we therefore copy it verbatim:

We, the undersigned Ministers of the Churches in Scotland, in reply to the appeal made to us in the "Address to Christians throughout the world," recently put forth by the Clergy of the Confederate States of America," feel bound to give public expression to our views, lest our continued silence should be misconstrued, as implying either acquiescence in the principles of the document, or indifference to the crime which it seeks to defend.

We refer of course to a single topic—that of Slavery—as it is handled in the address. We desire to say nothing inconsistent with our country's attitude of strict neutrality as regards the war raging across the Atlantic. The one object we have in view is to express the deep grief, alarm and indignation with which we have perused the pleading on behalf of slavery in general, and American slavery in particular, to which so many professing servants of the Lord Jesus Christ have not scrupled to append their names. With the feeblest possible incidental admission of "abuses" which they "may deplore, in this, as in other relations of mankind," we find these men broadly maintaining, in the most unqualified manner, that "the relation of master and slave,"—"among us," they add, to make their meaning more explicit,— "is not incompatible with our holy Christianity." They thank God for it, as for a Missionary Institution;—the best, as it would seem, and the most successful in the world. They hold it to be their peculiar functions to defend and perpetuate it. And they evidently contemplate the formation of the Southern Confederacy upon the basis of slavery as one of its fundamental and permanent principles or elements, not only without regret, but with entire satisfaction and approval. Against all this—in the name of that holy faith and that thrice holy name which they venture to invoke on the side of a system which treats immortal and redeemed men as goods and chattels, denies them the rights of marriage and of home, consigns them to ignorance of the first rudiments of education, and exposes them to the outrages of lust and passion—we most earnestly and emphatically protest. We do not think it needful to argue. The time for argument has for many a year been regarded by the whole of enlightened Christendom as past and gone. Apologists for slavery, attempting to shelter themselves and it under the authority of God's Word and the Gospel of Jesus Christ, are to be denounced as really, whatever may be their intention, the worst enemies of both.

All reasonable allowance, no doubt, should be made for the circumstances of Christian ministers called in Providence to labour where slavery exists. Some soreness, even, on their part, under what they regard as unjustifiable and dangerous movements on the other side, might be excused as not unnatural. And if we saw them manfully lifting their voice on behalf of universal liberty, and setting themselves to aim at the instant redress of the more flagrant of the wrongs incident to a state of bondage, we would be prepared calmly to listen to their representations as to the best and likeliest practical method of promoting the present amelioration of the condition of the slaves, and securing, within the shortest period consistant with safety, their complete and final emancipation.

We are reluctant to abandon the hope that, upon reconsideration, and in the view of the sentiments now unanimously held and expressed on this subject everywhere else, all over Christendom, our American brethren may yet be induced to take up a position more worthy of our common faith than that which they at present occupy. But, at all events, the obligation lying upon us, as things now stand, towards them, towards ourselves, towards the Church and the world, towards the Bible and Gospel, is to record, in the strongest possible terms, our abhorrence of the doctrine on the subject of Slavery which the Southern Clergy teach, and upon which they act; and to testify before all nations that any State, Empire, or Republic constituted or reconstructed, in these days of Christian light and liberty, upon the basis of that doctrine, practically applied, must in the sight of God be regarded as founded on wrong and crime, and as deserving, not his blessing, but his righteous wrath.

Robert S. Candlish, D. D., Edinburgh; Thos. Guthrie, D. D., Edinburgh; W. H. Gould, D. D., Edinburgh; Robert Buchanan, D. D., Glasgow; John Cairns, D. D., Berwick-on-Tweed; C. J. Brown, D. D., Edinburgh; Andrew Thomson, D. D., Edinburgh; William Arnot, Glasgow; W. Lindsay Alexander, D. D., Edinburgh; Jas. Begg, D. D., Edinburgh; &c., &c., &c.

### Provincial Rifle Match.

A large number of Militia Officers and Volunteers, appeared at Truro, on Wednesday and Thursday last, to compete for the provincial prizes, and the British National Rifle Association's Medal. The latter was to be given to the person taking the first of two prizes of £10.

There were besides these ten of £5, and an equal number of £3 each. One hundred and sixty-two persons, we are informed, appeared as competitors. The firing caused considerable